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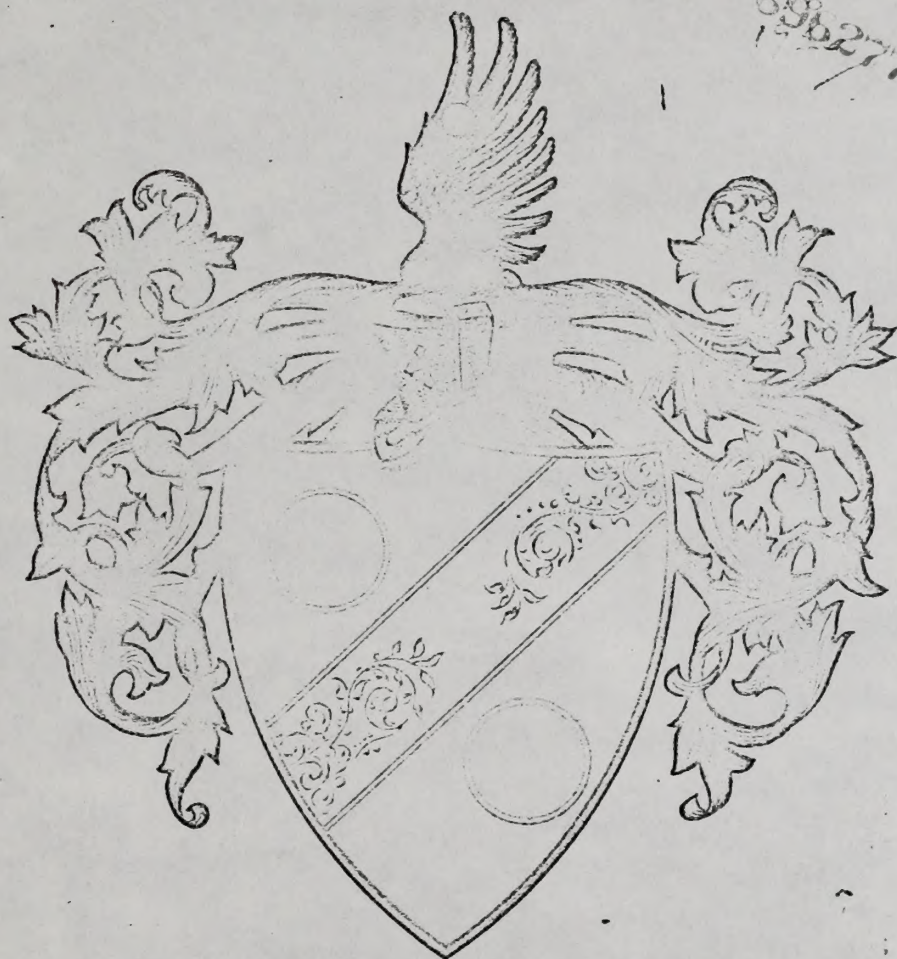
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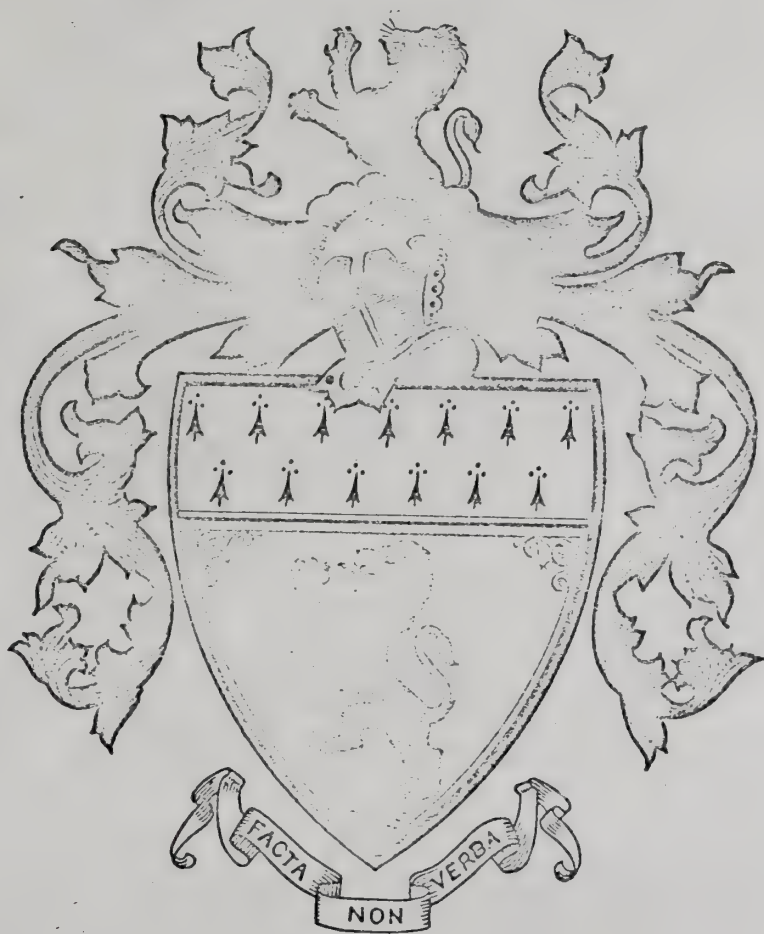
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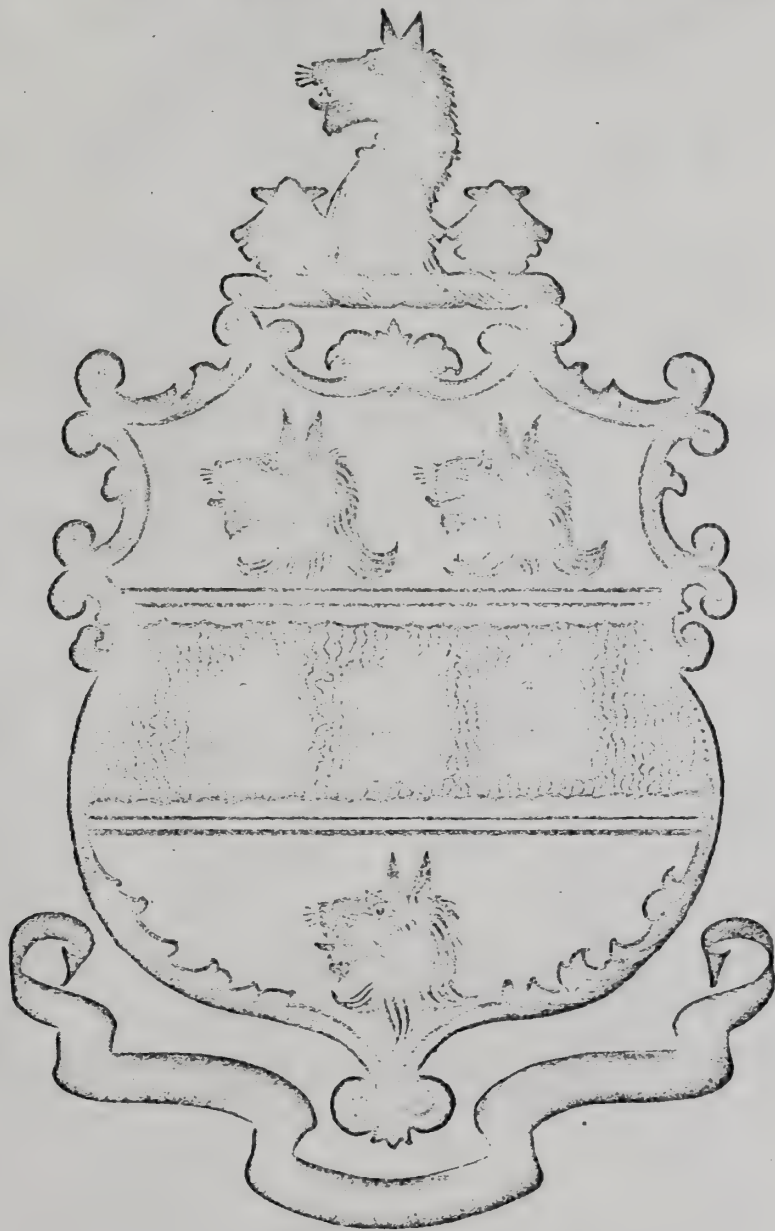
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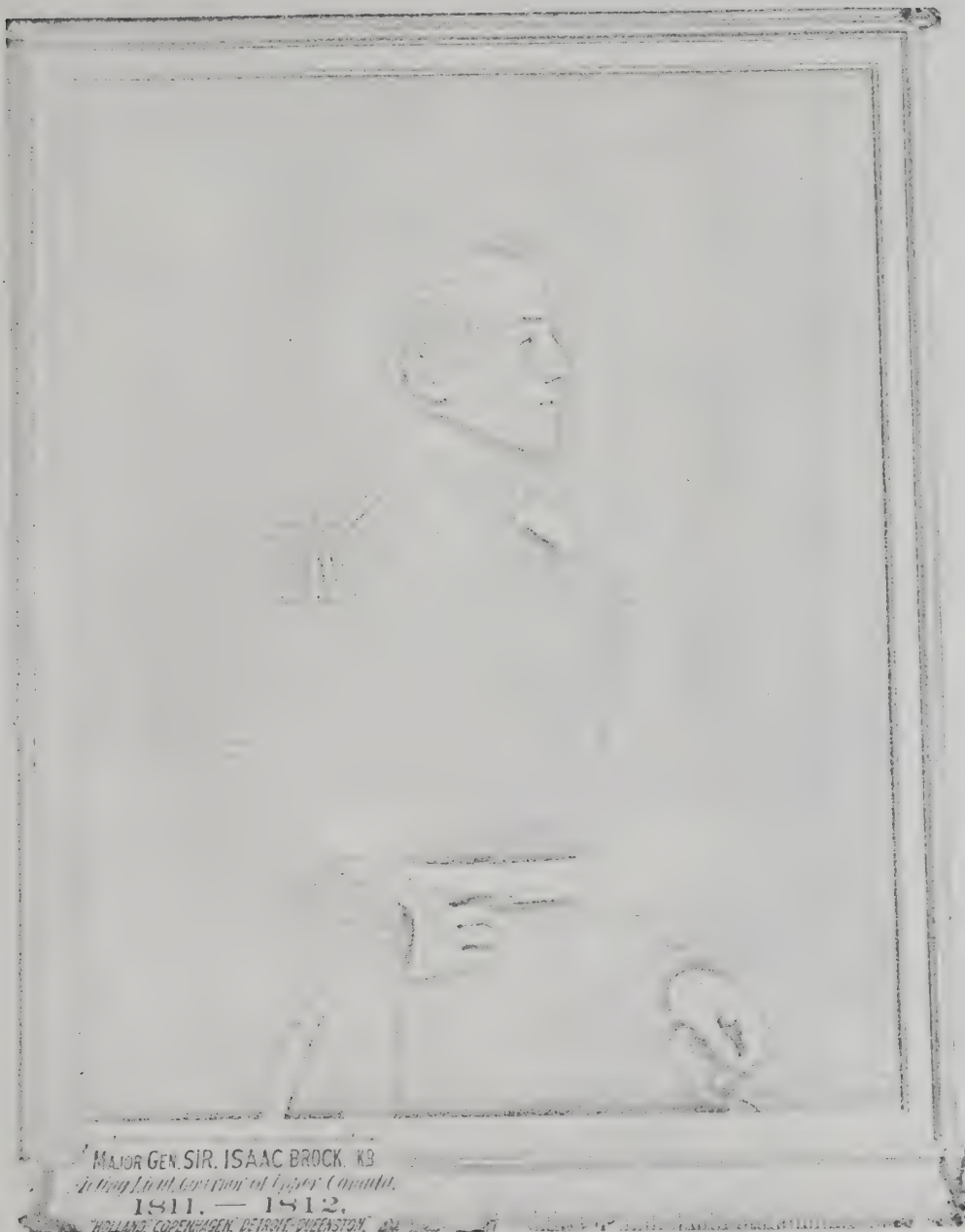


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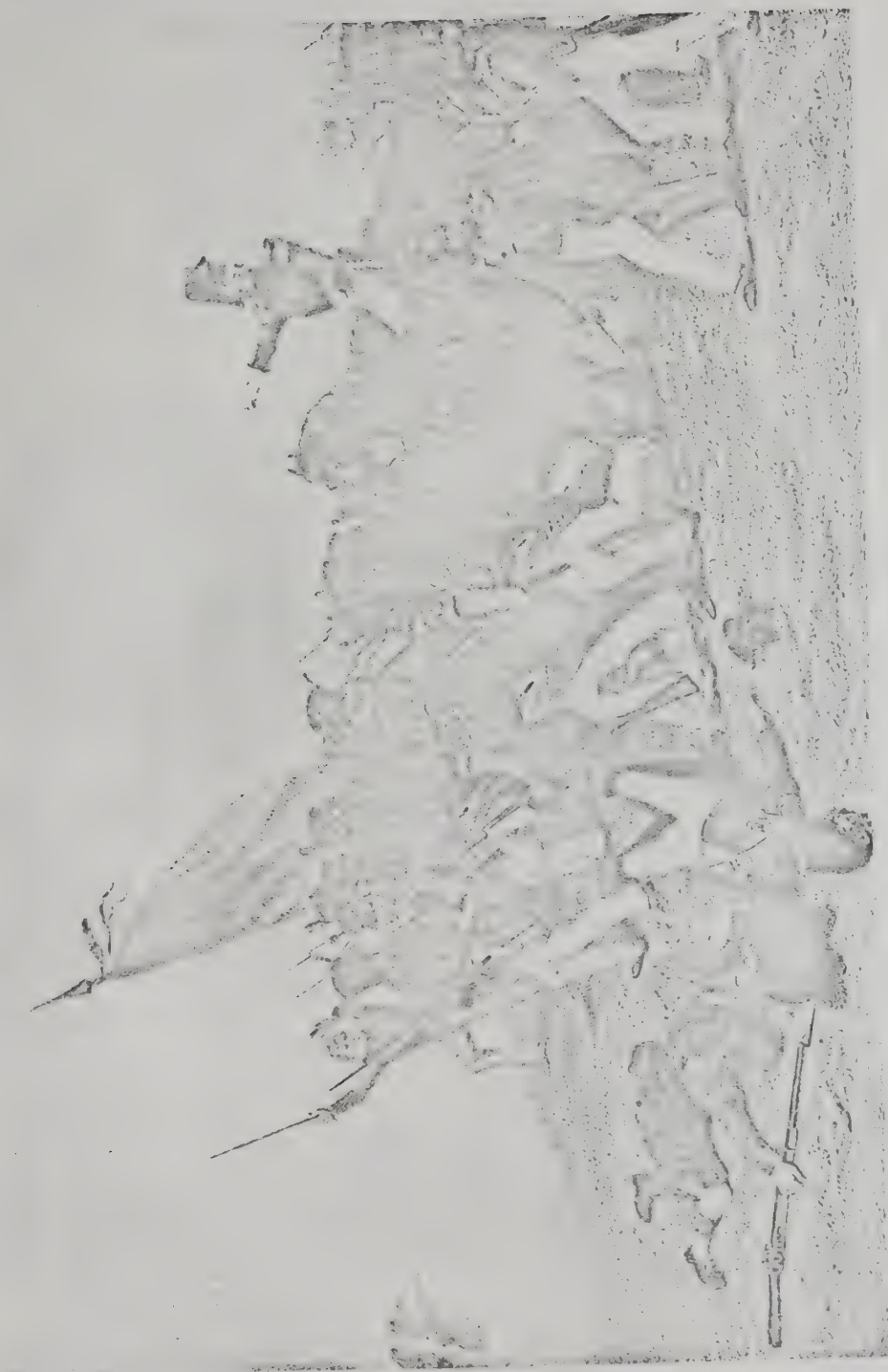
MAJOR GEN. SIR. ISAAC BROCK, K.B.

acting Genl. Governor of Upper Canada.

1811. — 1812.

HOLLAND COPENHAGEN DETROIT QUEBEC

MAJ.-GEN. SIR ISAAC BROCK



THE BATTLE OF CHIPPEWA

Scott Ordering the Charge of McNeil's Battalion

AMERICANA

JANUARY, 1924

York, Canada, in the War of 1812

BY JESSE EDGAR MIDDLETON, TORONTO, CANADA



NY system of Government, honestly conceived and faithfully administered, will be good, for a time. Whether it be democratic or autocratic in spirit makes no difference. If the system is plastic and can be moulded to serve the progressive requirements of the people it may continue good. Unfortunately, administrators are governed unduly by precedent, and soon become mere creatures of use-and-wont. Only a man of uncommon distinction can perceive the temper of the times, read the popular mind, and administer public affairs in the light of that knowledge, as well as according to law. Some men never can "drive easily over the stones."

The first Lieutenant-Governors of Upper Canada were faithful servants of the King and honest Englishmen. They were resolute and careful. Perhaps, also, some of them were dull. Certainly they did not understand that the coming of many thousands of settlers made a difference. They followed to the letter the instructions of British Ministers whose knowledge of local conditions could not have been other than hazy. It is worth remembering that in 1812 the Admiralty provided apparatus for condensing salt water, to be installed on the frigates built at Kingston to sail on the lakes. If the shipbuilders had insisted upon putting them in, they would have shown a spirit comparable to that of more than one Governor of Upper Canada.

The officials under Government and the members of the Legislative Council belonged to one class—the retired officers of property, whose training had been military rather than civil, and whose soldier's *brusquerie* did not soften with the years. They were anti-American to a man. Most of them had suffered heavy losses in the Revolution and some had memories of mob-law and even murder in

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which the Sons of Liberty were not blameless. They had a suspicion that many of the immigrants who had come from the United States to secure free land were tinged with republicanism. Consequently, they were quick to resent any criticism of their administration. Nevertheless, there was occasion for criticism, and soon was found in the popular Assembly a group of men who presented grievances and stood in constant opposition to the Governor's party. If sometimes these critics were heady and unreasonable, they believed that there was room for reforms, and had courage to say so. Governor Gore, in his private correspondence, referred to them as "rascals" and "creatures," "demagogues" and "rebels." More than once strong measures were taken. Mr. Justice Thorpe and Surveyor-General Wyatt, were removed from office by the British Government on request of Governor Gore. Later both sued the Governor in the English courts and secured damages for wrongful dismissal. Sheriff Joseph Willcocks was sent to jail in a high-handed manner.

In 1809 there appeared in England a pamphlet by John Mills Jackson, entitled "A View of the Political Situation of the Province of Upper Canada in North America," in which her physical capacity is stated, and means of diminishing her burden, increasing her value, and securing her connection to Great Britain, are fully considered. With notes and appendix. London. Printed for W. Earle, No. 43, Albermarle Street, 1809. When this brochure arrived in York it caused a political tempest. Mr. C. Wilson moved in the Assembly, seconded by Mr. McNabb, that the pamphlet contained "a false, scandalous and seditious libel, comprising expressions of the most unexampled insolence and contumely toward His Majesty's Government in this Province." It was ordered that the pamphlet be preserved in the records of the House—possibly as a horrible example of the lengths to which human depravity would go. This pamphlet is found today in the Library of the Ontario Legislature, and can be read without a shudder. The author says in his introduction: "I shall now undertake to show that from the inefficient conduct of the Colonial Government, the beneficent intentions of the King have been defeated, the wisdom of the British Parliament frustrated, the civil officers and people oppressed, and even the salutary efforts of the Provincial Assembly overturned; the most loyal, attached and determined people are becoming so aggrieved, enslaved and irritated, that they view with delight the prospect of hostilities with

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America, in the hope of being freed from that Government to which they had once looked for security, liberty and reform."

John Mills Jackson was an Englishman who had visited the Province to administer some of his property. He was a friend of Mr. Justice Thorpe and possibly through him was enabled to collect the documents which he printed in the appendix of his pamphlet, and which justified in large measure the vigor of his protest. He was wrong in generalizing from too little data. It was unfair to picture the whole population as longing for an American invasion, although beyond doubt some were in that state of mind, or assumed to be. Jackson charged that the officials had taken all the best land, and continued as follows:

These gentlemen, when glutted with land, became anxious for fees, until they raised the expense of the deed of grant to nearly \$40 for 200 acres, and then apportioned them most unfairly. In laying out townships the most favorable, fertile and salubrious places were reserved, that future favorites might be enriched or convenient persons gratified, whilst the remote, barren and unhealthy parts were selected for such as were entitled to the bounty of the King, to grants free of every expense. Thus compensation for the U. E. Loyalist and reward for the military claimant was frittered away or retarded by a location of land he could not cultivate, by suppression of papers, or by fictitious delays of office, until he was harassed into the payment of these fees, or (if destitute of means) driven to purchase from these great land monopolists, and compelled to give bond for such sums as he was seldom able to pay, except by the forfeiture of the land with all the improvements. At length all claims were silenced by a proclamation declaring that no one should obtain any grant without fees who had not settled in the Province before 1798. By these means the original intention has been defeated, the Royal promise broken, the faith of the Government disgraced, the settlement of the Colony retarded and partiality, prejudice and avariciousness so apparent in the distribution of land that discontent and disgust were diffused throughout the whole body of the people.

Possibly Mr. Jackson did not know what the officials knew—that a plan of peaceful penetration by American republicans was being followed, although the first condition of the King's bounty was that the settler should be a proved Loyalist. There is no evidence to corroborate Jackson's belief that the Government was a nest of thieves, nor to support Governor Gore's opinion that all

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critics were rascals and rebels. The administration was too thin-skinned and too near to military arrogance. The opposition was too ready to impute improper motives.

That there was an element of stupidity in high places appeared in the facts assembled by Jackson with respect to the cultivation of hemp. The British Government had granted a bounty on hemp production for the Navy. When the Canadian farmer produced it there was no Government store to receive it, and no market. The small merchants objected to it as a basis of barter and in many cases it was turned back to manure the soil. An agricultural and commercial society organized by Mr. Justice Thorpe and others to encourage the growing of hemp was called a Jacobin Club. The conclusion of the pamphlet follows: "I call for investigation as a duty I owe my King and Country."

A fervent address of congratulation to King George III. on the completion of the fiftieth year of his reign was unanimously passed by the Assembly at the Session of 1810. It read, in part, as follows: "Let it not be considered ostentatious from the humble Commons of Upper Canada to offer their prayers for the life endeared to the subjects of this Province by the most Parental Affection: Your Majesty having offered your loyal subjects of this Province an asylum in the hour of distress, when nothing was left them but their loyalty to their King, their lives and their honor. Permit us, Sire, to assure Your Majesty, that none of Your subjects are animated with a more fervent zeal of loyalty and attachment to Your Sacred Person and Government than Your Majesty's subjects of Upper Canada."

There was no unanimity in the passing of an address of congratulation to Governor Gore, the opposition consisting of J. Willson, Howard, Willecocks and Rogers. The essence of this address was a repudiation of the Jackson pamphlet: "We should not intrude upon Your Excellency at this time to express the general sentiment of the people of this Province, did we not feel ourselves called upon and impelled by a sense of that duty which we owe to our constituents, His Majesty's loyal subjects of this Province, to you, Sir, as administering the Government thereof; and to that August Sovereign whom we regard as the Father of his people, only to express our abhorrence and indignation at a pamphlet now before us, addressed to the King, Lords and Com-

mons of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, containing in almost every page the most gross and false aspersions on Your Excellency and His Majesty's Executive Government, the House of Assembly, and the loyal inhabitants of this Province, under the signature of John Mills Jackson, tending to misrepresent a brave and loyal portion of His Majesty's subjects." Yet Jackson had a well-documented case which deserved investigation. To ignore his charges and denounce the author as a mere mischief-maker was surely an unwise policy.

French sea-power was crushed by Lord Nelson at the battle of Trafalgar on October 21st, 1805. On the day before that notable victory Napoleon was at Ulm, accepting the surrender of 23,000 Austrian soldiers. On December 2nd he won the battle of Austerlitz against allied Austrian and Russian troops. In October, 1806, Prussia declared war against France. By the 25th November the battles of Jena and Auerstadt had been fought, and Napoleon was in Berlin signing the Berlin Decrees—his answer to the victory of Nelson. These declared a "paper blockade" of the British Isles. No British ships were to be allowed in French ports or in the ports of the allies of France. Thus any ship afloat bound for England or outward bound to some remote part of the world became fair prey for the French privateer or sea-raider. Most of the countries of Europe had been forced into alliance with France. The only considerable neutral was the United States, and its commerce was continually harried.

Great Britain had answered the Berlin Decrees with a series of Orders-in-Council forbidding all trade with Europe save through British ports. Because the British Navy had mastery of the seas, neutral traders had more difficulty over the Orders-in-Council than over the Berlin Decrees. It was not uncommon for an American barque to be seized by a French privateer and re-seized by a British frigate, the cargo, of course, being "condemned" at the first convenient British port. The result was to inflame American opinion against Great Britain, particularly since one of the American political parties of the period had been consistently pro-French and anti-British since the outbreak of the French Revolution.

Further, the British Navy since Cromwell's time, had claimed the right to search merchant vessels of all nations for deserters from the service. The application of that time-honored principle

at this time was bitterly resented by the Americans. Even when James Monroe and other American commissioners had secured the draft of a Treaty whereby Great Britain offered to respect all American rights and to give adequate reparation for every case of wrongful seizure of a vessel, President Jefferson refused to accept it because the "right of search" was not abandoned.

Then occurred an "incident" which widened the chasm between the two nations. A boat-load of deserters from the British sloop *Halifax* at Hampton Roads, Virginia, took refuge on board the American frigate *Chesapeake*. A formal demand by the British naval officer in command, for the arrest of these men, was made upon the municipal authorities, who declined to interfere. On this refusal the British frigate *Leopard* followed the *Chesapeake* to sea and called upon her to stop. The order being ignored she fired a broadside into the *Chesapeake* and the American ship struck her flag. Two of the deserters sought were killed, two more jumped overboard and were drowned, and four were seized and brought back to the *Leopard* for trial.

As the right of search did not extend to foreign war vessels, Admiral Berkeley, of Halifax, who had issued the orders, was superseded and the British Government offered to pay damages, but Jefferson ordered all British armed vessels to leave American ports and put an embargo on all export trade. It was believed that war was inevitable, particularly since many American newspapers and politicians were clamoring for the seizure of Canada. The militia was called out by the Government at York during August, 1808, and the capital town provided two companies of armed men. The war was delayed for four years, but not with the consent of Kentucky and the States which formed the frontier of the wilderness.

Settlers who opened up the newer States seemed surprised that the Indians resented the advance of civilization and traced that resentment to the counsel of the English. Thus grew up a legend of a Den of Ogres established at Quebec, with an advanced post at York, whose chief aim in life was to urge the savages to slay, burn, and destroy the innocent and peaceable Americans. Make sure that the politicians profited by keeping that legend alive! The Federalist party was in trouble, since it disliked and distrusted Napoleon. The Democratic party being resolutely anti-English, was at the peak of its political fortunes. Congressmen who fanned

the prejudices of the people were certain of re-election. Mr. Grundy, of Tennessee, explained to Josiah Quincy, the House leader of the Federalists, the necessity of attacking him as vigorously as possible. He said: "Except Tim Pickering there is not a man in the United States so perfectly hated by the people of my district as yourself. By —— I must abuse you, *or I shall never get re-elected*. I will do it, however, genteelly. I will not do it as that d——d fool Clay did it—strike so hard as to hurt myself—but abuse you I must."

The body of politicians "wanting to be re-elected" taught, and pretended to believe, that the British were deep in a conspiracy of murder directed against the frontiersmen and their families. They also taught and believed that Canada could be seized at any moment, almost without the firing of a shot. The same Henry Clay, despised by Mr. Grundy, of Tennessee, said: "It is absurd to suppose that we will not succeed in our enterprise against the enemy's Provinces. I am not for stopping at Quebec or anywhere else. I would take the whole continent from them, and ask them no favors. I wish never to see peace till we do. God has given us the power and the means. We are to blame if we do not use them." Thomas Jefferson himself, the Patriarch of Anglophobes, said that the acquisition of Canada would be "a mere matter of marching."

It is hard to square this hard and reckless willingness to devastate the country of a peaceable neighbor with the exalted sentiments of the Declaration of Independence. Still the times were rough in all countries, and the veneer of civilization was woefully thin. Thomas Wentworth Higginson, in writing upon this period, said: "The tone of society in Washington had undoubtedly some of the coarse style which then prevailed in all countries. Men drank more heavily, wrangled more loudly and there was a good deal of what afterwards came to be known as 'plantation manners.' The mutual bearing of Congressmen was that of courtesy tempered by drunkenness and duelling." Upper Canada was not much different.

The Americans were right to complain about the impressment of seamen. Too frequently the search for deserters under the supervision of a petty officer resulted in the capture of American citizens. It is said that between 1797 and 1801 more than 2,000 applications for the release of American sailors were made through the American Minister in London. Only one-twentieth of the men seized

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were proved to be British subjects. In many cases proof was lacking but the men were taken nevertheless. If only one American citizen had been taken the Republic would have had a right to protest and even, at extremity, to fight. The complaint against the Orders-in-Council was less reasonable, especially considering the fact that they were passed in reprisal after Napoleon's Berlin Decrees. The passion to conquer Canada was mere covetousness, and frontier barbarism, although republican idealists thought that American methods of government were infinitely better than British colonial methods. The vote in the American House of Representatives on the question of declaring war was as follows:

	Yea	Nay
New Hampshire	3	2
Massachusetts	6	8
Rhode Island	0	2
Vermont	3	1
Connecticut	0	7
New York	3	11
New Jersey	2	4
Pennsylvania	16	2
Delaware	0	1
Maryland	6	3
Virginia	14	5
North Carolina	6	3
South Carolina	6	0
Georgia	3	0
Kentucky	5	0
Tennessee	3	0
Ohio	3	0
	<hr/> 79	<hr/> 49

The die was cast on June 18th, 1812. The Prince Regent, when he heard the news, gave out a statement which contained the following pungent sentence: "From their professed principles of freedom and independence, the United States was the last power in which Great Britain could have expected to find a willing instrument and abettor of French tyranny."

Brock called a special session of the Legislature for July 27th to pass such emergency measures as a state of war demanded. The final paragraph of his speech was as follows: "We are engaged in an awful and eventful contest. By unanimity and despatch in our councils and by vigor in our operations we may teach the enemy this lesson; that a country defended by free men, enthusiastically devoted to the cause of their King and constitution can never be conquered." There was neither unanimity nor despatch in the

councils and in disgust the administrator dismissed Parliament and prepared to put the country, if necessary, under martial law.

President Madison had no illusions concerning the effects of war. He maintained a bold front against the Orders-in-Council and impressment because that had been the policy of his predecessor and of his party, but probably he believed that England would yield because of pre-occupations in Europe. If so, he was disappointed. The respectable and learned lawyer found himself forced to declare war in order to retain the confidence of his party and put the Federalists in a wrong light before the people of the Republic. "The ablest men in his Cabinet," says Mr. T. W. Higginson, "Pickering and Gallatin, were originally opposed to the war." They knew that the merchants of Salem and Boston had goods worth \$20,000,000 either on the sea or in British ports and that the property would certainly not be yielded to the United States as a belligerent, or to the owners, nationals of that belligerent.

When war was declared there was only one regiment of British Regulars and seven companies of veterans in all Upper Canada, and no troops at all in the district between Kingston and Montreal. For four years there had been grave danger of trouble with the United States, yet in the two Provinces only about 4,000 effectives were found. One cause, of course, was the struggle in the Peninsula which was of primary importance, and yet one wonders if the Government of Upper Canada which fancied itself to be so uncommonly efficient, that any criticism was construed as a heinous libel, had done its whole duty. Of course, the militia was called out, but the strength "on paper" was considerably greater than the strength in the field. There were sixty-three flank companies of really first-rate men, three companies of artillery, and five troops of militia cavalry.

Lieutenant-Governor Gore went to England after the Session of 1811 and the administration was taken over by Sir Isaac Brock, commander of the forces in Canada since 1807. His speech at the opening of Parliament in 1812 contained the following spirited sentences:

feeling of envy and jealousy and at the same time to excite the inter-

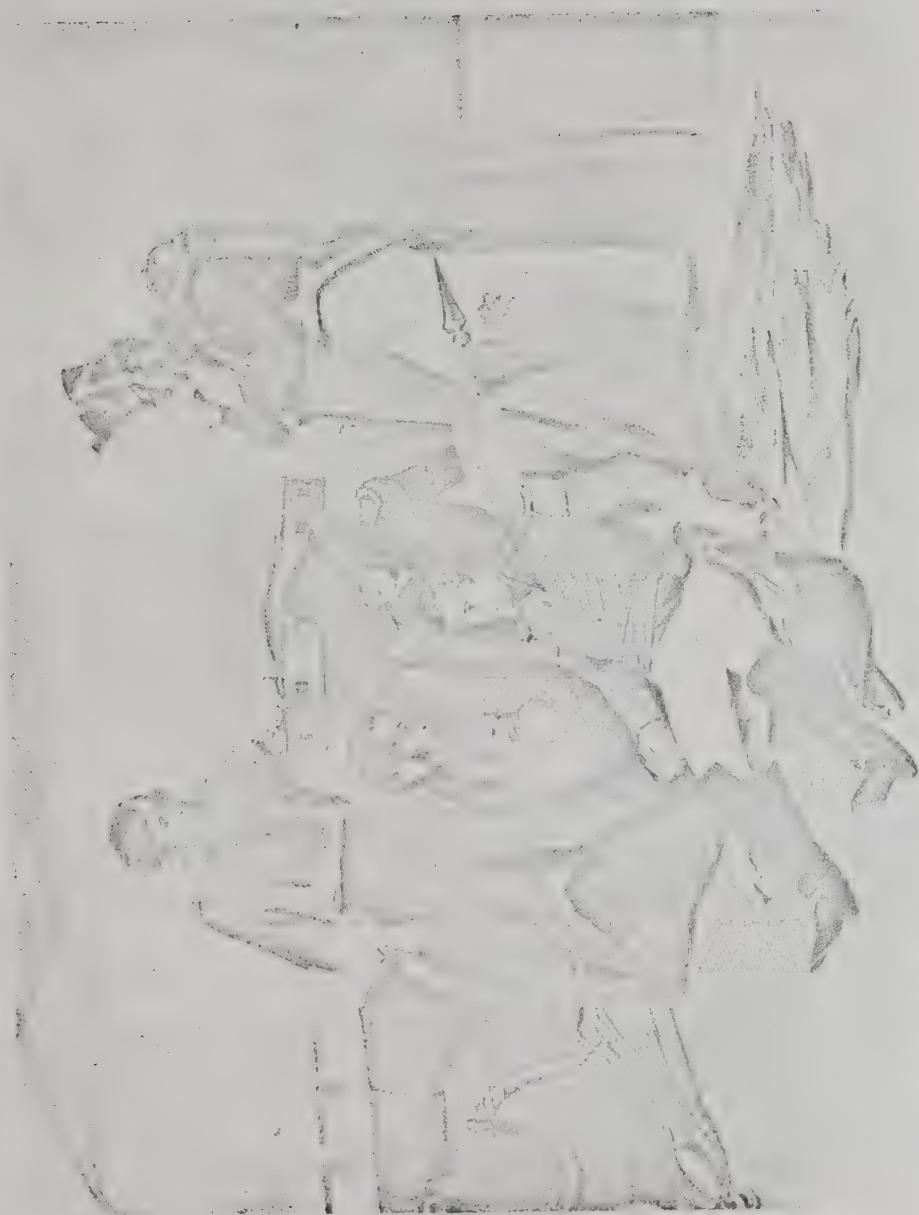
The glorious contest in which the British Empire is engaged, and the vast sacrifice which Great Britain nobly offers to secure the independence of the other nations, might be expected to stifle every

est and command the admiration of a free people; but regardless of such generous impressions, the American Government evinces a disposition calculated to impede and divide her efforts.

England is not only interdicted the harbors of the United States, while they afford shelter to the cruisers of her inveterate enemy, but she is likewise required to resign those maritime rights which she has so long exercised and enjoyed. Insulting threats are offered, and hostile preparations are actually commenced; and though not without hope that cool reflection and the dictates of justice may yet avert the calamities of war, I cannot, under every view of the relative situation of the Province, be too urgent in recommending to your early attention the adoption of such measures as will best secure the internal peace of the country and defeat every hostile aggression.

When war was declared an emergency Session was called, but internal politics and mutual jealousies prevented the suspension of *habeas corpus* and only £5,000 was granted for military purposes. The militia as a whole was not adequately trained, but in each regiment were groups of enthusiasts drilling six times a month, who formed the "flank companies." There were three regiments of York militia; the First, recruited in the upper part of the county, with a rifle company under Captain Peter Robinson, a troop of cavalry under Captain John Button, and a flank company under Captain Thomas Selby; the Second, recruited about Burlington Bay, and the Third, raised in the town of York and its environs, with flank companies under Captain Cameron and Captain Heward. William Graham was the commander of the 1st Yorks, and William Chewett was Lieutenant-Colonel commanding the 3rd Yorks. His chief officer was Major William Allan.

On August 5th, 1812, Brock called out the York militiamen and reviewed them on Garrison Common. He intimated that he was about to lead an expedition to Detroit to meet General Hull, who had invaded the Province, and he asked for one hundred volunteers. All the officers and more men than could be taken offered for service. Captain Heward was named to command the York contingent. The other officers were Lieutenant John Beverley Robinson, afterwards Chief Justice of Upper Canada, Lieutenant Jarvie, (not Jarvis) of Cameron's company, and Lieutenant Richardson, of Selby's company of the First Yorks. Captain Peter Robinson and his riflemen were anxious to go, but there was no transport for



DEATH OF GENERAL PIKE

them. The General, however, gave them permission to take the overland route—no common journey that, 250 miles through a dense forest, a succession of swamps, broken country and plentiful rivers.

The main expedition started from York on August 6th. Going first to Burlington Bay the General picked up one hundred men there, and then went overland to Port Dover, where another hundred militiamen joined. Six batteaux carried the whole "army" until a junction was formed with Captain Hatt's company sailing up from Fort Erie. A volunteer named William McCay, of Hatt's Company, kept a diary of the journey up Lake Erie, which was published by the "Toronto Globe" in 1911, and is cited by Major A. T. Hunter in his history of the 12th York Rangers:

August 9th, 1812.—Arose early and about sunrise were joined by General Brock and six boatloads of troops. . . . Had a fair wind till 1 o'clock, then rowed till night, when we landed at Kettle Creek, six miles below Port Talbot.

August 10th.—Wet and cold last night. Some of us lay in boats and some on the sand. Set off early, but wind blew so hard we were obliged to put into Port Talbot. Lay here all day.

August 11th.—Set off early with a fair wind, but it soon blew so hard that we had to land on the beach and draw up our boats, having come twelve or fifteen miles. Rain poured down incessantly. Some of our men discovered horse-tracks a few miles above us, which we supposed were American horsemen, for we were informed they came within a few miles of Port Talbot.

August 12th.—We set off before daylight and came on until breakfast time, when we stopped at Point (aux Pins) (now Rondeau), where we found plenty of sand cherries. They are just getting ripe, and very good. We continued our journey all night, which was very fatiguing, being so crowded in the boats we could not lie down.

August 13th.—We came to a settlement this morning, the first since we left Port Talbot. The inhabitants informed us the Americans had all retired to their own side of the river, also that there was a skirmish between our troops and them on their own side, that is, the American side, of the river. We made no stop, only to boil our pork, but kept on until two o'clock, when we lay on the beach until morning. Some of the boats, with the General, went on.

August 14th.—We landed at Fort Malden (Amherstburg) about 8 o'clock, very tired with rowing and our faces burned with the sun till the skin came off. . . . Our company was marched to the storehouse, where we took our baggage and dried it and cleaned our guns; were paraded at 11 o'clock, and all our arms and ammuni-

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tion that were damaged were replaced. We then rambled about the town until evening, when all the troops that were in Amherstburg were paraded on the commons. They were calculated at 800 or 900 men.

In later years Chief Justice Robinson said of this anabasis from York to Detroit "It would have required much more courage to refuse to follow General Brock than to go with him wherever he might lead. This body of men consisted of farmers, mechanics and gentlemen who before that time had not been accustomed to any exposure unusual with persons of the same description in other countries. They marched . . . and travelled in boats, nearly six hundred miles in going and returning, in the hottest part of the year, sleeping occasionally on the ground and frequently drenched with rain, but not a man was left behind in consequence." Brock said of the militiamen: "Their conduct throughout excited my admiration."

On June 26th General Brock had sent orders to Captain Roberts at St. Joseph to take Michilimackinac. The American fort surrendered on July 17th. General Hull, with 2,500 men, had landed at Sandwich on July 12th, issuing a magniloquent proclamation which still remains one of the humorous documents of history; it was serious enough at the moment. "If, contrary to your own interest and the just expectations of my country, you should take part in the approaching contest, you will be considered and treated as enemies and the horrors and calamities of war will stalk before you. If the barbarous and savage policy of Great Britain be pursued, and the savages let loose to murder our citizens and butcher our women and children, this war will be a war of extermination. The first stroke with the tomahawk, the first attempt with the scalping knife, will be the signal for one indiscriminate scene of desolation. No white man found fighting by the side of an Indian will be taken prisoner. Instant destruction will be his lot." Hannibal Chollop could not have been more severe.

A few settlers threw in their lot with the Americans, and two members of the Assembly, Willcocks and Marcle, cast their oath to the winds and crossed the Niagara frontier, but the majority of the people, even in the Essex peninsula, held firm to their allegiance. Hull's men had forged and ravaged from the Rivière Canard to Moraviantown, but a Job's post from Michilimackinac and the news

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of Brock's approach had sent the American General and his army back to Detroit on August 8th.

As long before as July 2nd, Lieutenant Rolette, a French Canadian naval officer, who had been with Nelson at the Nile and at Trafalgar, had captured an American schooner full of militiamen and discovered in the spoil Hull's official plan of campaign, which came into Brock's hands on his arrival at Amherstburg. A five-gun battery at Sandwich was opened on Fort Detroit on August 15th. That night the British force crossed the river and on the following day Hull surrendered at discretion without a fight. The whole army became prisoners of war and the Territory of Michigan was no longer American soil. Sir John Beverley Robinson wrote in after years a memorandum of his part in the event. "I was sent with a party of the York volunteers and an officer of the 41st Regiment with a party of his men, to take possession of the Fort, and substitute the British flag for the American. In being relieved from duty the next morning I had the pleasure of breakfasting with Sir Isaac Brock and with Tecumseh at an inn at Detroit.

For many years the Indians in the region to the north of the Ohio River had felt and resented the pressure of advancing white settlement. Lands which they had always regarded as their own were disposed of by State Governments without reference to their needs or their feelings, and when any tribe or individual Indian, under a sense of wrong, tried resistance, the vengeance of the frontiersmen was swift and complete. Tecumseh, a Shawanee chief, sought to establish an Indian confederation of tribes to make face against American encroachment, but at the moment when he believed the work complete, his brother, known as "The Prophet," with a small following of Indians, was beaten by General Harrison at Tippecanoe.

When war was declared between Great Britain and the United States Tecumseh came to the British and offered his services. He had with him only about thirty warriors, but the capture of Michilimackinac raised British prestige in the minds of the tribesmen, and soon the Chief was backed by several hundred warriors. Tecumseh was a man of uncommon mental powers, and a born soldier. He and Brock were friends after their first meeting. They entered Detroit together. They exerted their joint authority to prevent outrages upon the prisoners, and from the day General Hull surren-

dered until the Battle of Queenston, Brock wore over his tunic a sword-sash of Indian workmanship given to him by Tecumseh. The Chief was killed later at the Battle of Moraviantown, when Proctor's force was swept away by the mounted Kentuckians.

Lieutenant Robinson's share of the prize money by the capture of Hull's stores was £90. A few days after the surrender, the Lieutenant and the men of York sailed for Fort Erie in the King's ship *Queen Charlotte*, bearing General Hull, 12 other officers, 134 privates, 8 women and 4 children as prisoners of war. Most of the men were of the Fourth Regiment of United States Infantry. Peter Robinson's rifle company, which had been permitted to go to Detroit overland, arrived in ample time for the surrender, despite the difficulties of the journey. It was specially honored by returning as General Brock's guard in a sloop.

Among the papers of Sir John Beverley Robinson, preserved in the Ontario Archives, there is a partial list of the York volunteers who were present at the surrender of Detroit: The sergeants were Edward Thompson, Thomas Humberstone, John Ross, William Knott, and George Bond. The privates named are Andrew Hubbard, Abraham Stoner, Bernard Glennon, Cornelius Anderson, Charles McDonell, Calvin Davis, Charles Cold, Edward Wright, George Carey, George Moore, John McIntosh, John Wells, Joseph Lecomte, John Stoner, Robert Wells, Samuel Sinclair, Thomas Johnson, Thomas Adams, William Moore, William Meyers, Peter Pilkey, Cornelius Plummerfelt, Andrew Thompson, Richard Thompson, Thomas Simpson, Simcoe Wright,* Isaac White, John Cawthra, John Matthews, Peter Stoner, Andrew Kennedy, Robert Bright.

The York Volunteers in this first campaign of the war had won the high commendation of the commander-in-chief, and doubtless, also the warm approval of their fellow-citizens. They were at home only a few days when the detachment was considerably augmented and was sent to the Niagara frontier under Captain Duncan Cameron, as senior officer commanding Captain Heward and Captain Selby from East Gwillimbury. The subalterns included J. B. Robinson, McLean (afterwards a Chief Justice), G. Ridout, S. P. Jarvis and Stanton. They were stationed at Brown's Point between Niagara-on-the-Lake and Queenston, and had charge of two bat-

*Simcoe Wright was the first white child born in York, as has been mentioned before.

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teries of artillery, the men being drilled in the use of the guns by a bombardier of the Royal Artillery.

So the autumn slipped by until the night of October 12th, when General Van Rensselaer began sending troops across the river to seize Queenston Heights and cut the small British force in two. The vanguard of the American army was nearly 700 strong, and was composed of picked men. Another 700, mostly regulars, formed the first reserve, and the remainder, 4,000 militiamen, stood ready to follow. The total available British force in Queenston consisted of 300 regulars of the 49th regiment. At Chippawa, nine miles away, were 150 men. At Brown's Point and Fort George, about 300 more were fit for service.

The American landing was resisted and a considerable number of men were killed, but Captain Wool succeeded in gaining a footing on a fisherman's path which wound up southward to the top of the cliff. Thus he was enabled to gain the heights without the knowledge of the British. There was a battery of twenty-four guns on the Lewiston side, engaging the single British eighteen-pounder half way up the heights. The sound of the cannonade brought Brock and his aides from Fort George and the York volunteers from Brown's Point. The General at full gallop passed the militiamen on the march.

Arrived at Queenston, Brock immediately mounted the hill to see how the gunners were getting on. He had scarcely reached the artillery-post when Wool's men came streaming over the crest. "Spike the gun and follow me," he cried. In a few moments the British were at the bottom of the hill and Wool had the gun. Immediately Brock collected 100 men and directed a charge which overran the artillery-position and pressed the Americans back. Just as success seemed certain an American rifleman stepped from behind a tree only thirty yards away and shot the General dead. The British retired bearing the body of their thrice-gallant leader to the shelter of a house in Queenston.

D'Arcy Boulton, the acting Attorney-General of Upper Canada, had gone to Europe in 1810, but did not reach the destination he intended. He hoped to land in England, but was taken prisoner by a French privateer and found himself in the fortress of Verdun, where he remained for four years. During his absence the work of his office was performed by John Macdonell, who had been ap-

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pointed by the Executive Council, subject to confirmation by the Home authorities. Macdonell was ardent in militia affairs and had been selected by General Brock as his personal aide-de-camp.

When the York militiamen arrived at Queenston they were assembled, in company with some regulars of the 49th Regiment, and Lieutenant-Colonel Macdonell led them in a charge up the hill. Again the gun was re-captured, but at the moment of success Macdonell was killed and the British force retreated. On the day of his death, word was received from London that his appointment as Acting Attorney-General had been confirmed.

Since it was now clearly apparent that the main branch of the Americans was on Queenston, General Sheaffe, commanding at Fort George, brought every available man with him, seized the Heights two miles from the river, made a junction with the 150 men from Chippawa and then, with a cloud of Indians on his right flank, marched due west along the escarpment towards the American position. At that moment the Americans discovered that they had a serious battle to fight. The inexperienced militia on the Lewiston side found constitutional objections to the crossing of the river. The boatmen, mostly civilians, deserted their posts, and the men on the Heights suddenly realized that they were in a desperate position. The Americans left became entangled in the woods. Confusion and indecision appeared, which the intelligence and gallantry of General Winfield Scott were powerless to correct. Sheaffe came on with the bayonet, the York militia with the light company of the 49th in the centre. There was one scattering fusilade from the Americans. Then they broke and fled, some to pitch headlong over the cliff, some to climb down and attempt to swim the river, the rest to cluster at the verge of the precipice and surrender at discretion. The American loss was about 100 killed, 200 wounded and nearly 1,000 taken prisoner. The British casualties were 150 in all, but Brock, incomparable as a leader, was dead. Major Allan and a guard of York militia convoyed the prisoners across the lake to York on the first stage of their journey to Quebec, and by the middle of December all the survivors of the Queenston fight were back at home.

Rev. Dr. Stuart, the Minister at Kingston, died early in 1812, and was succeeded by his son, Rev. George Okill Stuart, who had been serving in York. The vacancy was filled by the appointment

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of Rev. John Strachan, who had made a reputation in Cornwall as a teacher, a preacher and a resolute leader. He had been honored the year before by the University of Aberdeen with the degree of Doctor of Divinity.

On November 22nd, at the instance of Dr. Strachan, a group of gentlemen met in the church at York to subscribe towards the purchase of comforts for the militia. About £150 was secured and on the recommendation of Lieutenant Peter Robinson two flannel shirts and a pair of stockings were provided for every man of the York Company. War had been in progress for five months before the people fully realized the debt they owed to the fighting men. Then a public meeting was called in York to establish the first Canadian "Patriotic Society," to afford aid and relief to such families of the militia as shall appear to experience particular distress in consequence of the death or absence of their friends or relations employed in the militia service for the defence of the Province; to afford like aid and relief to such militiamen as have been or shall be disabled from labor by wounds or otherwise in course of the service aforesaid; to reward merit, excite emulation and commemorate glorious exploits by bestowing medals or other honorary marks of public approbation and distinction for extraordinary instances of personal courage and fidelity in defence of the Province by individuals either of His Majesty's Regular or Militia forces.

In the appeal which was made to the general public of London, Chief Justice Thomas Scott said of the Upper Canada militia: "Many, though exempted by age from military duty, scorn to claim the privilege, and it is not uncommon to see men of seventy leaving their homes and demanding arms to meet the enemy on the lines. Others too feeble to bear arms themselves are seen leading their sons to the military posts, and so strong is the spirit of patriotism among the people that it infects the greater number of those who have recently come to settle in the Province from the United States, and makes them efficient soldiers."

After a year of warfare the belligerents discovered an elementary fact—that land fighting in Upper Canada was useless without control of the Lakes. All useful communications were by water, since the roads were mainly bottomless quagmires, and the garrisons of outposts were dependent even for their daily bread and pork upon the success of some captain in tacking through. Sir

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James Lucas Yeo commanded the naval force on Lake Ontario and Commodore Isaac Chauncey was the American leader. The respective bases were Kingston and Sackett's Harbor. The forces were small, mainly composed of converted trade-schooners. But both sides established ship-yards and built competitively with green timber. Chauncey's fleet is described by Mr. C. H. J. Snider as follows: "In the Wake of the Eighteen-Twelves."

He had that old waggon the *Oneida* a brig that crawled like a tortoise going free, and slid sideways like a crab when she tried to beat to wind'ard. But she had sixteen twenty-four pounders and that made her a tough nut to crack. She was better at fighting than running away and that suited Melancthon T. Woolsey, of Sackett's Harbor, the lieutenant who commanded her, to a knockdown. Chauncey built a twenty-four gun ship the *President Madison* in fifty-eight days from the day the timber was felled in the bush. Later on he built another fire ship-rigged corvette, the *General Pike*, and a smart schooner, called the *Sylph*. And he had a whole menagerie of little fore-'n-afters of stonehooker size, from a hundred tons down. They were coasters bought up when the war broke out and loaded with deck-jags of cannon. They were slow as molasses and tippy as soda-water bottles. All they were good for was long-range work in smooth water. Then they were terrors. The guns they carried were all long-uns, twice as powerful as the caronades our fleet had, meant for nigh-hand broadside work. In light weather, at long range, those schooners lived up to their names—*Scourge*, *Asp*, *Pert*, *Growler* and *Conquest*. In a sailing breeze they were as harmless as might be expected of *Ontario*, *Julia*, *Hamilton*, *Fair American*, *Governor Tomkins* or *Lady of the Lake*. All told, Chauncey had fifteen vessels that summer.

Yeo had only eight at the most. There was the *Wolfe*, not quite as big as either the *Pike* or the *Madison*; and the *Royal George*, ship-rigged like the *Wolfe*, but smaller. Then there were the brigs, the old *Earl of Moira* and the *Lord Melville*—about half the size of the two ships; and the schooners, *Sir Sydney Smith*, *Beresford*, *Simcoe* and *Seneca*, none of them much bigger than the larger Bay of Quinte traders today. The last two were kept for transport duty or harbor work.

The story of the lake warfare of that summer is spirited and romantic. Chauncey had been commissioned in September, 1812, and had used the winter to good purpose. Yeo, did not arrive at Kingston until May 7th, 1813, and found the situation anything but comforting. There had been a lack, on the northern side of the

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Lake, of co-ordinating intelligence. General Sir Roger Sheaffe, who had succeeded Sir Isaac Brock as commander of the forces and acting lieutenant-governor was a better fighter than an organizer. He and Governor Prévost permitted the establishment of a shipbuilding yard at York as well as at Kingston. Thus supplies of all sorts which should have been concentrated at an arsenal behind heavy batteries were "all over the place" and invited raiders. On the ways at York was a thirty-gun frigate half-planked. Beside her in the frozen mud of the dockyard lay the guns of her prospective armament. Chauncey wanted that frigate. Therefore the moment the ice went out of Sackett's Harbor he brought out his fleet, and sailed westward, bearing besides his seamen an army of two thousand men under General Dearborn and General Zebulon Pike, the discoverer, six years before, of Pike's Peak in Colorado.

On the morning of April 27, 1813, in a light east wind the fleet hove to just outside the present Western Gap and began to shell the garrison, while boatloads of men made for the shore. Forty Indians and a few militiamen under Colonel Givens disputed the landing but the Americans got ashore at the site of the old French Fort. Their riflemen scattered into the near-by woods in chase of the Indians, killed a chief who had climbed into a tree and secured the flank of the infantry now forming on the shore. Not half-a-dozen effective guns were found on the whole place. The Western Battery, half a mile west of the garrison, was armed with two old eighteen-pounders, without trunnions, which had been clamped to pine logs. Two companies of the 8th Regiment, three companies of militia, a few men of the 49th, of the Royal Artillery, and some of the Royal Newfoundland Fencibles formed the garrison, not over 700 strong. The progress of the Americans was opposed from point to point, with severe loss to the defenders until the garrison had to be yielded. General Sheaffe had laid a fuse for the destruction of the 500 barrels of gunpowder and the explosion killed over 200 Americans. Previously forty British soldiers had been killed by the explosion of an ammunition truck. With the remainder of the regular forces Sheaffe marched through the town and eastward along the road to Kingston, first setting the frigate and dockyard on fire, and leaving the militia to deal with the invaders, who were in no gentle temper.

Among those who were in York when the Americans came, was

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a young Irish boy who had lately come to the town with his parents and was living at the garrison. In later years he wrote a curious little book entitled "Journal of a Voyage to Quebec in the year 1825, with Recollections of Canada during the late American war in the years 1812-13. By P. Finan." Newry was the place of publication. "Printed by Alexander Peacock. Telegraph Office. 1828." Some extracts from the book, which may be found in the Legislative Library here, follow:

On the 25th of April the Grenadier Company of the 8th Regiment arrived in batteaux from Kingston on their way up the country. They were allowed to remain during the 26th to refresh themselves after the long journey, and were to have proceeded on the 27th. We returned to the garrison (from the town) on the evening of the 26th. When we arrived all was bustle and activity. The American fleet had appeared off the harbor, and from its manoeuvres it was supposed that York was the place of its destination. The troops were under arms . . . but little apprehension was entertained for the safety of the place, which was rather surprising, since the whole amount of the regular forces including the grenadiers of the 8th Regiment did not exceed 300; the militia, etc., composing a few hundred more. Early in the morning of the 27th the enemy's fleet appeared steering directly for the harbor. . . . The morning was very fine, the lake quite calm, and the fleet had an elegant and imposing appearance.

After speaking in general terms concerning the landing, Finan continues: "The Grenadiers consisted of 119 as fine men as the British army could produce, commanded by the brave and elegant Captain McNeile. . . . I saw him and the most of his little band return no more. Thirty alone escaped the havoc of the day." Finan's description of the first, and the accidental explosion has special importance:

While part of our force was contending with the enemy in the woods an unfortunate accident occurred at the battery opposed to the fleet, which proved a death blow to the little hope that might have been entertained of a successful issue to the proceedings of the day. A gun was aimed at one of the vessels, and the officers desirous of seeing if the ball would take effect ascended the bastion. In the meantime the artillery man waiting for the word of command to fire, held the match behind him as is usual under such circumstances. The traveling magazine, a large wooden chest containing cartridges for the great guns being open just at his back,



MAJ.-GEN. ROGER HALE SHEAFFE

he unfortunately put the match into it. . . . Everyone in the battery was blown into the air, and the dissection of the greater part of their bodies was inconceivably shocking. The officers were thrown from the bastion by the shock but escaped with a few bruises; the cannons were dismounted and consequently the battery was rendered completely useless.

Since the American vessels were firing on the garrison, the women and children were sent away to a place of safety. Finan and his mother were in the woods at the house of a militia officer, but the boy slipped away to see the progress of the battle. As he approached the clearing he felt the earth tremble. Then followed the noise of the second explosion, when a "cloud like a vast balloon rose into the air." Finan declares that he saw the flag pulled down at the Fort and the American flag substituted by a sergeant who had deserted from the British army.

There is a letter of Sheaffe's written from Haldimand, April 30th, 1813, to the Governor-General of Canada corroborating Finan's account of the accidental explosion and referring to the heavy loss of "Captain W. Neale" and the grenadiers of the 8th Regiment. It ends with the following sentence: "I caused the grand magazine to be blown up, and have reason to believe that the new ship and naval stores were destroyed."

By this explosion 52 Americans were killed and 180 wounded. The flag pulled down, and the mace were carried away and may be seen today in the American Naval Academy at Annapolis.

They thought that the explosion of the magazine was a meditated bit of treachery, since the fight was practically over. Only the vanguard of the American force had reached the vicinity of the Fort when the explosion occurred. Among those mortally wounded was General Pike. He was taken aboard the flagship *President Madison* and died on her quarter deck in the presence of Commodore Chauncey.

The casualties of the British regulars were 62 killed, 35 wounded left on the field, 41 wounded and taken prisoner, 10 unwounded and taken prisoner, and 7 missing, a total of 155 off a strength of fewer than 700. Details of these casualties are given herewith, from the official report preserved in the Dominion Archives. Apparently no record of the militia casualties is available. Assuming that the percentage was considerably lower than

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among the regulars, perhaps 50 would not be an unreasonable estimate. That is to say, the total losses were probably about 200.

The commissioners who surrendered the town were Colonel Chewett and Major Allan of the militia, and Lieutenant Gauvreau of the Provincial Marine. The American officers accepting the capitulation were, Colonel Mitchell, Major Connor, Major King and Lieutenant Elliott. Ratification of the surrender was delayed by the Americans, and Rev. Dr. Strachan sought General Dearborn to make protest. He was not well received, whereupon he turned to Commodore Chauncey and said: "A new mode, this, sir, of treating people clothed in public character. I have had the honor of transacting business with greater men without meeting with any indignity. It is easy to see through these miserable subterfuges for delaying the ratification of the capitulation. Perhaps the General, after allowing his troops to pillage the town, may be induced, forsooth, to ratify terms, so that when he returns home in triumph he may have it in his power to say he 'respected private property.' We have been grossly deceived already, sir, but we shall not be duped and insulted. If the conditions are not complied with immediately there shall be no capitulation. We will not accept it. You may do your worst, but you shall not have it in your power to say, after robbing us, that you respected our property."

The protest was effectual. General Dearborn ratified the articles of capitulation, paroled the militia and allowed the sick and wounded to be removed. Meanwhile the Parliament buildings had been burned and some private houses had been looted, not by official orders, but by the act of soldiers who had got out of hand. Two years afterward, when ex-President Jefferson made a complaint against the "brutality" of the British in burning the White House at Washington, Dr. Strachan wrote an elaborate open letter to Jefferson, in which the following sentences occur:

In April, 1813, the public buildings at York, the capital of Upper Canada, were burnt by the troops of the United States, contrary to the articles of capitulation. They consisted of two elegant halls with convenient offices for the accommodation of the Legislature and the Courts of Justice. The library and all the papers and records of these institutions were consumed. At the same time the church was robbed, and the Town Library totally pillaged. Commodore Chauncey, who has generally behaved honorably, was so

ashamed of this last transaction that he endeavored to collect the books belonging to the Public Library and actually sent back two boxes filled with them, but hardly any were complete. Much private property was plundered, and several houses left in a state of ruin. Can you tell me, sir, the reason why the public buildings and library of Washington should be held more sacred than those at York? A false and ridiculous story is told of a scalp having been found above the Speaker's chair intended as an ornament."

General Dearborn in his report to the Secretary of War wrote: "A scalp was found in the Executive and Legislative Chamber, suspended near the Speaker's chair, in company with the mace and other emblems of royalty. I intend sending it to you, with a correct account of the facts relative to the place and situation in which it was found." There is no further account by the General, and clearly Dr. Strachan treated the tale as a mere invention. Robert Gourlay declared on the authority of a member of the House, that before the war a scalp had been sent in a letter by an army officer to the clerk of the House as a curiosity. The clerk put it in a drawer out of sight, being not a little disgusted with the taste of his friend. Probably some of the plunderers found the savage trophy and cited the discovery as justification for the burning of the place.

Colonel Simcoe, before leaving England for Upper Canada, wrote a letter to his friend Sir Joseph Banks giving in detail some of his plans of administration. He said that in the opinion of the Marquis of B——, public money ought to be laid out for a collection of books that might be useful to the Colony. This evidently was the Marquis of Buckingham, Lord Lieutenant of Ireland.

In that letter reference was made to the need for an encyclopædia and a work or two on botany and natural science. Two years later three cases of books were shipped to the Lieutenant-Governor at Navy Hall, Newark. It is believed that these formed the nucleus for the Parliamentary Library which the Americans disorganized. Dr. Scadding gives a list of titles. It will be observed that the Encyclopædia is included: Encyclopædia, 35 volumes; D'Anville's Atlas; Johnson's Dictionary, two volumes, folio; Universal History, sixty volumes; Receipts Public Accounts, three volumes; Cook's Last Voyages, four volumes; Palladio's Voyage to New South Wales, five volumes; Hanbury on Planting

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and Gardening, two volumes; Rutherford's Natural Philosophy, two volumes; Postlethwaite on The Deity, two volumes; Anderson on Commerce, six volumes; Campbell's Political Survey, two volumes; Guthrie's Geography, six volumes; Bomare's Dictionnaire et Historie Naturelle, six volumes; Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, four volumes; Cary's English Atlas; Husbandry of the Midland, York and Norfolk Counties, six volumes, a total of 143 volumes of solid literary roast beef and suet pudding.

General Sheaffe, in a letter to Lord Bathurst on May 12th, regretted that the money in the Provincial Treasury had fallen into the enemy's hands when he obtained possession of York. The amount was £2,000. Other authorities declare that the iron chest of the Receiver-General contained only one thousand silver dollars, and a quantity of "army bills," a paper money, bearing interest, which stood at par all through the war, but which was of little use to the Americans. Prideaux Selby, the Receiver-General, was lying unconscious, on the verge of death, and no information could be secured from him as to the gold reserve in his care. His clerk, William Roe, had gone out to Kingston Road and buried it. The Americans got wind of this expedition and made a search, but found only £2,500 in army bills. After the invaders had departed, Roe produced the treasure, three bars of gold, handed it over to the Government officials in Dr. Strachan's little parlor and took a receipt.

On March 14th, 1814, the Assembly passed an address to the Lieutenant-Governor, Sir Gordon Drummond, which contained this paragraph: "In examining the general account of the Receiver-General we observe he has taken credit for the sum of £2,144 11s. 4d., paid to the Enemy to prevent the Town of York from being burnt. It appears to us, may it please your Honor, that as proper measures had been taken for its security previous to the capitulation, and as no stipulation was made as to its being delivered up, that a private contribution should not become a public charge against the Revenues of this Province. But admitting, may it please your Honor, that it was a correct charge, we apprehend a part, at least, of the amount must have been a Crown Revenue, and that the whole should not be sustained by us."

After Sheaffe's evacuation of York, General de Rottenburg, his senior officer, came to Upper Canada and took over the administration on June 18th, 1813.

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While York was enduring the unpleasantness of an enemy invasion, the British force based on Amherstburg was preparing to attack Fort Meigs on the south side of Lake Erie. A failure here in May and at Fort Stephenson in August put General Procter on the defensive. After the fleet action between Commander Barclay and Commodore Perry, a stern gamble on Barclay's part for the control of the Lake, since the British were short of provisions, and were overweighted in both ships and guns, Procter had to evacuate western Ontario. His army was pursued by the Americans and destroyed at Moraviantown. Yeo on Lake Ontario prevented the swamping of Upper Canada. Chauncey and Dearborn withdrew from York on May 8th, and after a run back to Sackett's Harbor appeared at Niagara on May 27th. Vincent, the British officer in command, had 1,000 regulars and 400 militia. The American force consisted of 3,000 men and was landed at Mississauga Point under the excellent gunnery of the American fleet. Vincent fought as long as it was safe to do so and then withdrew towards Burlington Bay, leaving Fort George to the invaders.

Meanwhile Sir James Yeo with a landing force of 750 men under Colonel Baynes made a try at Sackett's Harbor and failed, owing to the vacillation of Governor Prévost and Baynes. Just when the fight had a promising appearance, a retreat was ordered. Angry and disappointed, Yeo took his little fleet up the Lake before Chauncey's return to his base, and arrived at Burlington on June 5th in time to harry the retreat of the American army, thrown into confusion by Vincent and his chief aide, Colonel Harvey, at Stoney Creek.

The strange action at Beaver Dams followed almost immediately. The British right advance-post at this point was held by Lieutenant James Fitz Gibbon with a handful of soldiers and about two hundred Indian scouts under a son of Chief Joseph Brant. The scouts annoyed the Americans so much that six hundred picked men under Colonel Boerstler were ordered to rush Fitz Gibbon's post and clear out the Indians. Laura Secord, the wife of a Niagara settler and militiaman, wounded at Queenston Heights, overheard two Americans talking of the surprise in store next day for the British at Beaver Dams. It was the evening of August 23rd, 1813, and she was on her way to milk the cows. At dawn she set out for the British lines, twenty miles distant. Through the forest she

took her way avoiding well-trodden paths and guiding herself by the sure instinct of the pioneer. The woods had been drenched by a heavy summer rain, and the heat was intense. Despite toil and discomfort the heroine pressed on until the Indian advance sentries found her and brought her to the officer in command. Her story confirmed information Fitz Gibbon had already received from his scouts and he was able to make his dispositions in certainty.

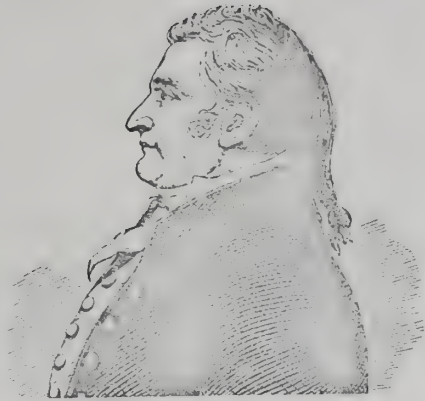
Boerstler's force was harried by invisible foes from the beginning of the march. When it came into touch with Fitz Gibbon, the Americans were outwitted by a stratagem. The Irish lieutenant allowed the enemy to see all of his thirty-four men in their red coats. Then, plunging under cover, the men turned their tunics inside out, put them on and showed themselves again. As the lining was a dark green cloth, the Americans imagined that a corps of riflemen or rangers was before them. Another change, and the red coats appeared in still another position. Harassed by the Indian attack, and imagining that Fitz Gibbon was in force, the entire American column surrendered. Not a shot had been fired by the British soldiers.

Vincent's force remained active and alert, surprising the American post at the Falls, Fort Schlosser, on July 5th, and driving the enemy to a concentrated position under the guns of Fort George on August 24th. Chauncey learned in July that Colonel Battersby, of York, had brought two field guns and a quantity of ammunition to Vincent. Therefore he returned to Toronto Bay, landed men under Colonel Scott, burned the barracks and carried away all the munitions he could find.

During the whole of August the hostile fleets were manoeuvring up and down Lake Ontario, Yeo trying to engage the enemy in a heavy gale when his rolling schooners would be useless, and Chauncey seeking to catch the British force in light weather. He would have been in York again on September 28th to fill his flour bins, had not Yeo been waiting for him in Humber Bay, not far from the mouth of the river. There was a running fight in a moderate easterly breeze which caused great damage both to the *Wolfe* and the *Pike*, but was not decisive. Then Yeo steered for Burlington hoping to bring the Americans on a lee shore. He himself drove his fleet through the shallow gap into Burlington Bay, scraping the sandbar to do so, and knowing that Chauncey could not risk his



ZEBULON MONTGOMERY PIKE.



HENRY DEARBORN.



YORK IN 1813, FROM THE BLOCK HOUSE EAST OF THE DON.



ISAAC CHAUNCEY.



JAMES LUCAS YEO.

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larger craft by following. The American clawed off and tacked down the Lake to Niagara, believing that his enemy had been safely imprisoned for the rest of the season.

Going in over a sandbar with a favorable wind was one thing. Getting out was another. But with the full moon of October came an easterly breeze that deepened the water on the bar. Then the anchors were carried out into the lake by small boats and the ships pulled themselves across the sand by manning the capstans. Yeo sent a small flotilla of transports to engage the attention of Chauncey, and thus was able to reach Kingston to refit. The naval commanders on Lake Ontario had fought a six-months' draw.

In December the position of the Americans on the Canadian side of the Niagara River had grown precarious, and McClure, the American commander, determined to evacuate Fort George. On December 10th he committed an act of wanton brutality by burning the village of Newark, rendering four hundred women and children homeless in the cold. The American Government disowned the act, but it had been done. General Sir Gordon Drummond, the newly-appointed administrator of Upper Canada, authorized an immediate attack upon Fort Niagara under the command of Colonel Murray. The fortress was taken by combined surprise and assault on the night of December 18th after a particularly resolute and gallant action. Then the whole Niagara frontier on the American side was swept clear of enemy troops and in reprisal the villages of Lewiston, Youngstown and Buffalo were burned.

General Drummond reported to Prévost the capture at Niagara of 27 pieces of ordnance, 3,000 stand of arms, a number of rifles, ammunition, blankets, clothing, several thousand pairs of shoes, 14 officers and 330 men. In the assault 65 Americans were killed and 12 wounded. To celebrate the capture of Fort Niagara the gentlemen of York gave a ball "to the ladies and strangers" of the town on the evening of December 19th, 1813.

In an address to the Prince Regent, passed by the Assembly on March 14th, 1814, the following paragraph recounted the services of the militia:

When it is considered, may it please Your Royal Highness, that the whole male population of Upper Canada able to bear arms does not exceed ten thousand men, and is scattered over a frontier of at least eight hundred miles in extent; when it is considered that

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nearly one-half of these were embodied for the whole of the first, and a very considerable proportion for the greatest part of the last campaign, and that they composed the principal part of the force which successively captured the forces of Michilimackinac and the army of General Hull, which carried by assault the batteries at Ogdensburgh, which fought and gained the battles of Queenston, River Raisin and Fort Meigs, and which repulsed the enemy under General Smith near Fort Erie; when it is known that in the disastrous affair near Fort George on the twenty-seventh of May last, they were warmly engaged with the enemy and actually suffered as severely as His Majesty's regular forces; when it is known that the greatest part of the transportation and provisioning of the forces in Upper Canada fell upon them, and that in such parts as have been visited by the enemy their properties have been plundered and destroyed, and themselves as prisoners carried away; when it is known that the whole efforts of the enemy during the last two campaigns have been directed towards the subjugation of Upper Canada, and that it is yet unsubdued, we think, may it please Your Royal Highness, it will be admitted that the Militia of this Province have faithfully performed their duty; that their services have very largely contributed to the security of this portion of His Majesty's Dominions, and that it was the duty of the representative of Our Sovereign to have laid before Your Royal Highness a faithful account of our services and our sufferings. It cannot have been represented to Your Royal Highness. Nevertheless, such is the fact that many of our militiamen have fallen by the sword of the enemy; many have been disabled, and a large proportion of them have died from diseases contracted while in the field, and from being destitute of every comfort, our population has decreased. Our properties have been destroyed and hundreds are reduced to beggary and want without even the consolation of knowing that their exertions, their fidelity and their sufferings have been represented to their Government and to their Country, for the maintenance of whose rights they made such sacrifices and such exertions, and to whose favorable notice they look forward as their greatest reward. In thus humbly representing to Your Royal Highness the situation of our constituents, we have performed a duty imperiously required of us.

On May 10th, 1813, the following militia corps were in service: 1st York, Lieut.-Col. Graham; 2nd York, (the Burlington Regiment), Col. Beasley; 3rd York, Lieut.-Col. Chewett; 1st Glengarry, Lieut.-Col. McMillan; 2nd Glengarry, Lieut.-Col. Macdonell; 1st Prescott; 1st Grenville, Col. William Fraser; 2nd Grenville, Lieut.-Col. Bunit; 1st Dundas, Lieut.-Col. Thos. Fraser; 1st Leeds, Lieut.-Col. Sherwood; 2nd Leeds, Col. Stone; 1st Frontenac, Hon. Col.

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Cartwright; 1st Addington, Col. William Johnston; 1st Prince Edward, Col. Archibald Macdonell; 1st Lennox, Major Crawford; 1st Hastings, Col. Ferguson; 1st Northumberland, Lieut.-Col. Peters; 1st Durham, Lieut.-Col. Baldwin; 1st Lincoln, Hon. Col. Claus; 2nd Lincoln, Lieut.-Col. Clark; 3rd Lincoln, Lieut.-Col. Warren; 4th Lincoln, Major Tenbroeck; 5th Lincoln, Lieut.-Col. Bradt; 1st Norfolk, Lieut.-Col. Ryerson; 2nd Norfolk, Lieut.-Col. Nichol; 1st Oxford, Lieut.-Col. Bostwick; 1st Kent, Hon. Col. Baby; 1st Essex, Col. Elliott; 2nd Essex, Lieut.-Col. Baptiste Baby; 1st Middlesex, Col. Talbot. While on paper this force would be equal to 30,000 men, there were never more than 10,000 militiamen on duty at any one time, but clearly every community leader, from the members of the Executive Council down, was in active service. Some years afterwards it was said that the entire High Court Bench of Upper Canada had had battle-experience and two of the Judges bore scars of the conflict.

General Drummond, in a letter to Lord Bathurst on July 10th, 1814, said that the capture of the British squadron on Lake Erie and the defeat of Procter at Moraviantown, had led the disaffected in the District of London, under a notorious partizan-leader of the enemy, to commit depredations on private property, and carry off the loyal inhabitants, their chief object being to disorganize the militia by seizing the officers and sending them into captivity. A small band of loyal militia of the district organized, and were able to defeat the marauders, capturing seventy of them. Of these, seventeen were tried for high treason, fifteen were convicted and sentenced to be executed on July 20th. On the recommendation of the Chief Justice, and the Acting Attorney-General, John Beverley Robinson, clemency was extended to seven of the least guilty, who were banished from the country. The rest were executed.

That portion of the campaign of 1814 related specifically to York began with the concentration of some 5,000 American troops at Buffalo under General Brown and the capture of Fort Erie on July 3rd. General Drummond, holding a reserve of 1,000 men at York, established with some 3,500 men, a fighting line from Burlington to Niagara. The invader had the advantage of the initiative, and obviously his *rôle* was to strike swiftly and in full force, before Drummond could gather up the skirts of his extended line.

On the day following the capture of Fort Erie, Brown moved

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northward and Drummond ordered an advance of 2,000 men under General Riall, his second in command. The armies met at Chippawa on July 5th. At the first British charge the American militia broke and were dispersed, but the American regulars were made in a sterner mould and were admirably handled by General Winfield Scott and General Ripley. The British were outflanked and beaten, losing one-quarter of their force. Gradually during the next two weeks the defenders were pressed back. Brown had hoped for the co-operation of Chauncey in an attack upon Fort Niagara and Fort George, but the Commodore, realizing that Yeo was his "main job," and perhaps resenting the suggestion that he should serve as Brown's subordinate, declined to assist.

Brown therefore resolved to strike across country from Chippawa to Burlington and cut the British line. He set out in strength on the morning of July 25th, and almost immediately found himself in touch with the British, who concentrated at Lundy's Lane, seizing a slight hillock as a post for seven field guns. Here was the most desperate battle of the war. It began at six o'clock on the evening of July 25th. There were 4,000 Americans against 3,000 British, but considering the inexperience of the American militia, the armies were equally matched. For six hours the conflict raged about that gun position. Again, and yet again, the Americans gained the hill, only to be driven back by a bayonet charge. The regulars of the enemy fought with magnificent tenacity. The British forces, well-drilled, resolute and admirably led, met every assault with iron steadiness. Each side had heavy losses, the British proportionately greater than the American, but neither could establish a clear supremacy. At length the American force retired to Chippawa and the British slept on the position they had held so steadily.

The exhausting fight at Lundy's Lane kept both armies quiescent for some three weeks. Then on August 15th Drummond tried to capture Fort Erie by assault, but was repulsed with heavy loss. A counter-attack by the Americans in mid-September was successfully resisted, though at heavy cost, but the enemy's forces were strengthening and Drummond was pressed back by General Izard, who now had with him about 3,000 men. The British lay at Chippawa but they had the moral backing of Yeo's fleet, now anchored at the mouth of the river. Izard could have driven the British back to Niagara, but he would have been putting his head into a hornet's

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nest. He attempted a flank movement by the capture of Cook's Mills, twelve miles inland, but the place was too hot to hold.

General Drummond, in reporting the retreat of the enemy from Cook's Mills, wrote on October 20th, 1814, that the American commander (Bissell) seemed very cautious about burning and plundering, "probably admonished by the retaliation at Washington and on the sea-coast."

With this reverse General Izard abandoned the invasion, blew up the fortifications at Fort Erie on November 5th, and went into winter quarters. So far as the harried Niagara frontier was concerned the war was over. The survivors of the weary York militia could go home and make preparations to turn those qualities of resolution, energy and ardent loyalty, which war had revealed as their precious possession, to the building of a great British-Canadian city and Province.

As to the Loyal and Patriotic Society of York the money subscribed was very carefully distributed. At first only those in really destitute circumstances were relieved by weekly doles, but as the fund grew it became possible to recoup some of the settlers whose houses and personal property had been destroyed by raiders. On at least four occasions war had been made against unarmed civilians: at Niagara, when General McClure, of the New York State militia, burned the village; at St. David's, on July 14th, 1814, where twenty-two buildings were burned by Colonel Stone; and at the Talbot settlement on May 15th and 16th, 1814, when General McArthur's cavalry ran wild. Said Dr. Strachan in his open letter to Jefferson: "To pass rapidly with a large body of cavalry through a country thinly inhabited and without the means of resistance, to feed upon the defenseless inhabitants, to burn the mills, none of which belonged to Government, and to destroy the provisions and the whole property of respectable men of principle, and then to run away at the first symptom of serious opposition, is no great exploit."

The proposal to grant medals to soldiers taking part in any particularly gallant exploits was found to be unworkable, as might have been expected. A satisfactory list of possible recipients could not be prepared. Nevertheless, the medals were bought, 61 of gold and 548 of silver. Years after, they were sold to Paul Bishop, a

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blacksmith, as bullion, and the proceeds were given to the General Hospital.

During the winter of 1813-14, Yeo and Chauncey fought for the control of Lake Ontario by building ships. The *Prince Regent* and the *Princess Charlotte*, of 1,200 and 1,400 tons respectively, were launched at Kingston. The *Superior* and the *Mohawk* slid off the ways at Sackett's Harbor, the first a 62 gun ship, the second a powerful frigate. Early in May Drummond and Yeo wanted to fit out an expedition against Sackett's Harbor, but Prévost declined to give them enough men. With the forces available they captured Oswego instead, on May 6th, and destroyed some of the stores intended for the fitting out of Chauncey's new vessels.

On May 30th the British were less fortunate. A party of seamen were sent to Sandy Creek in search of a flotilla of naval stores on the way to the American shipyard. Every man of the party was either killed, wounded or taken prisoner. At last in early summer Chauncey's fleet was in a superior position and he hung off Kingston sending challenges to Yeo, which that crafty Commodore ignored. He was waiting for the launch of his new flagship the *St. Lawrence*, the most remarkable warship ever built on fresh water. She was one hundred and ninety feet long. Her stem and stern posts were forty feet high. Her main yard alone used up all the timber of a hundred-foot tree. The timber was unseasoned, but the anchors, capstans, rope, sails and the multitudinous fittings were of prime naval quality, brought 3,000 miles across the Atlantic and tracked up the rapids of the St. Lawrence in Durham boats. The ship was pierced for 102 guns, ranged on two gun-decks, and drew twenty-seven feet. On September 21st she was successfully launched, and from that moment Chauncey issued no more challenges. He set to work on a ship to carry 120 guns, but she was never finished. The war was ended on Christmas Eve by the signing of the Treaty of Ghent.

Says Samuel Perkins in his "Contemporary History of the Late War," published at New Haven:

The political changes in Europe had produced an entirely different view on the subject of the negotiations within the American Cabinet. All expectation of conquest on the Canadian frontier was at an end. The ability of the enemy to ravage and desolate the frontier and seaboard was now alarmingly increased, and with

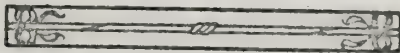
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their ability, their disposition to do it had been abundantly manifested. The state of the finances and the public credit had assumed a most unpromising aspect. If peace could be made on the principle of restoring things to the state they were in before the war, there was no possible inducement to continue it. The subject of impressment had now ceased to be of any practical importance. Great Britain having more seamen than she wanted on hand, had no inducement to increase their number from American vessels. It was not expected that she would now yield a point for which she had risked a war under the most unfavorable circumstances.

The War of 1812 was in itself an indefensible and criminal blunder, a tragic consequence of wilful misunderstanding and political jugglery on the one side, and of high manners and tactlessness on the other. The British armies were afflicted by a leader, Governor Prévost, whose vacillation and stupidity betrayed a naval force on Lake Champlain to its destruction and left the land generals within sufficient resources at times of crisis. But Prévost at Quebec was matched by the leaders at Washington, and no British fighting general failed as completely as did General Hull.

The Americans won a series of brilliant naval duels at sea, and secured the command of Lake Erie, but the abdication of Napoleon gave Great Britain a freer hand, and the blockade of the United States coast was soon complete. The capture of Washington by a flying column and the burning of the White House were in reprisal for the burning of the parliament buildings of York.

At Detroit, at Queenston, at Chateauguay and at Lundy's Lane, attempts at the invasion of Canada were made futile by good generalship and brave militiamen and a new spirit of confidence was born among the people of Upper Canada.



German Pioneers of Pennsylvania, Lancaster County

BY PROFESSOR GEORGE W. RICHARDS, D. D., PRESIDENT OF THE THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY OF THE REFORMED CHURCH IN UNITED STATES
AT LANCASTER, PENNSYLVANIA

I. National Elements in America in the Eighteenth Century.
II. Early German Migrations to America. III. The German Pioneers in Pennsylvania. IV. The German Pioneers in Lancaster County.



IT IS not my purpose to take the part of an eulogist, an apologist or a satirist, in the discussion of this subject. A plain, unvarnished tale of their character, conflicts and achievements is the best vindication of a people. Of the Germans in Pennsylvania, Hildreth, the historian, has said: "The result of their labors is eulogy enough; their best apology is to tell their story exactly as it was."

To understand the significance of the German emigration to America and to estimate its contribution to Republic and Commonwealth, we must view it in its relation to the larger historic movements of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. A prophet in the middle of the eighteenth century would have confidently predicted that North America was destined to be a Catholic country. The French had built their trading posts from Nova Scotia to the headwaters of the Mississippi. They had the key to the two great watercourses of our country. The Spaniards had established a line of towns and missions from Florida to California. True, England had begun her work of colonization, but it was overshadowed by the continental powers and the papal missionaries on the north and on the south. After thirteen years of the second half of the eighteenth century had elapsed, the map of America had to be reconstructed. In the Treaty of Paris, signed February 10th, 1763, France ceded to England Nova Scotia, Canada, and the country east of the Mississip-

NOTE.—This excellent article is from advance sheets of "Lancaster County, Pennsylvania; a History." (Lewis Historical Publishing Company, New York).



PICTURES FROM LIFE OF "THE PLAIN PEOPLE" IN LANCASTER COUNTY

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pi as far as Iberville. A line drawn through the Mississippi, from its source to its mouth, was henceforth to form the boundary between French and English territory in the West. The town and island of New Orleans were not included in this cession. Spain ceded to Great Britain Florida and all districts east of the Mississippi, recovering the Havanna and all other British conquests. An appeal to Providence is usually satisfactory to the appellant only, and not to the plaintiff. But the enthusiastic Protestant or the champion of Anglo-Saxondom can hardly pass by the Paris Treaty without pointing to the hand of God in history.

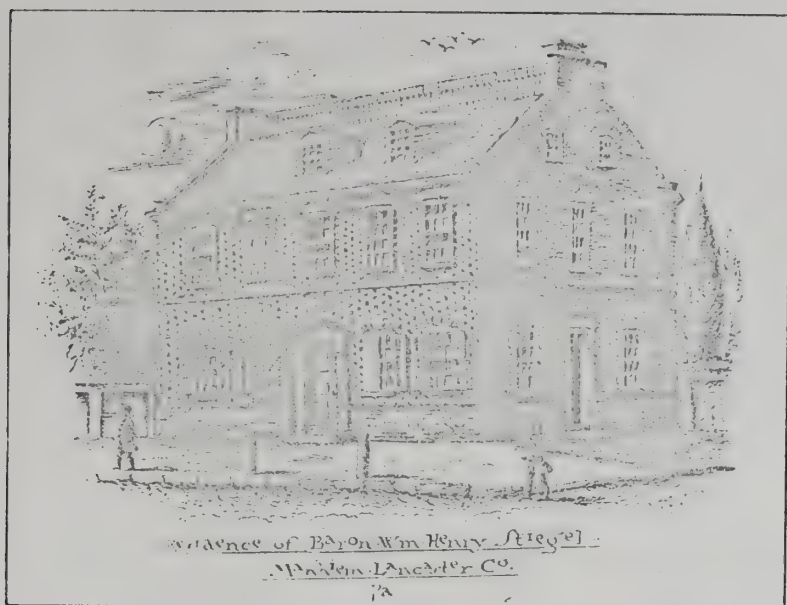
From the St. Lawrence to the Gulf, the New World was now in Anglo-Saxon hands and under Protestant influence. Though the Swedes and the Dutch experimented in colonization and left permanent on our national history, Great Britain was the dominant power in the colonial period. The Teuton found his Canaan in the lands discovered by the romance explorers. Far be it from us to undervalue the greatness of brave little Holland, and the heroism and chivalry of Sweden; yet no one will deny that the two nations which were the bone and sinew of the Teutonic stock were those which speak the German and the English languages. These two to-day, more than any others, shape the destinies of two continents. These two are the leading elements in our national history.

After Hengst and Horsa had led their warlike bands across the English Channel, they drove the Highlanders from England; but, after the manner of Englishmen, they remained masters of the country. They became the nucleus and formative principle of the British nation. Cut through the national strata of Britain and you will find Celtic, Roman, Anglo-Saxon, Norman and Danish layers. Out of this congeries of tribes the English people have sprung. The controlling element in the development of the nation was Anglo-Saxon, though the tribes which preceded and followed wielded no small influence. The English Channel did not flow in vain between Britain and the continent. From the earliest times a distinct civilization and religion flourished on the Isles. Among Europeans their people represented a distinct national genius. Continental Protestantism passed through the British people, and became a distinct product in Cavalier and Puritan, Catholic and Quaker. Located on the borders of the Western ocean, Britain became naturally a leader in colonization, an empire on whose dominions the sun never sets.

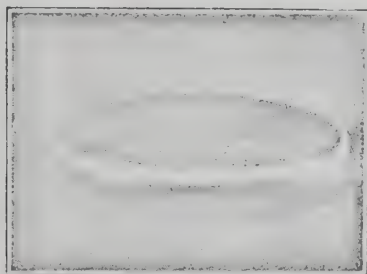
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But, while the tribes of the Isles crystallized into a homogeneous nationality, the heterogeneous hordes on the continent also assumed national forms. About the close of the third century a multitude of tribal names disappeared from history, absorbed by four dominant nations: Alemanni, the Franks, the Saxons and the Goths. Many kindred characteristics still bound them together, chief of which was that of language. But in the course of centuries, under the influence of natural environment, of molding personalities, and of the intermixture of blood, they became distinct nations, representing various types of the Teutonic stock. The Franks overran Gaul and became the ancestors of the French. The Goths dwelt in the regions north of the Danube and were a menace to decadent Rome. The Saxons settled northward on both sides of the Elbe and westward as far as the Lower Rhine. Their name is perpetuated in modern Saxony. The Alemanni, chiefly of Suevic origin, with an admixture of smaller tribes, occupied the territory extending from the Main to the Danube. They enlarged their borders westward beyond the Upper Rhine into Alsace and Lorraine, and southward into the adjacent sections of Switzerland. The Alemanni became the progenitors of many of the Germans who eventually settled in Pennsylvania. They repeatedly repulsed the Roman legions. When the latter had spent their force, the former became conquerors, and in German history maintained an influential and independent political existence. In the twelfth century the political State of the Palatinate was founded under the royal house of Hohenstaufen. Prince Conrad was invested with the electoral dignity by his brother, the Emperor Frederick I. For seven hundred years, until 1801, it remained a distinct realm. By the Treaty of Luneville, dictated by Napoleon, the Rhenish Palatinate was parcelled out between Hesse-Darmstadt, Baden, Leiningen-Dachsburg and Nassau, while the Rhine itself became the eastern boundary of France until the downfall of the Man of Destiny.

Thus the Teutonic tribes were differentiated by the intricate process of history into the nations from which were destined to come the founders of the United States. The leaders among them were the English and the Germans. The English received valuable recruits in the colonies from the Scotch, the Irish and the Welsh. With the Germans we must associate their kinsmen,—the Swiss, the Dutch and the Swedes. We observe that they all belong to the



Wm. Taylor of Charming Forge, Berks County, owns the Button which Baron Stiegel wore on his vest.



Ring of Baron W. H. Stiegel and Elizabeth Holtzin, now in possession of John C. Stiegel, of Harrisonburg, Va.



Mansion at Charming Forge built in 1787, owned by Wm. Taylor, where Baron Stiegel died

PICTORIAL MEMORIES OF BARON STIEGEL,
FOUNDER OF MANHEIM

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Aryan family, and were therefore sufficiently related to Greece and Rome to become the heirs of their civilization and culture. They were Teutons, and therefore of such kinship that they might be welded into a united republic. They were distinct nationalities, and could therefore contribute specific ideals for a new nation—the child of them all.

It is beyond our scope to follow the migration of the English into the New World. Suffice it to say that they preceded the Germans by almost a century. They had precedence not only in the order of time, but they were supported also by a mother country and a mother church. They did not come into a foreign land, but into a land of their own possession. They occupied the Atlantic border from Maine to Georgia. They differed in creed, but were largely of British blood.

The German came as a stranger into a strange land. He had to take an oath of allegiance to a foreign government. He settled in the provinces by the grace of God and the English proprietors. Though there were German groups in a number of the colonies, Pennsylvania seems to have been the goal of their pilgrimage and the circle of their influence. We read of German glass-blowers sent to the Virginia colony as early as 1608 for the glass works which were there established. A small band was led to New York by the German Joshua, Kocherthal. About the same time a company of seven hundred was sent to North Carolina. Both in Virginia and in New Jersey there were German settlers. Yet, if we would understand the way in which the German nation entered the territory of the Union and found the earliest center of influence in this country, we must follow the Pennsylvania pioneers. Dr. Seidensticker says: "Should it be asked when the German immigration in America had its beginning, the answer must be in the year 1683, the year of the Crefelders' arrival in Germantown." Whether the German landed on the coast of Massachusetts or New York, Virginia or Georgia, he gravitated to the land of Penn. When the lands beyond the Blue Ridge and the Alleghanies invited the more restless and adventurous spirits of the coast, Pennsylvania again was the distributing center for the Germans in the United States. John Fiske says: "But for Virginia, Maryland and the Carolinas, Pennsylvania was the door for immigrants. Pennsylvania was the temporary tarrying place and distributing center for so much that we now call characteristically

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American." The key, therefore, to the history of the German life in the Union is the history of the German pioneers in the Keystone State. What they have done in a small way in the building of a single commonwealth they have done in a large way in the construction of a nation. Though they came without form and comeliness, despised and rejected, men of sorrows and acquainted with grief, they were none the less the slender thread drawing after it the bonds which bind us inseparably to a German Fatherland. They were the bearers of a spirit and a message which were to aid in the nurture of unborn millions. Dr. Rush, in his booklet on the "Manners of the German Inhabitants of Pennsylvania," in 1789, exhorts the legislators as follows: "Do not contend with their prejudice in favor of their language. It will be the channel through which the knowledge and discoveries of the wisest nations in Europe may be conveyed into one country. . . . Invite them to share in the power and offices of the government; it will be the means of producing a union in principle and conduct between them and all those enlightened fellow-citizens who are descended from the other nations." These words were prophetic then; they are actual history of the contribution of the Germans to the nation now. Through them we, their descendants and followers, have received an invaluable heritage in philosophy, science, art, and domestic economy. Through them has been effected an organic union of the two great branches of Teutonism in the New World which are separated by a stubborn and unruly channel in the Old.

To define the character of the German pioneers and their relation to the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, we shall briefly answer three questions, viz: Why did they come? What did they bring? What have they done?

We are told that colonies are planted by the uneasy. In a general way, poverty and financial reverses, political changes and religious troubles, a thirst for novelty and a love for adventure, all these combined, are the causes for the great migrations of history. The motives in individuals and groups vary according to circumstances. Now the dominant cause may be religious persecutions, again political tyranny, and then economic distress. The general unrest and discontent in Germany were the cumulative product of centuries. Since the Reformation, Europe was in a state of religious, political, and social ferment. The Protestant was arrayed

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against the Catholic, the Lutheran against the Calvinist, Protestant and Catholic against the Anabaptist, the Humanist against the Reformer, and the peasant against the noble. The reason for it all was that the principles of Protestantism, which had been discerned in a German monastery and practiced in a Swiss pastorate, had to be fought out on fields of blood before they could become the common possession of mankind.

In the name of religion, though for anything but for the good of religion, Germany became the seat of devastating wars. For thirty years hostile armies, some of them foreign and some native, ravaged the provinces, turned the Rhinelands into a desert, and decimated the population. At the close of that inhuman struggle, two-thirds of the German nation had perished. The Palatinate was reduced from 500,000 citizens to 50,000. University halls became army barracks. Fields ripening for harvest, blossoming orchards, vine-clad hills, towering castles, happy hamlets and busy cities fell before the ruthless blows of the invader. It is said that "the Elector Palatine beheld from his castle at Manheim six cities and twenty-five towns in flames where lust and rapine walked hand in hand with fire and sword." The treaty of Westphalia in 1648 was only a temporary respite from the desolation of armies. Scarcely had the industrious peasants and burghers of the Rhine healed some of the wounds of a generation of war and recovered some of the former glory of their country, when the armies of Louis XIV began their work of destruction. That most Christian king said to his marshal, Melac, "Ravage the Palatinate!" In obedience to orders, twelve hundred towns and villages went up in smoke and fell in ashes. The former scenes of horror and crime were re-enacted, and with an occasional intermission they continued through the war of the Spanish succession, ending with the Peace of Utrecht in 1713.

The effect of these disasters was not only to impoverish Germany's resources, but also her manhood. Peasants in their desperation became robbers, murderers, cannibals. "Freemen became serfs; rich burghers became narrow-minded shop-keepers; noblemen, servile courtiers; princes, shameless oppressors." The internal political and social conditions of Southwest Germany were as ruinous as foreign foes. "The provinces were full of misgovernment and of sectarianism, filled with tiny principalities, old religious foundations, secularized or still remaining, free cities of the mori-

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bund empire, and even free villages; courts, princes and lords of all kinds, who caricatured Louis XIV, sometimes by the dozen to the square mile, and kept the fruitful land in an artificial condition of perpetual exhaustion."

The general conditions were at hand for the operation of specific causes which brought about a German exodus into America. To understand the immediate reasons for early German immigration, it is necessary to study the history of the several groups which composed it. For our purpose the popular division into sects and church people is most satisfactory. We might add a third class and call it the nondescripts. In each of these groups there was a dominant motive, not, however, to the exclusion of the other motives mentioned above.

The sects who came to Pennsylvania were the Mennonites, the Tunkers, the Schwenkfelders, and a number of lesser bodies, such as the Solitaries at Ephrata, the Woman in the Wilderness on the banks of the Wissahickon, and the Labadists. Baron von Reck, who visited Philadelphia in 1734, wrote: "It is the abode of all religions and sects—Lutherans, Reformed, Episcopalians, Presbyterians, Seventh-day Baptists, Separatists, Boehmists, Schwenkfeldians, Tufsfelders, Wohlwuener, Jews, heathen, etc."

Their relation to the Church and the State in Europe was one of dissent. They were the oppressed people of Christ. By the provisions of the Treaty of Westphalia, 1648, Roman Catholics, Lutherans and Reformed were given legal recognition. They were known as the Churches by law established. But the Anabaptistic and Quietistic sects were equally obnoxious to Catholics and Protestants. Princes and bishops, priests and preachers, united in destroying these supposed children of perdition. They were accordingly driven from one country to another, finding a temporary asylum here and there until they had to flee elsewhere from the wrath of a capricious prince. A company of Mennonites had settled in peace in Crefeld, Germany, where they were employed as linen-weavers. While not in immediate danger, these children of persecution always had the sword of Damocles suspended overhead. They welcomed the offer of an asylum beyond the seas, where they might worship God without further molestation. On the ship *Concord*, October 6th, 1683, came thirteen Mennonite families who became the founders not only of Germantown, but of German colonization in Pennsylvania. Un-

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til 1710 the German immigrants came as individuals or in small groups; "partly for conscience's sake and partly for temporal interests," says Proud. Dieffenderfer estimates that there were about three or four thousand Germans in Pennsylvania in the year 1709, making an average of about one hundred immigrants a year since 1683. The Quakers, Schwenkfelders, and the lesser groups came after the Mennonites, migrating largely for religious reasons, and attracted to Pennsylvania by the tolerant policy of Penn.

The second period of German immigration began with the arrival of the Lutherans and the Reformed, who were accompanied by a third class, the nondescripts. They did not leave their homeland because of religious persecutions at the time of their departure, for among them, especially in the Palatine band in England, were representatives of the three Established Churches. The chief reason for their discontent at home was the economic distress resulting from continuous wars, from a desolating winter, and financial reverses. The first company of Palatines came by way of London, whither they went in large multitudes. They reached Pennsylvania after sore hardships and cruel treatment, by way of the Schoharie Valley in New York. In an address to the English people in 1710, the Palatines plead their own case. They say: "We, the Poor, Distressed Palatines, whose utter ruin was occasioned by the merciless cruelty of a Bloody Enemy, the French, whose prevailing power, some years past, like a torrent, rushed into our country and overwhelmed us at once; and being not content with money and food necessary for their occasions, not only dispossessed us of all support, but inhumanly burnt our houses to the ground, whereby being deprived of all shelter, we were turned into open fields, there with our families to seek what shelter we could find, were obliged to make the earth our repository for rest and the clouds our canopy or covering." These were the conditions, not only of the Palatines who came to London, but doubtless of a large proportion of those who went directly to Pennsylvania. The winter of 1708-09 was so severe throughout Europe that hundreds died of cold and starvation. Birds froze in mid-air, beasts in their lairs, and men fell dead on the way. Of their financial troubles an eye-witness wrote: "Nobody was paid. The people of the country, in consequence of exactions, had to become insolvent. Commerce dried up and brought no returns. Good faith and confidence were abolished." Thus gradually the ties of home,

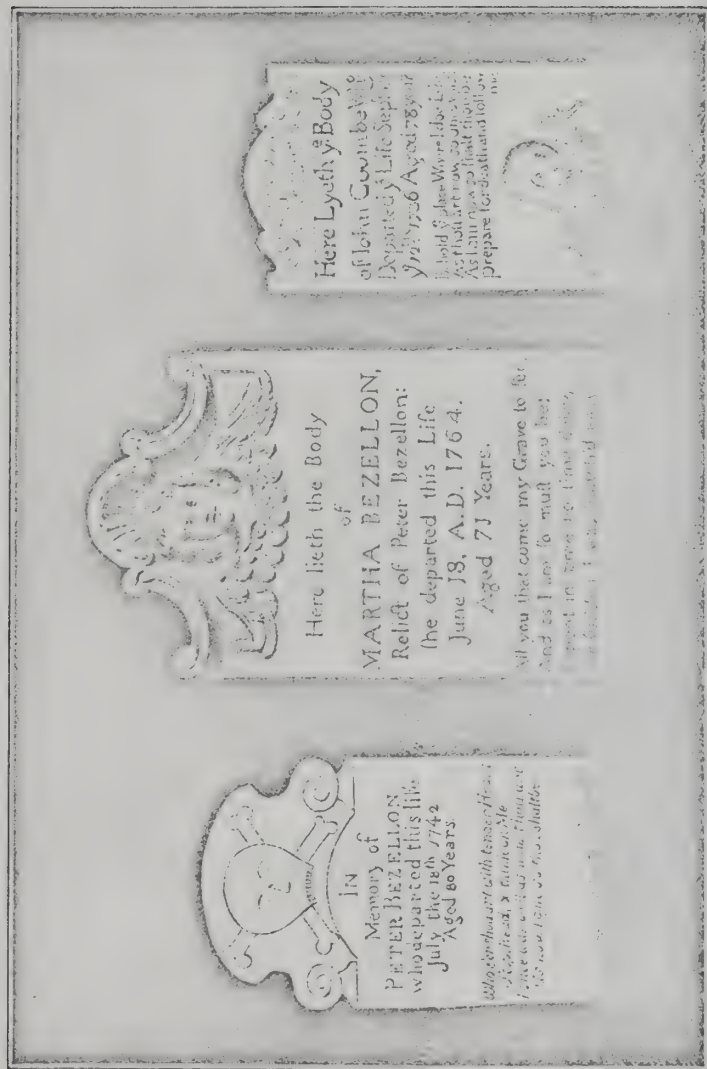
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country, and society were loosened, and the newly established colony of Penn became a refuge for the distressed Germans, called, regardless of their provincial origin, Palatines.

The nondescripts fled prison rather than suffer religious persecutions or social troubles. They were criminals and felons and the scum of the population, which the mother country dumped upon the new province. The jails were emptied of their inmates and sent to the colonies. So threatening did this element become that the Provincial Assembly in 1722 imposed a tax upon every criminal landed in the province, and held the ship-owner responsible for the future good conduct of his passengers. A promiscuous element was gathered also by the Newlanders, or soul-sellers, who went over Germany enticing men, women, and children to the paradise of a new world.

The Moravians alone profess to have come to America for purely missionary purposes. One of their historians, Paul De Schweinitz, writes: "Their sole object was to provide the red men and the white men with gospel privileges. The Indians they endeavored to make Christians. The Lutherans they endeavored to gather in Lutheran congregations and provide them with pastors of their own mode of thought. They tried to do the same for the Reformed; and the Germans scattered about, who would acknowledge neither of these faiths, they tried to gather into free congregations, served by an awakened pastor, without defining church connections." We do not question this high motive of what has itself one of the greatest missionary churches in the kingdom. Though coming comparatively late, about 1740-41, from Georgia to Bethlehem, they added a strong German element during the formative period of the Commonwealth.

While these various causes constrained the Palatine to leave his fatherland, there was a specific reason for his entrance into Pennsylvania. One of the first pamphlets published by the German pastor Kocherthal and circulated in two editions, 1706 and 1709, among his kinsmen, was entitled, "Full and Circumstantial Report Concerning the Renowned District of Carolina in English America." He advocated the Carolinian region as the most favorable district for the German. But his plea for the South was not recognized. Other American provinces held out tempting inducements on the continent for settlers within their bounds. But none of these made a favorable impression. The man who gave direction to the tiny rivulet which later became a stream and almost a torrent of German



This widely-known group of memorial stones, unique both as a group and as individual stones, is found in old St. John's Episcopal Churchyard, at Compassville, Pennsylvania. Despite the wear of time, they are to-day in excellent condition, and fine antiques of their kind. The men who made them were skillful workmen. The Church is on the "Old Philadelphia Road" just beyond the county line between Lancaster and Chester.

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pioneers into Pennsylvania, was William Penn. He, too, was a dissenter, a sectarian, and a martyr. His religious views were so nearly like those of the German sects that Barclay said: "So closely do these views (referring to the Mennonites) correspond with those of George Fox, that we are compelled to view him as an unconscious exponent of the doctrines, practices, and discipline of the ancient and stricter party of the Dutch Mennonites." He was half a Hollander through his mother, could speak the German language, and found the Dutch and German sects good ground for Quaker missions. After he received the Province of Pennsylvania, he at once sent his agent, Benjamin Furly, into the Rhineland, who organized land companies, one at Crefeld, the other at Frankfort-on-the-Main. Pamphlets recounted the advantages of the new Province, and in a short time the sectaries were convinced that Penn's land was the haven of peace for them.

But he was not limited to the Quakers in England or to the sects in Holland and Germany in his benevolent designs. The spirit of the man and of the religious policy of his province is expressed in his own words when he says: "I went thither to lay the foundation of a free colony for all mankind that should go thither, more especially those of my own profession; not that I would lessen the civil liberties of others because of their persuasion, but screen and defend our own from any infringement on that account." The "Great Law," as the modified code was called, not only established religious liberty, but "extended the suffrage, reduced the death penalty to a minimum, secured the people against oppression, simplified all legal processes, and made an attempt to establish a perfectly moral State." Sharpless says: "Peace, liberty, and fertile soil were the great arguments which brought in the English of the Quakers counties, the Germans of the central belt, and the Scotch-Irish of the frontiers, in unprecedented numbers." With the way opened by the tolerant Penn, with the ground broken by the earliest German settlers, and with the land companies active in the heart of the Palatinate, it was a comparatively easy matter to turn the tide of future immigrants to the land of their prosperous kinsmen. It also explains the reason why, in three years after its settlement, Philadelphia gained more than New York in half a century.

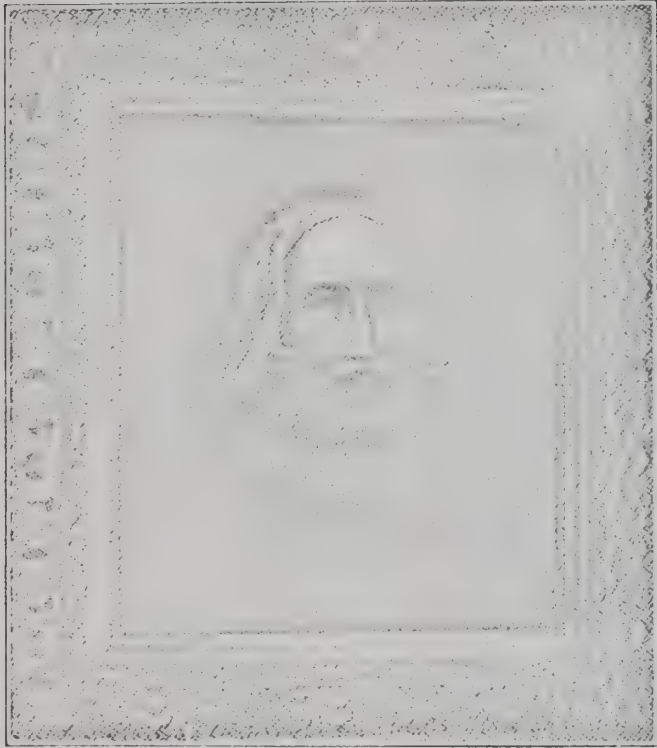
1. The earliest German pioneers in Lancaster county were Swiss Mennonites from the cantons of Zurich and Berne. Here they suf-

GERMAN PIONEERS OF PENNSYLVANIA

ferred bitter persecution on account of their religious beliefs, especially for their refusal to conform to the state church, their advocacy of separation of church and state, and their unwillingness to bear arms. Their forerunners in Pennsylvania were the Mennonites of Crefeld and Kriegsheim, Germany, who, led by Pastorius, founded Germantown in 1683. Indeed, these were the first pioneers of all German settlements in America. Through reports by letters written to friends at home and by persons who returned to the Fatherland, others were induced to emigrate and make their home in the New World.

Thirty years elapsed before the Swiss Mennonites, some of them having found a temporary abode in the Palatinate, came to Pennsylvania and located in the Conestoga region, now Lancaster county. They were liberally aided by the more prosperous Mennonites of Holland. The latter took a lively interest in their unfortunate brethren in Switzerland and in Germany. To render aid in a systematic way, they organized a "Committee on Foreign Needs." They gave large sums of money for the relief of the exiled Swiss Mennonites in the Palatinate. When the opportunity came, they encouraged and liberally supported the Mennonites of Berne to seek an asylum in America. In the year 1711 we have records of the settlement of Swiss Mennonites in Lancaster county. There is a letter of thanks in the archives of Amsterdam, dated June 27, 1710, and signed by Martin Kundig, Hans Herr, Christian Herr, Martin Oberholtzer, Martin Meili, and Jacob Muler. The letter states that they are about to start for America. That they arrived safely and came to Lancaster county is proved by a patent for ten thousand acres of land on Pequea creek, Conestogoe. The warrant for this was recorded and the land surveyed to them, October 23, 1710. Hans Herr and Martin Kundig acted as agents for their kinsmen, some of whom had already come and others of whom came later on. A quaint account of their manners and customs is given in an early document as follows:

The men wore long red caps on their heads. The women had neither bonnets, hats, nor caps, but merely a string passing around the head to keep the hair from the face. The dress both of female and male was domestic, quite plain, made of coarse material, after an old fashion of their own. Soon after their arrival at Philadelphia they took a westerly course in pursuit of a location where they could



PORTRAIT OF HANS HERR
Swiss Mennonite Settler in Lancaster Co. in 1710

GERMAN PIONEERS OF PENNSYLVANIA

all live in one vicinity. They selected a rich limestone county, beautifully adorned with sugar-maple, hickory, and black and white walnut, on the border of a delightful stream abounding in the finest trout. Here they raised their humble cabins. The water of the Pequea was clear, cold, transparent, and the grape-vines and clematis intertwining among the lofty branches of the majestic buttonwood formed a pleasant retreat from the moonbeams of a summer sun. (cf. Martin, "The Mennonites," p. 8).

After they had successfully coped with the necessary difficulties and dangers of a new settlement in a wilderness and were beginning to reap the fruit of their toil, they remembered their brethren at home. They called a council of the whole group, over which their pastor, Hans Herr, presided. After due deliberation they decided that one of their number be sent to Europe to urge the others of their faith to join them in Pennsylvania. Martin Kendig undertook the journey and succeeded in bringing with him a company of Swiss and some Germans. Among them were Peter Yordea, Jacob Miller, Hans Tschantz, Henry Funk, John Houser, John Bachman, Jacob Weber, Schlegel, Venerick, Guldin, and others. With this accession the settlement numbered about thirty families. They lived among the Mingoe or Conestoga, Pequea, and Shawanese Indians, who were always hospitable and respectful toward their white neighbors. Rupp says: "The little colony improved their lands, planted orchards, erected dwellings, and a meeting- and school-house, in which religious instruction on the Sabbath and during the week, knowledge of letters, reading and writing, were given to those who assembled to receive information." Other and more numerous groups of colonists of the same faith followed these pioneers in 1711 and 1717; a large settlement also was made in the northern parts of Lancaster county, extending into the borders of Lebanon county, in 1727.

2. A second and most unique group of German pioneers in Lancaster county was the Ephratah Community, "Das Lager der Einsamen" (the Camp of the Solitary). They were the virtual successors to the Mystics on the Wissahickon who in 1694 came to Pennsylvania under the leadership and continued to live under the superintendency of Johann Kelpius, "a man of great learning, tho full of vagaries."

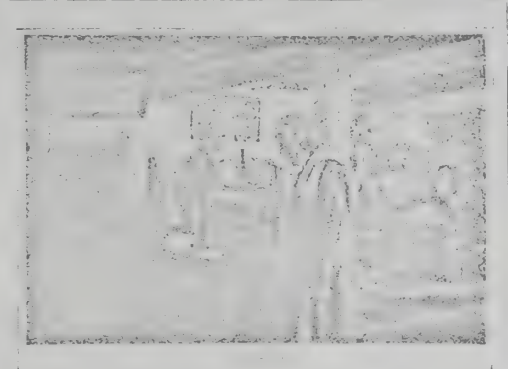
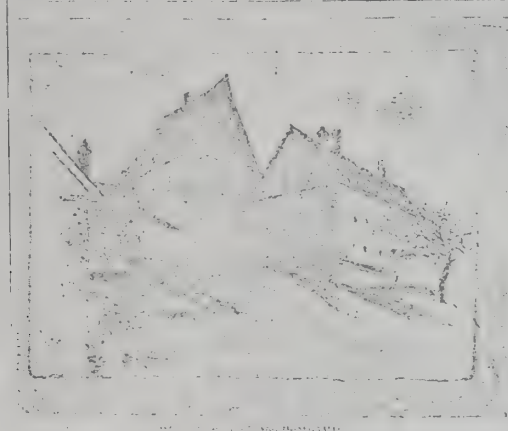
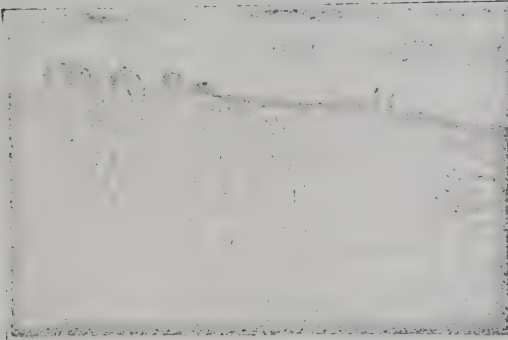
GERMAN PIONEERS OF PENNSYLVANIA

"Painful Kelpius from his hermit den
By Wissahickon, maddest of good men,
Dreamed o'er the chillest dreams of Petersen."—Whittier, "Pennsylvania Pilgrim."

Conrad Matthai, the last magister of the Hermitage on the Ridge, advised Conrad Beissel, 1722-1723, to go to the wilds of Conestoga, to live there a life of contemplation and solitude. In the "Chronicon Ephratense" (p. 41), we are told by Israel Eckerlin, who afterwards became prior of the Brotherhood of Zion on the Cocalico, that Matthai advised him, his mother and three brothers, to leave the regions of Germantown, "because the people there lived in vanity, and to move up the country to Conestoga, where the people lived in great simplicity." They accepted this counsel, and in August, 1727, moved to Conestoga. The same "Chronicon" (p. 64) tell us that "a Solitary Brother, Elimalech (Emmanuel Eckerle) was the first to build on this barren spot." Reference is made to Ephratah, called by the Indians *Koch-Halekung*, that is, Serpents' Den, on account of the many snakes found there. The Europeans kept the Indian word but pronounced it "Cocalico."

The new community was composed of "Solitary Brethren" and "Spiritual Virgins." Celibacy was required of those who lived in cloisters, but only recommended to the larger community beyond the cloisters. In 1732 a house was built for the Solitary Brethren—Jethro (Jacob Gast), Jephune (Sam. Eckerlin), and Martin Brenner. In May, 1733, another house was completed for the "Sisters" or "Virgins"—Anna and Maria Eicher, where they lived until the Sisters' Convent was erected. In 1740 the cloisters contained thirty-six brethren and thirty-five sisters. These with the rest of the adherents swelled the number to nearly three hundred. The two most notable leaders of the Ephratah Community were Conrad Beissel (Father Friedsam Gottrecht), and the Reverend Peter Miller (Prior Jabetz). The buildings of these people are still standing and are annually visited by hundreds of people.

3. Another group of sturdy German pioneers in Lancaster county were the adherents of the Reformed and Lutheran churches, "Churches by law established" in European lands. They differed widely in their doctrines and life from the Mennonites and the Mystics whom we have considered above. Doubtless Reformed and Lutheran families were scattered in this region in the first two dec-



KLOSTER AT EPHRATA



CHURCH OF THE BRETHREN, EPHRATA, PA.

GERMAN PIONEERS OF PENNSYLVANIA

ades of the Eighteenth century, 1700-1720, but we have no records before the third decade, 1720-1730.

a. The first congregation of Reformed people in Lancaster county was organized in 1725, originally known as Hill Church, and now identified as Salem, Heller's, in Upper Leacock township. The organizer of Reformed churches in the Conestoga Valley was the pious tailor, John Conrad Templeman, from Heidelberg, Germany. After 1721 and before 1725, he and his wife and two children came to Pennsylvania and settled in the region of the Conestoga. In a letter, written by him to the Synods of North and South Holland, under date of February 13, 1733, he tells the story of the beginnings of the Reformed church in Lancaster county:

The church at Chanastocka had its origin in the year 1725, with a small gathering in houses here and there, with the reading of a sermon and with song and prayer, according to their High German Church Order upon all Sundays and holidays, but, on account of the lack of a minister, without the administration of baptism and the Lord's Supper.

Thereafter Dom. Boehm served them, at first (1727) voluntarily at the request of the people, later, after being fully ordained, he administered baptism and communion to them for the space of two years (1730-1731), upon a yearly call, although he lived a distance of twenty-one hours (about 63 miles) away from them, being satisfied with their small voluntary gifts. Subsequently he also established a church order (constitution) among them and the congregation chose elders, and he himself (Templeman) exercised a strict and careful supervision, so that all things went on in a good order in this congregation.

Further, the writer reports that the congregation, on account of enlargement and great distance between the members, has divided itself into six meeting places in Chanastocka, three of which places are served by a Reformed minister, Johann Peter Muller by name, by whom also another strong congregation is served about seven hours (21 miles) distant, called Dalbenhacken (Tulpehocken).

A list of the other Reformed churches in the county before 1750 will help the reader to trace the localities occupied by German Reformed settlers: Cocalico, founded in 1730, now Bethany, near Ephrata; Muddy Creek, about 1730, in East Cocalico township; Lancaster, 1730-1732, now First Reformed Church; Seltenreich, about 1732, near New Holland, Earl township; Reyer's Church, about 1732,

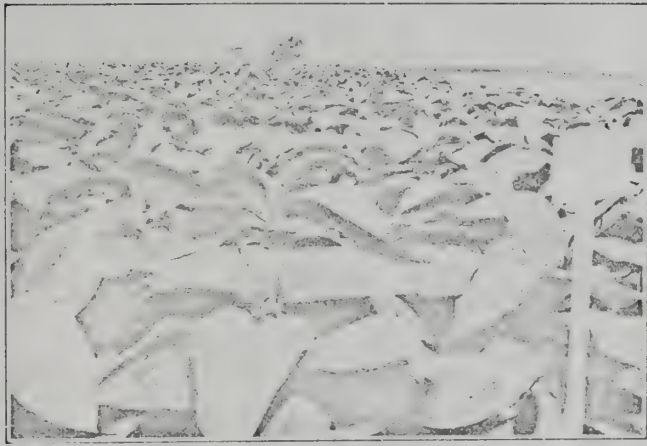
GERMAN PIONEERS OF PENNSYLVANIA

now Zions, near Brickerville, Elizabeth township; Donegal, 1743, now Christ Church, Elizabethtown, Mount Joy township; Whiteoak, about 1747, now Jerusalem Church, at Penryn, Penn township; Little Cocalico, about 1749, now Swamp Church, near Blainsport, West Cocalico township.

b. The history of the German Lutheran pioneers in this county runs parallel to that of the German Reformed. The members of these two churches usually came together from Germany and remained in close relations in Pennsylvania. Many of them intermarried, and frequently they united in building a church which was for the use of both the Reformed and the Lutheran congregations.

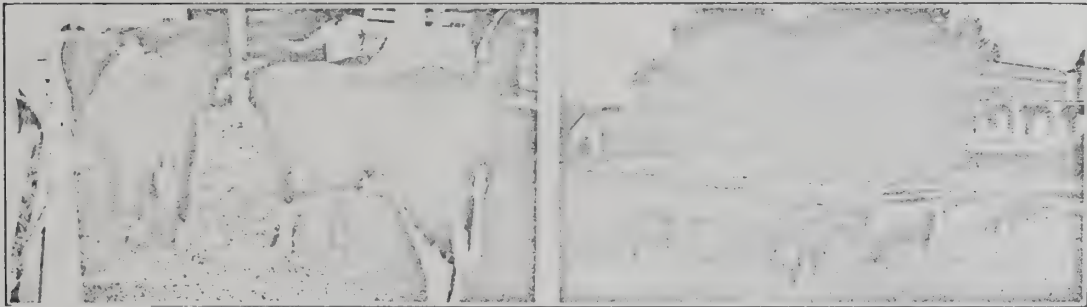
In the "Hallesche Nachrichten," I, p. 145, is quoted a document, dated October 7, 1748, and written by a Lutheran pastor, Handschuch, residing in Lancaster. In it the author describes the town as having about four hundred houses, occupied mainly by Germans. He adds that there are in it "a pretty large Lutheran, a not yet completely built Anglican, a Reformed, a small Catholic, and a Zinzendorfian (Moravian) Church."

There is much uncertainty about the exact time of the beginning of the Lutheran congregation in Lancaster. Like the Reformed, the Lutherans were scattered throughout the Conestoga Valley during the first twenty years of the eighteenth century. They doubtless began to organize churches about the same time, from 1720-1730. The date of the founding of the town of Lancaster is 1730. The first Lutheran church register dates from the autumn of 1733, and was begun by the Rev. John Caspar Stoever. He recorded baptisms and weddings of the year 1729. He landed in Philadelphia, September 11, 1728, and located in Lancaster county, near Carlton (New Holland) about 1729-1730. Before he was ordained to the ministry he gathered Lutheran people into congregations and served them as pastor. In 1732 the Rev. John Christian Schulze, pastor of the congregations at Philadelphia, New Providence, and New Hanover, came to Lancaster to invite Stoever to take charge of his congregations while the former went to Europe in the interest of the Lutheran churches in Pennsylvania. Thereupon we are informed that Stoever was ordained at New Providence by Schulze, and when Stoever returned to Lancaster in September, 1773, he opened a church register at Modecreek, New Holland, and Lancaster. These



TOBACCO

Raises nine-tenths of the state production of tobacco,
the crops running over ten millions



The largest market for sale of cattle for feeding purposes east of Chicago
Amounts to over twenty-two millions in one year



Nearly 250,000 head of live stock has been sold in the Lancaster County market in one year. The
aggregate value in crops in Lancaster County represents the enormous sum of thirty millions
LANCASTER, THE FIRST COUNTY IN THE UNITED STATES AGRICULTURALLY

GERMAN PIONEERS OF PENNSYLVANIA

are the earliest records of the still earlier settlements of German Lutherans in the Conestoga region or Lancaster county.

4. A German sect of the early part of the eighteenth century were the "Tunkers" or "Dunkers," also called the Brethren. Their founder was Alexander Mack, of Schwartzenau, Germany, who in 1708 gathered like-minded souls about him and began a new communion. On account of the persecutions and disabilities to which they were subject as dissenters from the State Church, they sought refuge in America. In the decade from 1719 to 1729 all of them came to Pennsylvania. They found their way into the interior counties, and many of them located in Lancaster county. Here they have prosperous congregations at present, with a growing college at Elizabethtown.

5. Another group of German pioneers in Lancaster county were the Moravians. They came to Pennsylvania in 1741. The mother congregation in America was begun in this State at Bethlehem in 1741, and organized in 1742. A Moravian church-settlement was started at Lititz, Lancaster county, in 1743. In December, 1742, Count Zinzendorf came to the home of Jacob Huber, in Warwick township, and delivered an address in the evening. The Count came to Lancaster on the following day and preached in the court house. The outcome of the work of the itinerant Moravian missionaries from Bethlehem and of the preaching of Zinzendorf was the association of small companies of "awakened souls" in and about Lititz and Lancaster. These were later organized into Moravian congregations. A log church was built in 1744 on George Klein's land, a neighbor of Jacob Huber in Warwick, now Lititz. The persons who built the church attended the services of the Rev. Lawrence Nyberg, a Swedish Lutheran preacher at Lancaster. He leaned more and more toward the Moravians, and finally became a member of the "Brethren Church" in 1748. The church in Warwick was dedicated by Nyberg on the festival of St. James, July 25, 1744, and called St. James' Church. In September, 1745, the Rev. Daniel Neibert became the first regular Moravian pastor. They erected, in 1746, a *Gemeinhaus* (community house) to serve the purposes of a parsonage, a school-house and a meeting-house. George Klein donated three and three-quarters acres for this house and for a garden and a meadow. The Rev. Leonard Schnell, successor to Neibert, on May 24, 1748, opened a school in the *Gemeinhaus* with four boys and

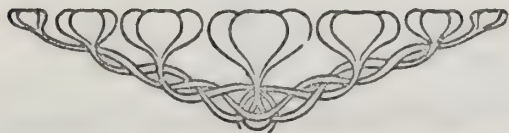
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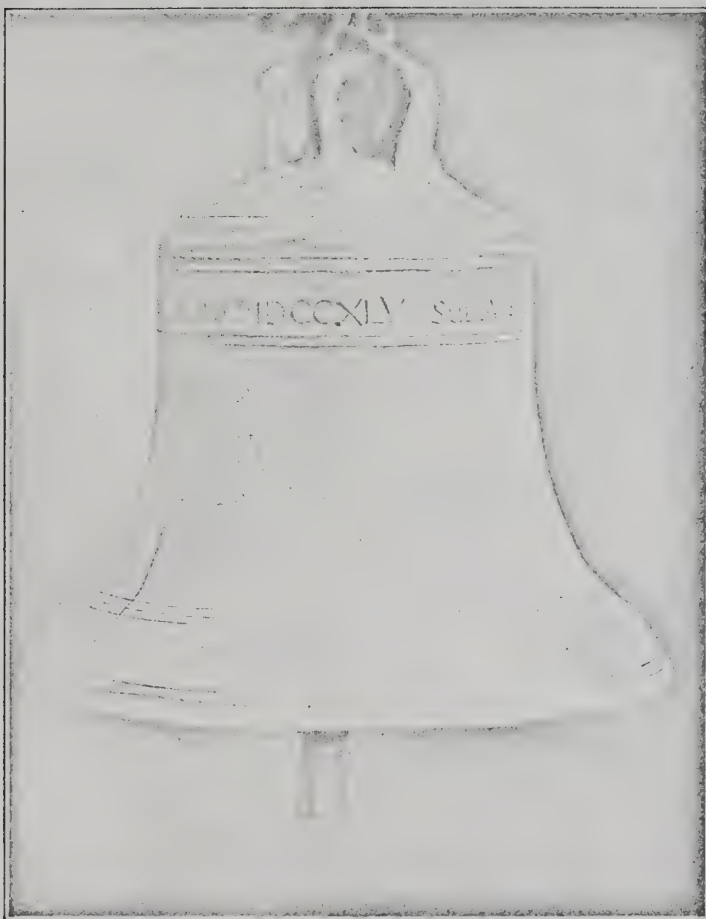
three girls, his wife teaching the latter. This may be considered the first beginning of a widely patronized seminary for young women at Lititz, which is still in a prosperous condition.

Moravian itinerant preachers from 1746 on, preached from time to time at Muddy Creek, Heidelberg, Lancaster, Donegal and "beyond the Susquehanna." Among the ministers mentioned were Christian Henry Rauch, Leonard Schnell, Samuel Utley and Abraham Reinke.

The congregation in Lancaster was organized in 1745, though there was preaching in the town by Moravians as early as 1742, when Zinzendorf spoke in the court-house. Reichel in his "Moravian History," 1734-1748, p. 190, says: "Those among the Lutherans who were favorably inclined to the Brethren and who had sent their children to a school, commenced by Brother J. G. Nixdorf, now requested the authorities at Bethlehem to send them a minister; which request led to the organization of a Moravian congregation at Lancaster, at a somewhat later date."

What Macaulay said of the German emigrants in general may be said of the German pioneers and their descendants in the history of Lancaster county. They were "honest, laborious men, who have once been thriving burghers of Manheim and Heidelberg, or who cultivated the vine on the banks of the Neckar and the Rhine. Their ingenuity and their diligence could not fail to enrich any land which should afford them an asylum."





AN HISTORIC BELL

An Historic Bell

Description and history of an interesting reminder of an earlier day in the Pennsylvania region of which another article in this magazine treats.



PERHAPS no bell in America has a history that is more varied, or more interesting, or more suggestive. It was cast in England in the year 1745, by order of Israel Eckerlin, the monastic Prior, or chief of the temporal affairs of the quaint Society of Seventh-day Baptists, located near Ephrata, Lancaster County, Pennsylvania. Eckerlin took the assumed name of "Onesimus" (see Colossians iv:9, Philemon 10). It was proposed to use this bell in calling from their scattered farms and mills the quaint, monkish brethren and sisters for assembly and worship. The inscription placed upon the Bell, therefore, read as follows:

SUB AUSPICO VIRI VENERANDI ONISMI. SOCIET. EPHRAT. PRAEPOSITI
AD. MDCCXLV.

[By authority of the venerable Onesimus, appointed by the Ephrata Society, A. D. 1745].

Though the Bell had been ordered by the Prior, it was a matter of surprise to these plain people that a ship had arrived at Philadelphia bringing them this unheard-of possession. In their utter rejection of so proud a symbol, it was doomed to be destroyed on its arrival at Ephrata and the pieces buried in the earth. Better counsels prevailed, however, and it was hauled from Philadelphia to Lancaster, the congregation of the Evangelical Lutheran Church of the Holy Trinity having bought it. It was placed in the steeple of the old church consecrated October 28, 1738. And there, through all the colonial days of the French and Indian War, it rang to announce the meetings of the sturdy townspeople, to hear the news of the latest courier, and to call the devout to worship and instruction. And during the dark days of the Revolution it was undoubtedly this Bell which rang to call together the Continental Congress when, having been forced to withdraw from Philadelphia, it assembled,

AN HISTORIC BELL

during the month of September 1777, in the town of Lancaster. And in all the years following, upon the old steeple, did this Bell continue to ring for the living and toll for the dead. The new tower of Trinity Church was completed up to the belfry in 1786 and the arrangement was begun of ringing a call for fifteen minutes before the opening of the service. The old Bell, with a companion was purchased by Mr. Godleib Sener for the "Washington" Fire Company, of Luther and Washington. In 1822 this company was superseded by the official Fire Department of the city. It was then purchased by Mr. J. Frederick Sener to be generously erected by him as a memorial in the tower of the Grace Evangelical Lutheran Church, an offshoot of "Trinity" congregation. It was then inscribed:

PRESENTED 1883, BY HIS FATHER, IN MEMORY OF CHARLES M. SENER.
BORN 1857. DIED 1869.

While calling the children of this latest generation to the church of their fathers on Sunday, October 3rd, 1886, it became cracked and thrown out of service.



The Foundation In Virginia

ADDRESS OF ALTON B. PARKER, CHANCELLOR OF THE SULGRAVE
INSTITUTE

*Delivered at The College of William and Mary October 6th, 1920,
as a Part of the Celebration of the Three Hundredth Anni-
versary of the Beginnings of Government
in this Country*



We are celebrating this year, with the aid of distinguished representatives from Great Britain and Holland, the beginnings of Government in this country, which finally ripened into a Government, the like of which the world had never seen before surely, a Government of the people, by the people and for the people.

The first Legislative Assembly ever held in this country met at Jamestown, Virginia, July 30th, 1619, in the chancel of the church, Governor Yeardley presiding. This Assembly was authorized by a charter from Great Britain dated October 13, 1618. Some fifteen months later, all the men on board the *Mayflower* signed the following compact of Government:

"In ye name of God, Amen. Doo by these presents solemnly and mutually, in ye presence of God and one of another, covenant and combine ourselves together into a Civil body politick for our better ordering and preservation and furtherance of ye ends afore-saide and By Vertue hearof to enacte, constitute and frame such just and equall lawes, ordnances, Acts, constitutions and offices from time to time as shall be thought most meete and convenient for ye generall good of ye colonie. Unto which we promise a due submission and obedience."

These beginnings of Government in Virginia and in Massachusetts were by Englishmen who loved the great principles of English liberty which cost the people of England a struggle of nearly five hundred years to secure. And they also revered the common law. The Virginians were Church of England men and brought with them their rector. The Pilgrims left England principally be-

THE FOUNDATION IN VIRGINIA

cause they would have nothing to do with that church or with a government that supported it.

Little did these pioneers dream that the Three Hundredth Anniversary of their first attempts at government would be celebrated by an independent nation of over one hundred millions of people possessing a territory extending from the Atlantic to the Pacific and from the Great Lakes to the Gulf of Mexico, controlling a great ship canal which it had built connecting the Atlantic with the Pacific and possessed of wealth greater than that of any three nations in the world, a celebration participated in by Great Britain and Holland.

While it is true, as the historian Rhodes says (Rhodes' "History of the United States," Vol. 3, p. 290), that Virginia's share in forming the Union was greater than that of any other State, it is also true that Massachusetts held the second place in that respect. Under such leadership, 157 years after the session of the first Legislative Assembly at Jamestown, there was brought about the Declaration of Independence followed by the working out of a plan of government and the successful prosecution of a war for freedom.

When in 1774, the people of Boston threw into the harbor a shipment of tea and the King responded by closing the port, Thomas Jefferson, Patrick Henry, Richard Henry Lee and other famous Virginians of that day met at Raleigh Tavern (in Williamsburg) and resolved to stand by Massachusetts, just as in the early part of March of 1772 those men with others met at the same place upon learning that the people of Rhode Island had burned the British war vessel *Gaspee* in Narragansett Bay, for which offense the Ministers of George the Third claimed the right to transport the accused from Rhode Island to England for trial. At that meeting they passed resolutions pledging Virginia to stand by Rhode Island and creating a committee of eleven to correspond with the other Colonies and concert measures for the general defense.

Jefferson, who in the month of June, 1774, took his seat as a member of the Continental Congress, presented in his own handwriting the Declaration of American Independence. It contained an indictment of the King of Great Britain on the subject of slavery which was not adopted by the Congress. It will be referred to a little later. Otherwise, the Declaration as drafted by him, after a

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debate in the Congress on three different days, was adopted, every member present signing it, except one.

Virginia contributed the commander-in-chief of the armies in the struggle for freedom; the same man later, for our first President, one who in the judgment of the people, is first in war, first in peace and first in the hearts of his countrymen. After eight years of service by him, Massachusetts furnished the country with the second President in the person of John Adams.

Three Virginia Presidents followed in succession—Jefferson, Madison and Monroe; then came John Quincy Adams, of Massachusetts; Harrison and Tyler, of Virginia, succeeded Van Buren; and after Polk, Taylor of the same State became President. The last but not the least of Virginia's distinguished sons to achieve the presidency was Woodrow Wilson. Eight out of twenty-eight of our Presidents have been natives of Virginia.

With rightfully won leadership in the battle for freedom and in the formation of the government, the people of Virginia have nevertheless been compelled to suffer as the people of no other State has suffered. This was due to slavery—slavery which was forced upon her against her will. Her people were seriously injured in the good opinion of the people of a large part of the United States, because writers, and many of them, attempted to and did create the belief that they were responsible for the seizure of black men in Africa and the bringing of them bound in chains to this country to wear out their lives here in the service of inhuman masters,—a most unjust charge—one that rankles in the breasts of the Virginians, both old and young, even to this day, for they know the truth.

The truth should also be known by all the rest of the people of the United States, not alone in order that simple justice may be done to old Virginia and her people, but also to the end that people of all portions of the country may be more closely united in affectionate esteem. We need now and shall always need the hearty cooperation of the descendants of the early Virginians and of the Pilgrims in steering our ship of state through the turbulent waters.

What I am to say to you today is not new. Every Virginian knows it. But it is new to the majority of the people of the country outside of Virginia. Indeed, my study of the subject was

THE FOUNDATION IN VIRGINIA

prompted by the reading of a book by the late Beverly Munford, of Richmond. All should know it for the general good.

A descendant of a Revolutionary soldier from Massachusetts, I feel that I may and should take the liberty of telling in outline the story of the vain effort of the Virginians to prevent the importation of slaves. It is a record the like of which no other State can boast. Bancroft says (Vol. 3, p. 409), that the people of Virginia were overruled on a subject of vital importance to themselves and their posterity. Their halls of legislation had resounded with eloquence directed against the terrible plague of negro slavery. . . . Again and again, they had passed laws restraining the importation of negroes from Africa. But their laws were disallowed by Great Britain; and not only that, but after debate by the King and Council, the King issued on December 10, 1770, an instruction, commanding the Governor "Upon pain of the highest displeasure to assent to no law by which the importation of slaves should be in any respect prohibited or obstructed." . . .

Virginians thereupon resolved to appeal to the King himself for leave to defend themselves against this crime of avarice. This was done in these very words:

"The importation of slaves into the Colonies from the coast of Africa hath long been considered as a trade of great inhumanity; and under its present encouragement we have too much reason to fear will endanger the very existence of your Majesty's American Dominions. We are sensible that some of your Majesty's subjects in Great Britain may reap emoluments from this sort of traffic; but when we consider that it greatly retards the settlement of the Colonies with more useful inhabitants and *may in time have the most destructive influence* we presume to hope that the interest of a few will be disregarded when placed in competition with the security and happiness of such numbers of your Majesty's dutiful and loyal subjects. Deeply impressed with these sentiments we most humbly beseech your Majesty to remove all those restraints on your Majesty's Governors of these Colonies which inhibit their assenting to such laws as might check so very pernicious a commerce." (Bancroft, Vol. 3, p. 411).

Poor Virginians: Wise was the prophecy of her great sons, that in time slavery might have the most destructive influence. But vain were her struggles against it.

Let me call your attention to some of the more prominent steps

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that were taken by the people of Virginia and her statesmen to end the importation of slaves into Virginia and also into the other Colonies, and later, into the States.

In 1619, a few slaves were brought into Virginia, but not until 1661 was the institution of slavery recognized in Virginia by statute law. ("History of Slavery in Virginia," Ballagh, p. 34). For a long period after the first introduction very few slaves were brought to Virginia and for two reasons: First, there was but little money with which to pay for them, and Second, because the overwhelming majority of the Virginian people were then and ever continued to be opposed to slavery. At the end of the first half century there were only some two thousand slaves in the Colony. In 1770 Virginia, through her House of Burgesses, protested against the introduction of African slaves. To that, the response of the King was "An instruction under his own hand commanding the Governor upon pain of the highest displeasure to assent to no law by which the importation of slaves should be in any respect prohibited or obstructed." (Bancroft, Vol. 3, p. 410). This in turn led the House of Burgesses to make the appeal to the King which I have already quoted from Bancroft.

The King failing and refusing to use his power to end slavery, in obedience to the request of the House of Burgesses, the People of Virginia started a movement in 1774 to induce all Virginians to agree that they would not buy the slaves which the slave traders, backed by the King of England, insisted upon bringing into Virginia. To that end, mass meetings were held in many of the counties and appropriate resolutions adopted. The resolution of Fairfax county said in part: "We take the opportunity of declaring our most earnest wish to see an entire stop forever put to such a wicked, cruel and unnatural trade." (DuBois, 43).

In that same year and in the month of August, the Virginia Colonial Convention resolved as follows: "We will neither ourselves import, nor purchase any slave or slaves imported by any other person, after the first day of November next, either from Africa, the West Indies or any other place." (DuBois, 43).

On the 5th day of the following month, when the Continental Congress assembled for the first time, Virginia's delegates in that body submitted the memorial known as "A Summary View of the Rights of British America," in which the course of King George,

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the Third, was arraigned and the sentiments of Virginia declared in the following words:

“For the most trifling reasons and sometimes for no conceivable reason at all, his Majesty has rejected laws of the most salutary tendency. The abolition of domestic slavery is the great object of desire in these colonies where it was unhappily introduced in their infant state. But previous to the enfranchisement of the slaves we had, it is necessary to exclude all further importations from Africa. Yet our repeated request to effect this by prohibitions and by imposing duties which might amount to a prohibition have been hitherto defeated by his Majesty’s intervention, thus preferring the immediate advantage of a few British Corsaires to the lasting interest of the loyal states and to the rights of human nature deeply wounded by this inhuman trade.” (Writings of Thomas Jefferson (Ford), 1892, Vol. 1, p. 440).

It makes the heart ache to read these words of protest by the Virginia representatives in the Continental Congress, knowing as we do, the horrible sufferings to which her people were later to be subjected for an evil forced upon her despite the efforts of her people and of her House of Burgesses and her statesmen. Her representatives in the Continental Congress made strenuous efforts to secure the adoption of the “Non-Importation Agreement,” in which there was a resolve to discontinue the slave trade and a pledge neither to “hire our vessels nor sell our commodities or manufactures to those who are concerned in it.” (Dubois, p. 45).

The agreement to wage a boycott against importers of slaves which Virginia’s representatives in the Continental Congress sought to bring into operation stimulated the “Folks at Home” to boycott purchasers of imported slaves. Vigilance committees were formed over the State who adopted vigorous methods to accomplish that result. For example, here at Norfolk, the committee found that in spite of the well understood sentiment of the community, a well-to-do merchant had purchased slaves from Jamaica. Thereupon, the committee made a report to the public that we “hold up for your just indignation Mr. John Brown, merchant of this place . . . to the end . . . that every person may henceforth break off all dealings with him.” (DuBois, 47).

In the year 1776, but before the Declaration of Independence was proclaimed, Virginia adopted a written Constitution and Bill of Rights. The preamble to the constitution dealt with the dif-

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ferences between Virginia and King George on the subject of importing slaves against its wish and despite the act prohibiting it which had been passed by Virginia's House of Burgesses. It declared that his action in perverting his kingly powers . . . into a detestable and insupportable tyranny by putting his negative on laws the most wholesome and necessary for the public good," and again for "Prompting our negroes to rise in arms among us—those very negroes who by inhuman use of his negative he hath refused us permission to exclude by law." (Hening's Statutes, Vol. 9, pp. 112, 113).

Other Colonies had already adopted Bills of Rights, but Virginia was the very first to open with the declaration "*That All Men are by nature equally free and independent.*" This great truth, penned by Mason, was two months later expressed by Jefferson in the Declaration of Independence in these words: "*That all men are created free and equal.*" The proposed Declaration as framed by Jefferson and in his own handwriting and proposed by him to the Continental Congress contained in addition to the portion adopted by the Congress and made the Declaration of Independence, the following indictment of the King of Great Britain:

"He has waged cruel war against human nature itself, violating its most sacred rights of life and liberty, in the persons of a distant people who never offended him; captivating them and carrying them into slavery in another hemisphere, or to incur miserable death in their transportation thither. This piratical warfare, the opprobrium of infidel powers, is the warfare of the Christian King of Great Britain. Determined to keep open a market where men should be bought and sold, he has prostituted his negative for suppressing every legislative attempt to prohibit or restrain this execrable commerce.

"And that this assemblage of horrors might want no fact of distinguished dye, he is now exciting those very people to rise in arms among us and purchase that liberty of which he has deprived them by murdering the people on whom he has obtruded them, thus paying off former crimes committed against the leaders of one people with crimes which he urges them to commit against the lives of another." (Writings of Jefferson, Vol. 12, VII).

The debate lasted three days, but the influence of South Carolina, Georgia and New England was sufficient to cause those words to be stricken out. And the Declaration was adopted as we now see it.

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After Virginia's Declaration of Independence from British rule, her General Assembly passed in 1778 an act providing that "no slaves shall hereafter be imported into this commonwealth by sea or land nor shall any slaves so imported be sold or bought by any person whatsoever." The statute further imposed a fine of one thousand pounds for each slave imported, and five hundred pounds upon any person buying or selling any such slave. It also declared that any slave "shall upon such importation become free." (Henning's Statutes, Vol. 9, p. 471. M. 25).

When on March 1, 1784, Virginian's deed of cession of the great Northwest Territory was accepted by the Continental Congress, Mr. Jefferson reported the bill prepared by him known as the "Ordinance of 1784." The Ordinance provided not only for many of the governmental needs of this large territory, but declared that after the year 1800 slavery should never exist in any portion of the vast domain west of a line drawn North and South between Lake Erie and the Spanish Dominions of Florida. It received the votes of but six States, and Mr. Jefferson's two colleagues voted against the Ordinance. This was a matter of great grief to him, and led him to write in a letter to M. de Munier: "The voice of a single individual of the State which was divided or one of those which were of the negative would have prevented this abominable crime from spreading itself over the new country. Thus, we see the fate of millions unborn hanging on the tongue of one man and heaven was silent in that awful moment." (Writings of Jefferson (Ford), Vol. 4, p. 181, M. 27).

Three years later, however, the Ordinance of 1787 was enacted into law and Fiske says that "No one was more active in bringing about this result than William Grayson, of Virginia, who was earnestly supported by Lee." ("Critical Period of American History," Fiske, p. 205, M. 27). Mr. Bancroft says:

"Thomas Jefferson first summoned Congress to prohibit slavery in all the territories of the United States; Rufus King lifted up the measure when it lay almost lifeless on the ground and suggested the immediate instead of the prospective prohibition; a Congress composed of five Southern States to one from New England, and two from the Middle States headed by William Grayson supported by Richard Henry Lee and using Nathan Dane as scribe, carried the measure to the goal in the amended form in which King

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had caused it to be referred to a committee; and, as Jefferson had proposed, placed it under the sanction of an irrevocable compact." (Bancroft's U. S. H., Vol. 6, p. 290, M. 27).

As the Ordinance passed contained many provisions not set out in Virginia's deed of cession, it became necessary that Virginia should by a proper enactment reaffirm her deed. This she did through the action of her General Assembly at its next session. Virginia therefore bore a leading part in the legislative work by which slavery was forever prohibited in the vast territory north of the Ohio river, a territory which she had won from England and the Indians. (Bancroft, Vol. 6, pp. 290, 291).

In the Convention which framed the Federal Constitution in 1787, when the question of permitting further importation of slaves was under discussion, Mr. Mason, of Virginia, said: "This infernal traffic originated in the avarice of British merchants." The British government constantly checked the attempt of Virginia to put a stop to it. Maryland and Virginia had already prohibited the importation of slaves expressly and North Carolina had done the same in substance. He was supported by Luther Martin, of Maryland, whereupon Gouverneur Morris adverted to the circumstances that the sixth section of the same article then under consideration contained a provision "That no Navigation Act should pass without the consent of two-thirds of the members present in each House," a provision especially affecting the interests of the New England States and he suggested that this section together with the fourth and fifth should be referred to the committee. The suggestion was adopted and an agreement reached by the committee to recommend the extension of the slave trade to 1800 and striking out the provisions requiring a two-thirds vote to an Act of Navigation Law. The report being read in Convention, General Pinckney, of South Carolina, moved to extend the slave trade to 1808, which motion was seconded by Mr. Gorham, of Massachusetts, Mr. Madison, of Virginia, afterward President of the United States, earnestly opposed the motion declaring it to be dishonorable to the American character. But his opposition was in vain. The motion prevailing by the vote of all the New England States together with South Carolina, Georgia, Maryland and North Carolina. Voting against it were the States of Virginia, Pennsylvania, New Jersey and Delaware.

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Josiah Parker, of Virginia, in the first session of the Congress under the Constitution, held in April, 1789, sought to amend the Tariff Bill by inserting a clause levying an import tax of ten dollars upon every slave brought into the country. He was supported by Theodore Bland and James Madison, afterwards President, the latter declaring "By expressing a national disappropriation of that trade it is to be hoped we may destroy it and so save ourselves from reproach and our posterity from the imbecility ever attendant on a country filled with slaves. (Annals of Congress, Vol. 1, Col. 336). This effort was not successful, but it resulted in numerous petitions to the next session of Congress from Virginia and Maryland and from almost every one of the Northern States. In the Virginia petition, the slave trade was declared to be "An outrageous violation of one of the most essential rights of human nature." (DuBois, 80). In his message to Congress in 1806-7 President Jefferson said in part: "I congratulate you fellow citizens on the approach of a period at which you may interpose your authority constitutionally to withdraw the citizens of the United States from all further participation in those violations of the human rights which have so long been continued on the unoffending inhabitants of Africa which the morality, the reputation and the best interests of our country have long been eager to prescribe."

The Congress passed an Act Prohibiting the Slave Trade and imposing forfeitures and fines upon ships and ship crews engaged in the traffic. But while by reason of the Act the traffic in slaves was somewhat lessened, it still continued.

James Madison, of Virginia, who succeeded Thomas Jefferson as President of the United States, in a message to Congress of December 5, 1810, declared: "Among the commercial abuses still committed under the American flag . . . it appears that American citizens are instrumental in carrying on the traffic in enslaved Africans equally in violation of the laws of humanity and in defiance of those of their own country." And urged Congress to devise further means for suppressing the evil. He again brought the subject to the attention of Congress in a message dated December 3, 1816.

In the course of 1819, under the leadership of Charles Fenton Mercer and John Floyd, of Virginia, a bill was passed amending the statute so as to require the President to use armed cruisers off

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the coast of Africa and America to suppress the trade and providing for the immediate return to Africa of any imported slaves, and appropriating one hundred thousand dollars to carry out the general purposes of the law. (Annals of Congress, 15th Congress, second section, part 1).

President Monroe, of Virginia, succeeded President Madison, and he submitted in a special message to Congress dated May 21, 1824, a Treaty with Great Britain which accorded "A search for slaves on vessels of the United States in return for a like privilege to Great Britain." This treaty he supported with vigor; stating therein "That should this proposition be adopted, there is every reason to believe that it will be the commencement of a system destined to accomplish the entire abolition of the slave trade." The ratification of this treaty, however, was unfortunately defeated in the Senate.

Another resident of Virginia who became President, John Tyler, addressed two messages to the Congress upon the slave trade, appealing for amendments to the existing laws so as to give them greater force and efficiency, in one of which he said: "That the American flag is grossly abused by the abandoned and profligate of other nations is but too probable."

In 1842, in the preparation of the Ashburton Treaty, he secured the insertion of a clause providing for the maintenance and cooperation of squadrons of the United States and Great Britain off the coast of Africa for the suppression of the trade. (Letters and Times of the Tylers," Vol. 2, p. 219).

And still another citizen of Virginia, on becoming President of the United States, Zachary Taylor, appealed to Congress in a message under date of December 4, 1849, for an "Amendment of our existing laws relating to the African slave trade with a view to the effectual suppression of that barbarous traffic." He also said "It is not to be denied that it is still in part carried on by means of vessels in the United States and owned or navigated by some of our citizens."

Thus, we see that six of the citizens of Virginia who became Presidents of the United States were most active in their efforts against slavery.

I have already referred to the legislative action of Virginia, while a Colony, against slavery, calling your attention to the Act

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of 1778 passed after her Declaration of Independence in which the importation of slaves was prohibited. Other legislation tending in the same general direction includes the Act of 1782 passed by the General Assembly of Virginia, by the terms of which slave-holders were authorized to emancipate their slaves by deed or will duly made and recorded. This was contrary to the British rule, which forbade slave-holders from manumitting their slaves except with the permission of the Council. (Hening's Statutes, Vol. 4, p. 132, M. 41). Three years later, and in 1785, the General Assembly passed an Act providing that slaves brought into the State and remaining there twelve months should be free. In 1787 the General Assembly passed Validating Acts covering attempts at manumissions by wills which were executed prior to 1782. The General Assembly also passed an Act in 1788 making the enslaving of the child of free blacks a crime punishable by death upon the scaffold. In 1795 it enacted that a slave might sue *in forma pauperis* in any court for the purpose of settling the question of his right to freedom. Under that Act he was authorized to make complaint to the nearest magistrate or court, and the owner was required to give bond to permit the slave to attend the next term of the court and maintain his rights.

The effect of these and other Acts together with the general desire on the part of most of the people was to stimulate manumissions. There were three thousand free negroes in Virginia at the close of the Revolution. Ten years later, there were thirteen thousand. The Census of 1810 showed them to number 30,570. This large number of free negroes led to statutory amendments requiring slaves who were freed to go out of the State. Many well-to-do Virginians thereafter provided by will that their respective trustees should take the negroes to a State named therein and buy each family a farm and give them a stipulated sum of money with which to start. But they were not welcomed in any State. Indeed, they were told to go back to Virginia where they and their ancestors were brought in spite of the protest of the great majority of the good people of Virginia. That this is so, is shown not only by legislative and political action by the people as well as the leaders of Virginia, to which some reference has been made by me today, but also by the United States Census of the year 1860. Therein it appears that the white population of Virginia was 1,047,299

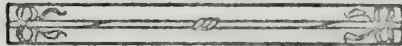
THE FOUNDATION IN VIRGINIA

and the number of slave-holders was 52,128. Thus, out of a population of over one million, only some 52,000 were slave-holders.

Zealous men in the North and particularly in New England who were ignorant of Virginia's history and had never heard of her great efforts against slavery, were in the thirty years preceding 1860 vigorously engaged in assaulting not only slavery and slave-holders, but also the morality and civilization of every State in which there were slaves and slave-owners. It was not possible for the majority of the people of such a State as Virginia, with a record in all respects as to slavery unsurpassed by any Colony or any State, to do otherwise than to resent the untruthful assaults made upon her.

It is not too late to attempt to contribute as large a measure of justice as the situation will permit. That effort should be made now, and if it shall be, it will wonderfully help toward that unity of effort for the public good that ought to inspire the people of the two sections of our country from whence came the beginnings of government in the United States: Virginia and Massachusetts.

Massachusetts has my filial and profound respect and regard. But Virginia, the fair and fertile; the first spot on this continent that an Anglo-Saxon called "home;" the land which gave the immortal Washington to a grateful country; the soil from which sprang so many leaders in the creation of our government, so large a number of our foremost soldiers and statesman; the "Mother of Presidents;" the cornerstone of our free government—when I remember your patriotism and loyalty, your scars of battle and your dismemberment, your early opposition to slavery and your later suffering from this serpent which had been thrust into your bosom in spite of your repeated protests, my heart and soul go out in profound love and respect to the sunny hills and fertile valleys, to the great and noble community known in history and romance as the "Old Dominion."



Schlather Family

BY WINFIELD S. DOWNS, BROOKLYN, NEW YORK

Schlather-Schlatter Arms—Per bend sinister or and azure; in chief a hurt, in base a bezant; over all a bend sinister argent.

Crest—A wing, same as the arms of the shield.



AMONG the citizens of Cleveland, Ohio, who achieved distinction in business, entitling them to be placed among the representative men of the community, there are many whose quiet perseverance in a particular pursuit elevated them to positions enviable in the eyes of their fellow-men, and as lasting as well-merited. In this class may be placed *Leonard Schlather*, who gained a success in life that is not measured by financial prosperity alone, but is gauged by the kindly and congenial associations that go toward satisfying man's nature. Mr. Schlather belonged to the class of men, who, in days gone by, added to the growth and importance of his adopted city, and who became prominent by the force of his own individual personality. But few men have lived in the city of Cleveland, Ohio, who have left a brighter record for every trait of character that constituted real greatness, and Mr. Schlather's life is well worth preserving in such volumes as this, to furnish instruction for the generations to come. His name ever stood as a synonym for all that was enterprising in business and progressive in citizenship, and his industry and energy, his courage and fidelity to principle, were illustrated in his career. His personal qualities were highly commendable, and he was truly a man of unusual strength of purpose and business ability. He was most kindly and companionable, made friends easily, and possessed the rare faculty of keeping those friendships.

For sixty-two years, Leonard Schlather was a resident of Cleveland, Ohio, locating there in 1856, a young man of twenty-two, who, three years earlier, had left his native Germany. He built up a very large industry in Cleveland, and remained at its head for forty-five years, accumulating a large estate. He was devoted to his adopted city, and as evidence of his gratitude two monuments adorn the city, the Schiller-Goethe and the Richard Wagner groups.



Schlather

Schlatter

SCHLATHER FAMILY

He invested his fortune in Cleveland property, the Schlather estate, lying in beautiful Rocky River, a suburb of Cleveland.

I. *Adam Schlather*, a brick manufacturer of Jabenhausen, Germany, was also the owner of a farm which was the family home, and there Leonard Schlather spent his early life, as did all the children of Adam and Rosa (Vollmer) Schlather. Leonard was the fourth son of this large family. Two of his elder brothers, Frederick and Christian, in 1853, decided to come to the United States. At the last moment, Christian, the second son, weakened at the sight of the mother's grief at losing her two eldest sons, and decided to remain at home. As all sailing arrangements had been made, it was hurriedly decided that Leonard should take his brother's place, which he did, even to taking the packed belongings of his brother, for the change of plan was made at the vessel on which the brothers had engaged passage. Such was the manner of the coming of Leonard Schlather to the United States, a young man of nineteen.

II. *Leonard Schlather* was born in the town of Jabenhausen, Wurttemberg, Germany, June 20, 1834, and died in Cleveland, Ohio, April 19, 1918, where he was laid at rest in Riverside Cemetery. He grew up on the home farm, and obtained a good education, early, however, in the intervals of school life, aiding his father in his brick manufacturing. Until 1853 he remained at home, then, as above mentioned, with his elder brother, Frederick, came to the United States, locating in Altoona, Pennsylvania, where some members of his mother's family (Vollmer) were living. There he was employed by the Vollmer Brewing Company for a few years, becoming familiar with brewing methods. In 1856 he left Altoona, and located in Cleveland, Ohio, where his after-life was spent. Leonard Schlather always remembered with great gratitude the assistance given him by his elder brother, Frederick, who became a successful business man and who advanced to Leonard Schlather his first \$10,000, which was the real foundation of Leonard Schlather's later success.

In Cleveland, Leonard Schlather engaged in the only business in which he was expert, and in a two-story frame building, at the corner of Carroll avenue and West Twenty-eighth street, started a small brewery. From this small beginning grew the largest brewery in Cleveland, a plant that finally covered more than an entire city block, the last addition being made in 1885. Mr. Schlather continued the business which he founded until 1901, then sold to the

SCHLATHER FAMILY

Cleveland Sandusky Brewing Company, and retired from all connection with the Leonard Schlather Brewery.

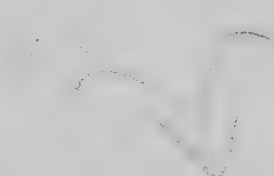
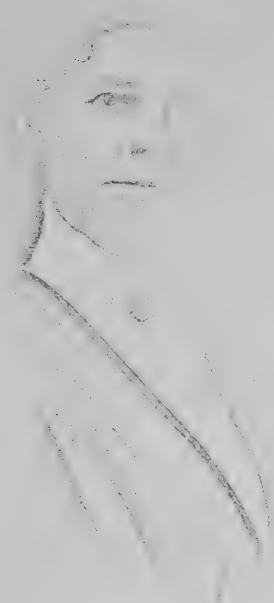
In 1881 Mr. Schlather built a residence at No. 1900 West Twenty-eighth street, and later purchased eleven acres on the bluff at Rocky River, on Wooster road, a short distance from the central section of Rocky River, a suburb of Cleveland. That was his summer home for many years, and, as opportunity offered, he purchased adjoining tracts until the Schlather estate consisted of ninety-seven acres, with several residences thereon, all in the valuable Rocky River section.

Mr. Schlather had extensive banking interests, being vice-president of the People's Savings Bank; director of the Union Bank of Cleveland; was also connected with the Society for Savings, and had a large interest in the old Sheriff Street Market at one time. He was a member of the Cleveland Chamber of Commerce; was a Republican in politics; and a truly progressive and public-spirited citizen. During his connection with the brewing company he was a member of the Ohio Brewers' Association, and was its one-time president. He was also a member of the National Association of Brewers. He gave freely to every cause which appealed to his sense of justice and right, and to him and E. J. Siller, president of Weidman & Company, Cleveland owes the beautiful Schiller-Goethe monument in Wade Park, their joint gift. Mr. Schlather also gave to the city the Richard Wagner monument, and was one of the founders and largest donors to the Cleveland General Hospital, located at Carnegie avenue and Sixty-seventh street, and now known as St. Luke's Hospital. During the World War period, 1917-18, both he and his wife gave generously to the Red Cross and the Young Men's Christian Association calls, and were large purchasers of Liberty Bonds and War Savings Stamps. He was a life member of the Western Reserve Historical Society, and in No. 100, transactions and annual reports of the Society, is published a review of the life of Leonard Schlather, their long time associate.

Mr. Schlather married (first) in Cleveland, Ohio, Catherine Buckes, and they were the parents of five daughters: 1. Rosa, now deceased, married Mars Wagner, of a prominent Lakewood, Ohio, family of pioneers, and they were the parents of three children: i. Leona Serena, who is the wife of Grover Cleveland Hasford, and they have one child, Leona Serena. ii. Mars J. iii. Leonard.



RESIDENCE OF MRS. LEONARD SCHLATHER
ROCKY RIVER, OHIO



Sopini Schwarz Schlatter

SCHLATHER FAMILY

2-3. Catherine and Emelia, who died in youthful womanhood. 4. Anna, now deceased; married Dr. J. F. Hobson, deceased, of Cleveland, Ohio, and they were the parents of a daughter, Helen Emily, who married Harry T. Hatcher, and has a daughter, Barbara. 5. Lena, who is now the widow of Dr. Charles B. Parker, of Cleveland, Ohio.

Leonard Schlather married (second), October 7, 1897, Anna Catherine Sophie Schwarz, born in Wheeling, West Virginia, June 27, 1864, daughter of Henry and Theresa (Luedeke) Schwarz, and granddaughter of Daniel Schwarz, an inn-keeper of Fulda, Hessen, Germany. Henry Schwarz, who was born in Hessen, Germany, came to the United States, and for many years was connected with the Nail City Brewery, of Wheeling, West Virginia. Mrs. Sophie S. Schlather survives her husband, and shortly after being widowed, she sold the city home on Twenty-eighth street, Cleveland, and made her permanent home in the beautiful residence at Rocky River, her home situated in the Schlather estate.

Notwithstanding their disparity in age, Mr. and Mrs. Schlather were in hearty sympathy in their life aims and were in close accord in charitable and patriotic work. Mrs. Schlather continues her work for others, and is one of Cleveland's foremost workers for charity.

Mr. Schlather lived to octogenarian ranks, and for seventeen years lived retired from business. He and his wife made a trip around the world in 1901, visiting all points of interest in the Orient and Occident. Mr. and Mrs. Schlather made many journeys to Europe, also to South America, Africa, the West Indies, and Panama, and were familiar with the places of scenic and historic interest of the United States. He loved his beautiful estate at Rocky River, and there spent a very happy, contented evening of life. His kindly, studious nature delighted in books, music and art, and he indulged his tastes freely. He was most friendly and hospitable, making many friends and always retaining them.

SCHWARZ

The family patronymic of Schwarz is of ancient Teutonic origin and is spelled in various ways, as Schwarz, Schwartz and Schwarze. Early representatives of this family have resided in the different Principalities, Provinces and States of Southern Germany. A num-

SCHLATHER FAMILY

ber of early representatives of this family name were men of high educational attainment and noted scholars. The Schwarz coat-of-arms is as follows:

Arms—Or, a stag courant sable, the neck pierced by an arrow per bend sinister of the last, point upwards.

Christoph Schwarz, a noted German painter, was born in the town of Ingolstadt, on the Danube river, in Upper Bavaria, in 1550. Much of his work was executed in the city of Munich, Kingdom of Bavaria, and he died in 1594.

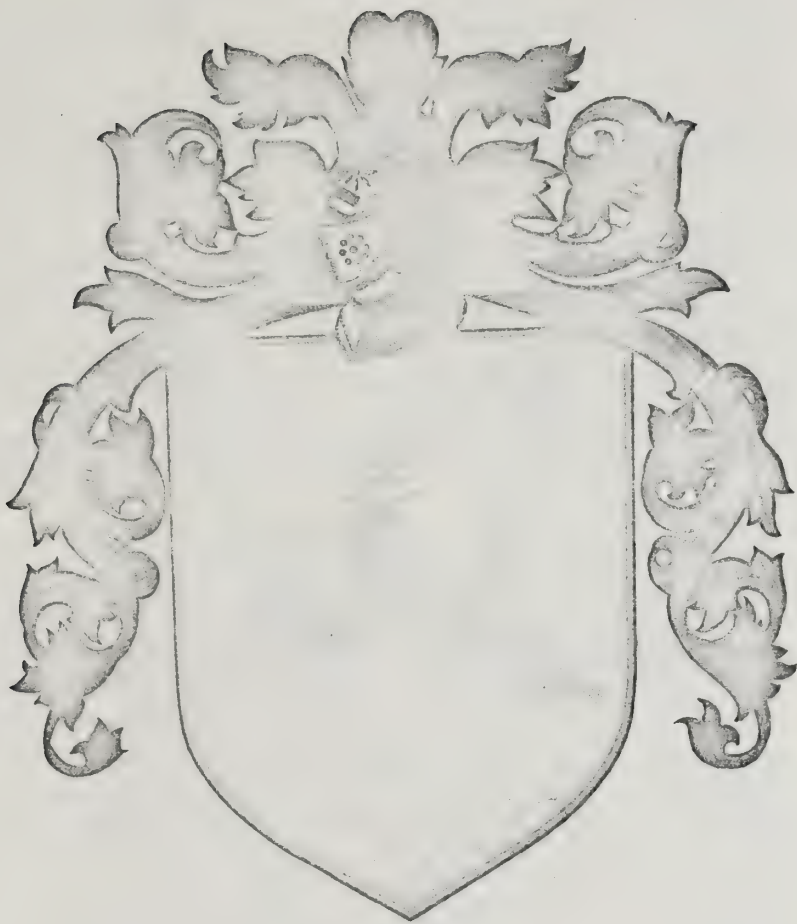
Berthold Schwarz, another distinguished representative of this family, was a noted German chemist and Franciscan monk, born in the city of Freiburg, in the Grand Duchy of Baden, Germany, and early tradition states that he invented gun-powder about 1330. A monument to his memory was erected at Freiburg, Grand Duchy of Baden, in 1853.

Christian Gottlieb Schwarz, a learned German writer and bibliographer, was born in the town of Misnia, in 1675. He was for a number of years professor of eloquence in the University at Altdorf, Grand Duchy of Baden, Germany. He died in 1751.

Frederick Heinrich Christian Schwarz, later distinguished representative of this family name, professor of theology in the University at Heidelberg, was born in the city of Geisson in 1766. He published several educational works, and died in 1837.

The branch of this noted line of special interest in this record was for many generations resident in Nuremberg, Germany, and there its members practiced the virtues and sturdy qualities that have been the priceless heritage of later years.





Schwarz



Marquard Forster

Forster Family

BY FRANK R. HOLMES, NEWARK, NEW JERSEY

Arms—Quarterly, 1st and 4th gules, two bendlets argent; 2nd and 3rd sable, a stag salient or.

Crest—Out of a ducal coronet a bugle horn sable, stringed and garnished or, surmounted by an oak branch, fruited with one acorn, all proper; the whole posed between two wings, the dexter argent, two bendlets gules, the sinister or, two bendlets sable.

Mantling—Dexter, or and sable. Sinister, argent and gules.



THE American history of the German family of Forster begins with the coming to the United States of *Marquard Forster, Sr.*, who left his native country, *Bavaria*, in his youth. He came to *St. Louis, Missouri*, entered active life, and continued prosperously therein until his death, *January 10, 1901*, becoming one of the owners of the *Hyde Park Brewery*. Among his children was *C. Marquard*, of whom further.

C. Marquard Forster was born in *St. Louis, Missouri*, *June 20, 1857*, son of *Marquard Forster, Sr.* After attending the public schools he became a student in *Washington University of St. Louis*, and as a youth of nineteen years became associated with his father in vinegar dealings, father and son subsequently conducting a vinegar and malting business at *Sixth and Gratiot streets*. Their activities were widened by the establishment of the *Hyde Park Brewery*, of which *August* and *C. Marquard Forster* were the active heads until *1889*, when the concern was merged with the *St. Louis Brewing Association*. *C. Marquard Forster* was elected a director of this association, and in *1900* became vice-president, also at this time serving as manager of the *City Brewery*, the *Lafayette Brewery*, the *Wainwright Brewery* and the *Hyde Park Brewery*. His business prominence was not confined to this field, in which his training had been directed, but he was widely known throughout the world of affairs of the district as vice-president and director of the *Kinloch Telephone Company*, and as a director and executive committeeman of the *Title Guaranty and Trust Company*. He had been an organizer of the *Kinloch Telephone Company*, and was a factor in the progressive movements of his day which paved the way for

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the industrial and commercial prominence of the St. Louis of the present.

Mr. Forster was a Democrat in political faith, but preferred to remain aloof from the restrictions of office. Among his numerous social memberships were those of the St. Louis Club, Mercantile, Glen Echo Club, and the Liederkrantz Club, to all of which he contributed the gift of a generous nature and friendly spirit. As material possessions came to him, he was not unmindful of the time when he needed counsel and aid, and he was ever willing, from the great store of his experience, to extend a helping hand to those in need. His position in the city was that of a man who had overtopped many obstacles in his rise to a place of influence, and his judgment was a determining factor in the deliberations of his business associates. His death occurred February 21, 1912, taking from the St. Louis community a citizen who had made her interests his and who had left the mark of strong ability upon the history of her institutions.

C. Marquard Forster married, in 1891, Katie Schlosstein, daughter of Louis Schlosstein (q.v.). Their children were: 1. Hilda. 2. Loui Marquard, married Dorothy Murphy, and they are residents of St. Louis. 3. Paula Laura, married Briggs Alexander Hoffman, engaged in the insurance business; they have two children: Marquard Foster Hoffman, and Briggs Alexander Hoffman, Jr.

SCHLOSSTEIN

Albisheim, in the Kingdom of Bavaria, Germany, was the home of the ancestors of Louis Schlosstein, son of John and Fredericka (Lauer) Schlosstein, his family a line of prominence in the region. Here Louis Schlosstein was born October 14, 1834, obtaining his education in the Latin schools of Kirchheim and Gruenstadt, Germany, after which he completed an apprenticeship of three and one-half years in the brewery trade. The following five years were spent in travel throughout the country, during which time he followed his calling in various cities, and as his horizon widened and his independence increased he determined to come to the United States. This he did in 1856, a brother George having preceded him by several years, and here he was employed in different capacities



Horster

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by several breweries until his high qualifications caused his election for the position of foreman in the old Uhrig Brewery, where he remained for four years. His independent career began in 1865 as junior member of the firm of Feuerbacher & Schlosstein, proprietors of the Green Tree Brewery, and in this connection Mr. Schlosstein's vast technical knowledge and mastery of the brewing art contributed largely to the upbuilding of a flourishing, successful enterprise. The growth of the company was almost without precedent, and the investment gave exceedingly good returns from operations that extended over a wide area, the company consolidating in June, 1889, with sixteen other St. Louis breweries under the title of the St. Louis Brewing Association. Five months afterwards the association sold out to a syndicate of English capitalists, Mr. Schlosstein continuing as manager of the plant of which he had previously been an owner until 1892, when he resigned to devote himself exclusively to other important property interests and official duties.

Mr. Schlosstein was never active in public matters, but his support was always given where he thought that the best interests of his community would be furthered. Tolerance was the keynote of his religious faith, and his belief that a man was in a very real sense his brother's keeper was often demonstrated in his acts of kindly charity.

Mr. Schlosstein married, May 7, 1863, Mrs. Josephine Uhrig, widow of Ignatius Uhrig, founder of the noted Uhrig Brewery, upon whose site the present Union Station was erected. Mrs. Schlosstein was the mother of two children of her former marriage, Caroline, who married, May 7, 1872, Charles Seitz, deceased, and had two children, Josephine (Mrs. William Ennsberg), and Laura; and Mary, who married Henry Nicolaus, and died April 6, 1899. Mr. and Mrs. Schlosstein had one daughter, Katie, who married C. Marquard Forster (q.v.).

Louis Schlosstein died in Glenwood Spring, Colorado, September 19, 1901. In addition to those interests outlined above, he had been officially connected with the South Side Bank and the Hammer Dry Plate Company, manufacturers of camera plates, and in numerous other capacities had been able to advance the material prestige of this city. Quietly and unostentatiously he went his way, performing daily duties as they came to him, wronging no man and help-

FORSTER FAMILY

ing many, in brief, rendering an excellent account of the stewardship of unusual ability and talent. In the intimate relations of home and family the best of a character and personality universally approved was shown, and here he gave himself in prodigal devotion for the happiness and welfare of those near and dear to him.





Wogt

Vogt Family

BY IDA A. GROVER, RED BANK, NEW JERSEY



THE family name of Vogt, signifying an official position, is of ancient Teutonic origin. The patronymic of Vogt is numerously found in the various municipalities and provinces of the Kingdom of Saxony, Germany, where this family patronymic was variously spelled Voigt and Voit, and also Vod and Fouth. These forms of spelling all carried with them the meaning of security, "Protector," and is taken from the old Langobard law, according to which any individual occupying a position as Vogt was regarded as being of sovereign importance; for example a Land-Vogt, signified an office in the capacity of administrator or director of land interests. A Stadt-Vogt was an official position comparing with a city judge; a Schirm-Vogt, signified a patron of a monastery. In ancient times the term of Vogt gave the person holding the position of Vogt the distinction of the title of a count. The authority giving the above facts refers to Heinrich II, who called himself Vogt of Weyda, and his descendants bore the entailed title of Vogt von Weyda, Plauen and Gratz. This title still prevails to the present day, and is known as Vogt-Land, meaning the possession of a tract of land in any of the municipalities or provinces of the Kingdom of Saxony, Germany. That this family patronymic is an ancient one is also declared by Johann Siebmacher, the celebrated German heraldist, who describes the Vogt family coat-of-arms, with a copper plate illustration, in his work published in the city of Nuremberg, Kingdom of Bavaria, Germany, in which he describes the same as follows:

Arms—Quarterly, 1 and 4, sable a lion rampant or; 2 and 3, per fesse azure and or, a grenade proper fired gules.

Crest—The lion of the arms turned to the sinister.

Mantle—Gules, sable and or.

Vogt, burgerl. Geschlecht, aus Sachsen stammend. W.: Geviertet. In 1. und 4. ein g. Lowe in II; 2 und 3. von B. und G. getheilt, mit einer r. brennenden Granate. K.: Der g. Lowe, D.: g.

Another competent authority states that the early ancestors of the Vogt family were living in the region which now comprises Saxe-

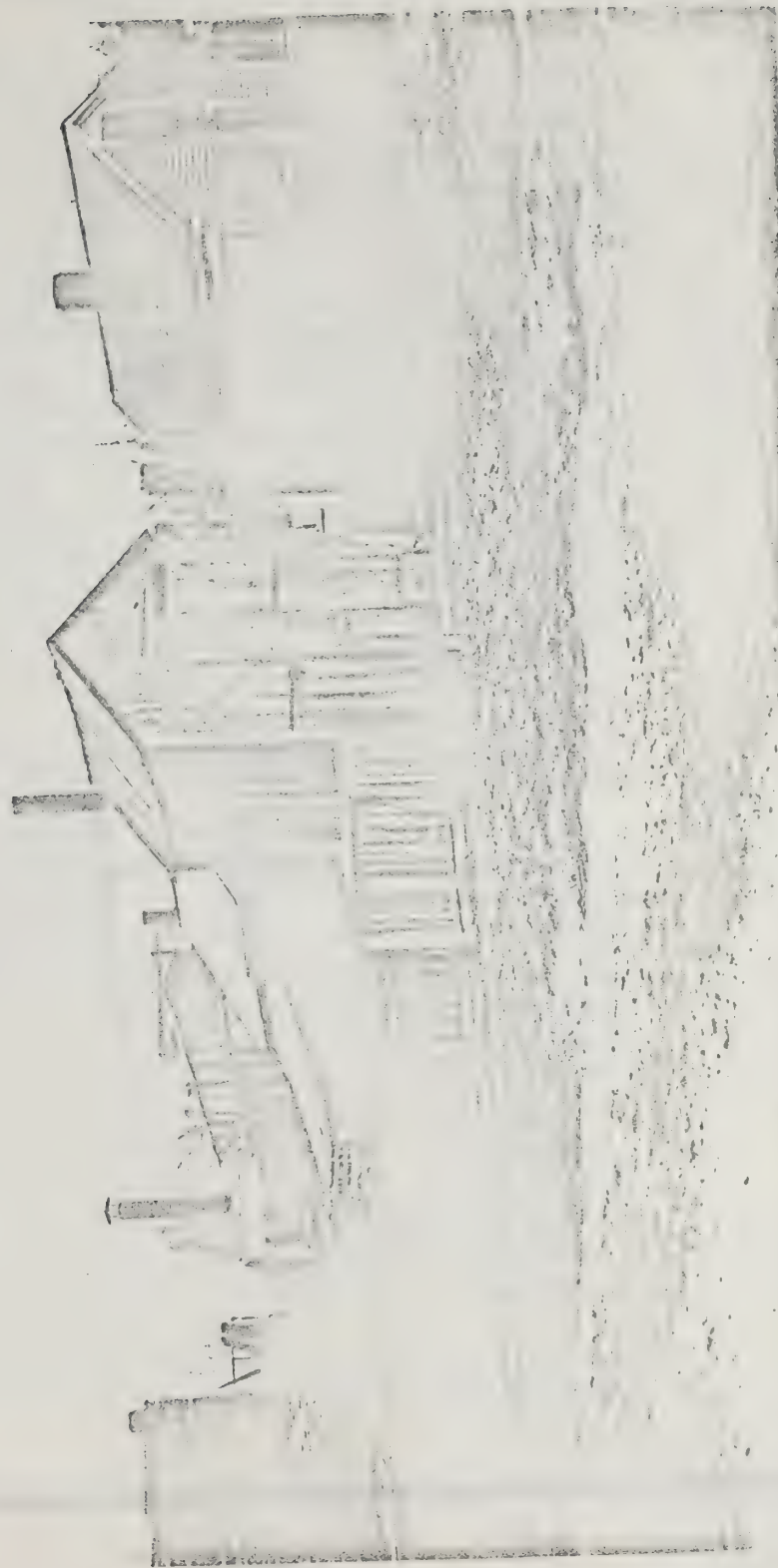
VOGT FAMILY

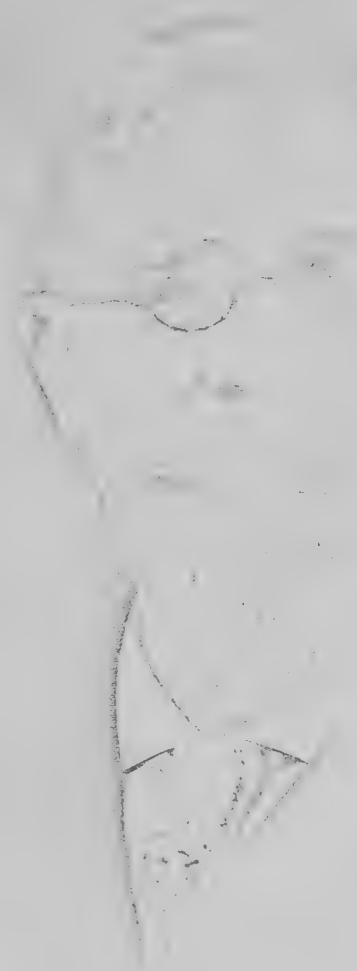
Weimar as early as the fourteenth century, and also refers to Christoph Vogt, who was a bourgomeister in the city of Zittau in 1512. Another representative of this family patronymic, Daniel Vogt, was a doctor of medicine, and for a number of years held the office of superintendent at Jessen, in the province of Saxony, from 1668 to 1675. We also find reference to Michael Christoph Vogt, who was a pastor, and held an official position with the court. His son, Franz Ernst Vogt, was born in the town of Buckeburg, in the principality of Schaumburg-Lippe, July 4, 1680. In 1696 he entered the high school at Rinteln, and in 1699 he is referred to as having gone to Oldenburg, where he held a position as governor to the young nobleman, Johann Heinrich von Engels. In 1700, Franz Ernst Vogt entered the army as an auditeur (auditor) under Colonel von Wedel. In 1703 he held the official position of Fiscal to the Count Friedrich Christian of Schaumburg-Lippe, and in 1705 he was one of the judiciary for the town of Buckeburg. The same authority refers to another representative of this family patronymic, namely Gabriel Vogt, who in 1668 served as Chur-Sachsicher Hof and Berg Rath. Still another representative of this family patronymic is mentioned as Georg Vogt, who was a celebrated organ builder in his day, and is accredited with having built the noted organ in the church at Mark-Ranstadt.

William Vogt, the first representative of this branch of the Vogt family of whom record is known, according to family tradition, was born in the town of Eisenach, a city of Central Germany, in the Grand Duchy of Saxe-Weimar, and the capital of the principality of Eisenach, situated on the river Horsa, at the foot of Wartburg mountain, midway between the cities of Leipzig and Cassel. Eisenach is the principal town in the Thuringian Forest District, and has many good public edifices, including a ducal residence, mint, town hall, hospitals, gymnasiums, forest and various other schools, manufactories of cotton goods, soap, white lead, dye works and tanneries. Not far distant from this historic and enterprising town is situated the castle of Wartburg, which was once the residence of the Landgraves of Thuringia. It was in this historic castle that Martin Luther passed ten months of durance from May 4, 1521, to March 6, 1522, while under friendly arrest of the Elector of Saxony. Numerous legends associated with the period of the great



UNION COÖPERAGE COMPANY
1923





John F. Vogh

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reformer's career while he was engaged at his work in the Wartburg castle have become matters of history.

William Vogt, father of Julius Frederick Vogt, came to America about 1832, landing in Baltimore, Maryland, and settling at Wheeling, West Virginia. William Vogt was an architect of splendid abilities, his early death cutting short a career which was destined to gain wide prominence in his profession. He married, in Wheeling, Mary Juliana Zoeckler, a native of Hessen, member of a family originating in Hungary and tracing to an early ancestry. William and Mary Juliana (Zoeckler) Vogt were the parents of Julius Frederick, of whom further.

Julius Frederick Vogt was born in Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, March 24, 1842. He was a boy of six years when his widowed mother brought the family to St. Louis, Missouri, in 1848, and here he obtained a public school education, entering the grocery business at an early age. As a young man of twenty years he established in cooperage operations as partner in McMillan & Company, and after seven years of successful business he purchased Mr. McMillan's interest, admitting his brother, William C. Vogt, to partnership. In 1886 incorporation was made as the Union Cooperage Company, a style that has been retained to the present, and to the upbuilding of this enterprise he devoted his life. Few men are able to inspire an organization with so much of their own aims and ideals as Mr. Vogt gave to the Union Cooperage Company, and he had no greater pleasure than to increase its efficiency or to cause an improvement in its product. In consequence there were shipped from his mill hardwood products of the finest quality and unusual beauty of design, and an order placed with the Union Cooperage Company was assurance of the best in workmanship and service. Appreciation of such methods and results brought about a steady, vigorous and healthful growth that has made the plant one of the largest in the West, unsurpassed in the quality of its products and falling only a little short of leadership in volume of business. As he would countenance only the best of materials and workmanship in his mill, so did he insist upon equally high standards in all other relations of life, and by his associates he was known as meticulously scrupulous in business and private dealings.

Upon coming to St. Louis he made his home in the old northern part of the city, and Mr. Vogt's preferences for this district kept

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that his home, although the majority of others of his means and station sought the more popular sections farther to the west. Kindliness and liberality were dominant characteristics of his personality, and his wide circle of friends was bound to him through countless acts of generosity and good will. He enjoyed contact with his fellows in the world of business and in civic enterprise of progressive nature, and although not a club man, was one of the organizers and a charter member of the St. Louis Gymnasium Society.

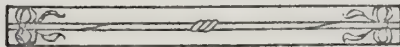
Mr. Vogt married, May 12, 1893, Mary Margaret Zoeckler, daughter of John and Anna Mary Zoeckler, her father a brother of Mr. Vogt's mother. John Zoeckler, son of Martin and Anna Elizabeth (Hess) Zoeckler, was born in Hessen, Germany, was there married, and about 1832 came with his family and parents to America. Martin Zoeckler followed the butcher business in Germany and later in America, this occupation also claiming his son, John Zoeckler, until the latter developed a pork packing business that prospered largely, Mr. Zoeckler retiring from active life at an early age. The Hess coat-of-arms is as follows:

Arms—Per bend, first azure, a griffin or, holding in his claws a sword argent; pommel and hilt gold. Second, paly of three, gules, argent and gold.

Crest—Out of a ducal coronet or a woman issuant proper, holding in her hands a veil argent, which is floating above her head.

Manling—Dexter, argent and gules; sinister, or and azure.

Julius Frederick Vogt died March 3, 1922. His eightieth year was all but completed, and as the milestones of his life had been passed they had brought him, in increasing measure, into the regard and respect of his fellowmen. He had learned early in life the value of concentration upon a few interests, and following this rule he derived from talents beyond the ordinary the maximum of personal satisfaction and service for the common good.





Hess

Editorial—Literary Notes

A Pioneer College and Its Background (Dickinson), by Charles W. Super, '66, (Newcomb & Glass, Salem, Massachusetts), is a slender volume of one hundred pages, attractively bound in two tones of grey, well printed on heavy paper, and helps to fill a distinct need in the neglected field of collegiate history. In the telling of his story Doctor Super employs a direct, conversational style that is achieved only by years of experience in creative writing. Happily, he eschews bombast, flights of inflated rhetoric and pedantic phrases that far too often mar and hopelessly involve otherwise fine historical literature. Two characteristics of the man are clearly mirrored in his prose: a nice critical faculty and a well-defined sense of humor, and these, combined with his extreme pellucidity of style and exactness in matters of historical data, have given us a volume correct in contextural detail, valuable as a record and a work of reference, and extremely interesting to the reader. Doctor Super's criticisms have the commendable attribute of being always constructive and never captious. One unforgettable sentence, in which humor shining through criticism achieves a veritable *bon mot*, appears in his prefatory note: "In American colleges the most dangerous weapons used are the contents of the dictionary, and they draw no blood."

The book is illustrated with some excellent engravings, both pictorially and in portraiture, and would be an asset to any library, whether private or public. Other published writings from the pen of Charles W. Super, A. M., LL.D., one time president of Ohio University, include among others: "A Pioneer College and Its Background (The Ohio University)" and an article entitled "The Ohio University," which appeared in the July (1921) edition of this magazine.

Cures, (D. Appleton & Co., New York), by James J. Walsh, M. D., is a book which, like the many predecessors from the same pen,

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supplies a definite want and is assured of an enthusiastic welcome in the literary world. Doctor Walsh, through the medium of the printed page, has become a recognized power and authority not only in his fraternity but in that branch of literature pertaining to medicine. "Cures," Doctor Walsh's latest contribution, is, basically, an historical account of the cures that have failed, together with the correlated study in the psychopathology of the people. The book is written in a tolerant and humorous manner, stern facts being cloaked with amusing instances of the complete ingenuousness and gullibility of the public, which facts, like pills coated with sugar, are more acceptable to the public taste and just as efficacious when once assimilated. Doctor Walsh is as dispassionate in his critical study of cures as an crude layman, and this detached quality coupled with his great interest in, and his profound knowledge of, his subject, gives to the profession at large and the literary world in general a book well worth careful and thoughtful reading. Doctor Walsh devotes a considerable amount of space in his book to psychoanalysis. Utterly fearless in his calm and masterly denunciation of this abortive off-shoot of medicine which has swept over the world gaining thousands of credulous, and often decadent, adherents, he proves that Freud, the popular psychopathologist, was not the founder of the cult, but that the original idea dated back to Leibnetz. Freud, he says, has delusions of grandeur, and that "he has taken all the vagueness of psychology, jumbled them together, and then by a shifting use of terms has made a system that would fit anything . . . his interpretation of dreams has been the source of ridicule by every psychologist worthy of the name who has ever studied it seriously. . . . Freud's symbolism of dreams is one of the weirdest contributions to presumed psychology ever made." "Cures" will undoubtedly elicit the ire of the Freudians as well as praise of the anti-Freudians, but whether controversies attend it or not, it is undoubtedly the finest contribution to psychotherapy extant. Among the scores of Doctor Walsh's previous books, his scholarly, five volume work: "The History of Medicine in New York" (National Americana Society, Inc., New York) is well remembered by the reviewer.

Harbor Jim, (Fleming H. Revell Company, New York, London), by A. Eugene Bartlett, D. D., is a volume small in size but

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great in the message it carries. The book is printed on heavy paper, bound in grey cloth and adorned with an artistic cover design in pastel greens, whites and browns. "Harbor Jim" is the story of a most delightful and lovable character, who, through his innate goodness, his belief in God, his love for mankind and, not the least important, through his absolute realness and manliness, exerted a tremendous influence on the fisher folk of Newfoundland. Doctor Bartlett has achieved an almost literary perfection and a wonderful reality in creating such a character. Harbor Jim, so called by the other fishermen because he could always make the harbor in his little boat no matter how fierce the storm, is not "goody-goody" in any sense. He is a real man, and through Doctor Bartlett's genius he speaks, smiles, works, walks, and in fact, lives before us upon the printed page. There is no slightest trace of theatricalism in his astonishing aliveness; no suggestion of posturing and posing before a painted curtain. The usually obvious mechanism of the novelist which is so apt to make a character appear as a wooden automaton whose movements are controlled by the false tenet of "motivation" jerking at the strings, is never evident. On the other hand there is every evidence that "Harbor Jim" was conceived and projected from a full heart. The love of God and the almost supernatural beauties of His works of nature is evident in every gesture, every spoken word of the tale's protagonist. But Doctor Bartlett never "preaches" and he never rants. The atmosphere of the book is happily free from the fumes of fire and brimstone. Creed is likewise happily eschewed. In no sense is "Harbor Jim" a religious book, and yet through one of the most lovable characters in current fiction it is the strongest argument for Christianity that the present reviewer has encountered in print since his juvenile perusal of "Pilgrim's Progress." Once a year possibly, but usually less often, a book comes to the reviewer's desk that stands preëminent among its thousands of contemporaries and one that the reviewer strongly feels should be in every home. Such a book is "Harbor Jim." Parents should place it in their children's hands and children should give it to their parents. We wish to stress the point that this book is fitted in every possible way to every home, every person, regardless of sect or creed, and every nation and country regardless of color, geographic location and linguistic differences.

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It is difficult, well-nigh impossible, to classify or pigeon-hole Doctor Bartlett's literary style. It is personal and yet impersonal, whimsical and yet serious. Humor and pathos go hand in hand; just as they do in real life. The book is undoubtedly the work of a remarkably spiritual man, one who is first, last and always a minister of the gospel and a Christian servant; but one who is also in complete and sympathetic accord with his fellow men, charitable and generous over their foibles, a great lover of nature in all its aspects, and a man whose literary accomplishments are lightly and delicately touched with a precious and wisely used sense of humor.

"Harbor Jim" is especially welcome at this time to the jaded reading public, glutted as it is with the neofuturist efforts of the modernists, symbolists, extremists and pseudo-intelligentsia who seem to base all literary endeavor on viciousness and decadence. Further contributions from Doctor Bartlett's pen will be decidedly welcome, since they have a definite aim and a very definite place in the literary field. The dedicatory passage of "Harbor Jim" is an especially beautiful example of poetic prose, and is herewith included: "To those Newfoundlanders who, in gathering harvests from the sea for the world's hungry, have garnered for themselves both faith and courage, I dedicate this book."



STATEMENT OF THE OWNERSHIP, MANAGEMENT, CIRCULATION, ETC.

REQUIRED BY THE ACT OF CONGRESS OF AUGUST 24, 1912.

OF AMERICANA, published Quarterly at Somerville, New Jersey, for October 1st, 1923.

City and State of New York, }
County of New York, } ss.

Before me, a Notary Public, in and for the State and County aforesaid, personally appeared Marion L. Lewis, who, having been duly sworn according to law, deposes and says that he is the Vice-President and Manager of the American Historical Society, Inc., publisher of Americana, and that the following is, to the best of his knowledge and belief, a true statement of ownership, management, etc., of the aforesaid publication for the date shown in the above caption, required by the Act of August 24, 1912, embodied in section 443, Postal Laws and Regulations, to wit:

1. That the names and addresses of the publisher, editor, managing editor, and business managers are: Publisher, The American Historical Society, Inc., Somerville, N. J., and 80 East 11th street, New York City; Editor, Fenwick Y. Hedley, No. 80 East 11th street, New York City; Managing Editor, Marion L. Lewis, No. 80 East 11th street, New York City; Business Manager, Marion L. Lewis, No. 80 East 11th street, New York City.

2. That the owners are: The American Historical Society, Inc.; Benjamin F. Lewis, Sr., No. 908 Central avenue, Wilmette, Ill.; Marion L. Lewis, No. 80 East 11th street, New York City; Metcalf B. Hatch, Nutley, N. J.; Ed Lewis, No. 192 Park Place, Brooklyn, N. Y.; F. M. Keller, 80 East 11th St., New York, N. Y.; Benj. F. Lewis, Jr., 180 North Market St., Chicago, Ill.; John P. Downs, 1006 East 28th St., Brooklyn, N. Y.; Louise M. Greuling, 22 Weston Place, Nutley, N. J.; Harriet H. Lewis, 908 Central Ave., Wilmette, Ill.; Mabel E. Lewis, 171 Prospect St., Nutley, N. J.; Myrtle M. Lewis, 1006 East 28th St., Brooklyn, N. Y.; Florence K. Parks, State Road, Great Barrington, Mass.

3. That the known bondholders, mortgagees, and other security holders owning or holding 1 per cent. or more of total amount of bonds, mortgages, or other securities are: None.

4. That the two paragraphs next above, giving the names of the owners, stockholders, and security holders, if any, contain not only the list of stockholders and security holders as they appear upon the books of the company, but also, in cases where the stockholder or security holder appears upon the books of the company as trustee or in any other fiduciary relation, the name of the person or corporation for whom such trustee is acting, is given; also that the said two paragraphs contain statements embracing affiant's full knowledge and belief as to the circumstances and conditions under which stockholders and security holders who do not appear upon the books of the company as trustees, hold stock and securities in a capacity other than that of a bona fide owner; and this affiant has no reason to believe that any other person, association, or corporation has any interest direct or indirect in the said stock, bonds, or other securities than as so stated by him.

MARION L. LEWIS, Business Manager.

Sworn to and subscribed before me this 1st day of October, 1923.

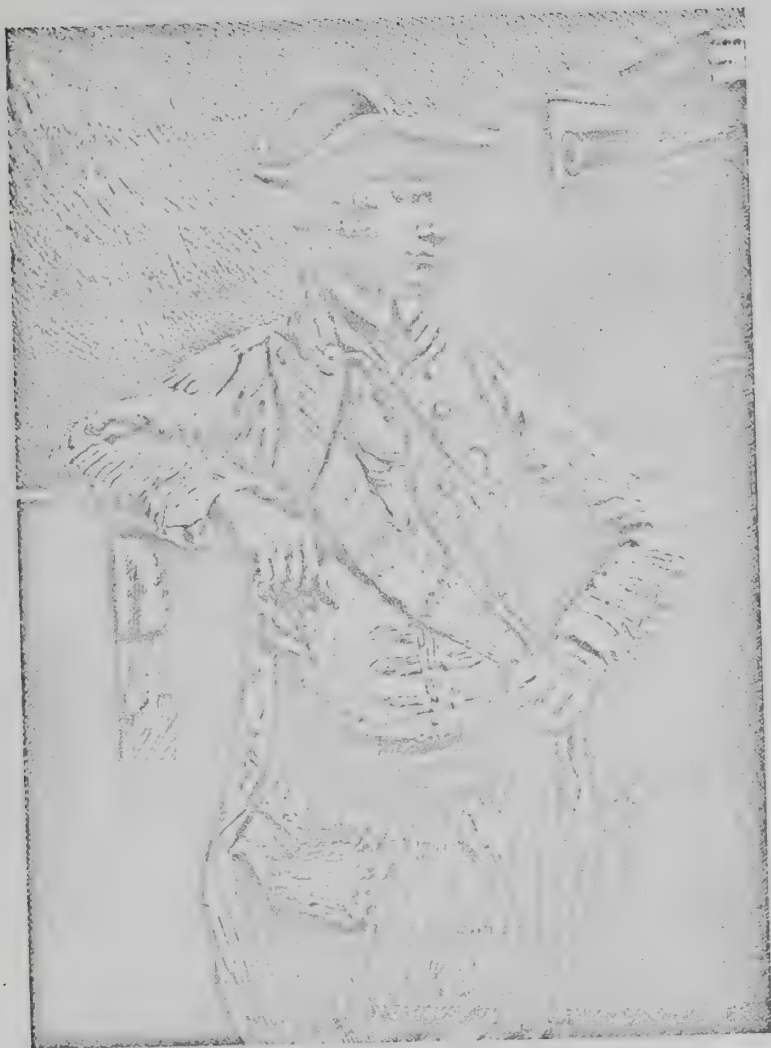
(Seal).

F. M. KELLER.

Notary Public Bronx Co., No. 84.

Certificate filed in N. Y. Co., No. 482.

Commission expires March 30, 1924.



SIR WILLIAM HOWE



AMERICANA

APRIL, 1924

The Missing Howe Order Books

1776=1777*

By MAJOR M. V. HAY, SEATON, ABERDEEN, SCOTLAND



HERE is a curious fragment of verse attributed to Robbie Burns which was first published in a scarce and little known Scottish song book "The Musical Museum" (Edinburgh, 1788), and now finds, unchallenged, a place in the poet's collected works. Here, in very indifferent rhyme, is told the story of the American War of Independence. And even when the information is provided that "maskin pat" means a tea-pot the opening stanzas would not be fully intelligible to sassenachs, on any side of the Atlantic, unless they happen to be familiar with the historical context.

The first and third verses read as follows:

When Guilford good our Pilot stood
And did our helm thrav, man,
Ae night at tea, began a plea
Within America, man:
Then up they gat, the maskin pat,
And in the sea did jaw, man;
And did nay less, in full Congress,
Than quite refuse our law, man.

Poor Tommy Gage, within a cage,
Was kept in Boston ha', man,
Till Willie Howe, took o'er the knowe
For Philadelphia, man;
Wi sword and gun he thought a sin
Good christian blood to draw, man:
But at New York, wi' knife and fork,
Sir Loin he hacket sma' man.

*See editorial page.

The suggestion that knives and forks were busier in New York than swords and guns shows that Burns was familiar with an important feature of the campaign upon which many writers have failed to lay sufficient emphasis.

But it is now generally admitted by historians that the inactivity of Sir William Howe at New York during the winter of 1776 was one of the chief causes of the final defeat of the British troops. This unfortunate officer, more sinned against than sinning, was recalled to England in 1778, and his conduct during the war submitted to a Parliamentary inquiry.

Burns refers to this piece of history with an uncommon use of the word "golf" as a verb:

But word and blow, North Fox and Co.
Gowffed Willie like a ba', man.

"Willie's" reputation as a general survived the process of "gowffing" and responsibility for the failure of the soldiers rests with North Fox and Co. These insular politicians imagined that military operations in America could be successfully conducted from London and they appointed for that purpose to the post of Secretary of State for War, Lord George Germaine, an aristocratic lick-spittle who had been court-martialled and publicly degraded from his army rank and whose incompetency has never been surpassed by any official in the whole record of English administration. There does not seem to be any doubt that Sir William Howe was a competent military officer who was handicapped in his handling of the military situation by political considerations and that his failure to crush the rebellion at the outset must be attributed to a feeble political strategy directed from London. Howe missed his chance after the occupation of Long Island in 1776; when the demoralized colonials retired in disorder he refused to push the attack home and allowed Washington to escape.

The winter of 1776-77 was the most critical period of the war. While the British remained inactive at New York, the rebels began to waver, thanks to the genius of Washington, who was able to reorganize the loyal colonists, and the large number of them who had been sitting on the fence came down on the American side. For the details of British military operations at this time an important source of information is the collection of documents known as "The

THE MISSING HOWE ORDER BOOKS, 1776-1777

Kemble Papers'' published in 1883 by the New York Historical Society. Colonel Kemble, Howe's adjutant general, returned to America in 1805 and settled in New Jersey, leaving at his death in 1825 a number of historical records. Among these is an almost complete series of the Order Books of Sir William Howe.

Unfortunately the Order Books for the winter of 1776-77 are incomplete and the entries for the first few months of 1777 are left blank in the collection printed by the New York Historical Society. The character and importance of these documents will be realized from the following description given by the publishers in 1883:

The Society is indebted for the use of these manuscript Journals and Order Books of Colonel Stephen Kemble to his great-grand nephew, the late Mr. Peter Kemble of the city of New York, and the latter's son, the present Mr. Peter Kemble, who have generously permitted them to be transcribed for publication in its "Collections." The manuscript journals are in several small leather bound books, in Colonel Kemble's own neat handwriting. The order books are in similar volumes, but in the even and distinct writing of some practical clerk in Colonel Kemble's office. All have remained among the Kemble family papers to this day. Four of the small order books, viz: June 30th to Oct. 5th, 1776, January 29th to June 19th, 1777, November 20th, 1777, to February 22nd, 1778, July 6th to October 23rd, 1779, when Kemble resigned his office, were unfortunately not among those received from the late Mr. Peter Kemble, and a subsequent search for them among his family papers, by the present Mr. Peter Kemble, failed to discover them. The Committee of Publications then caused inquiries and researches to be made in the Public Record Offices in England, and in the libraries of certain institutions in London, for similar official records or copies of the same; but likewise they are sorry to say without success. Nor were they able to learn of the existence in England of any order books, or copies of order books, of the British commanders in chief in America, Sir William Howe and Sir Henry Clinton. Those of the former, printed in this volume, are therefore of very great, as well as unique, value.

Three of the missing order books have been found. The following extracts from their contents and account of the remarkable series of chances which lead to their preservation and discovery in a most unexpected place are now for the first time made public.

These books in three small volumes correspond to the description of those belonging to the Kemble family. Of the oblong shape

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adapted for carrying in the pocket of a staff officer's greatcoat, they are bound in strong leather and fitted with a metal clasp; the sheets of strong, rough paper are interleaved with thin blotting paper, the use of which at so early a date is worthy of remark. The entries in the three books date from September 27, 1776, to June 2, 1777, inclusive. It is clear that the books belong to a series different from that published by the New York Historical Society because they do not correspond exactly in dates with the volumes missing from the Kemble collection. The first gap in the Kemble series is from June 30, 1776, to October 5th, but the first of the new books begins with an entry dated September 27, 1776, and ends on November 18th, of that year, so that in the first book the unpublished material consists only of entries under dates September 27th to October 5th. The second book is a continuation of the first and begins therefore on November 19th, ending on February 13, 1777; here the unpublished material consists of entries dated January 27th to February 13th. The third book dates from February 14th to June 2, 1777; the whole of this text is missing from the Kemble collection.

In the first two books the entries which correspond in date with those printed in the Kemble collection are almost but not quite identical. The differences are for the most part unimportant except that in the new books the Parole and Countersign for each day is nearly always given at the head of the order, details which in the Kemble text are often omitted.

The discovery of these books seems to indicate that one set of orders were written out for current use in the orderly room, and copy made, for reference, to be filed at G. H. Q. Most books of the first edition would naturally be destroyed as soon as they became out of date. The frequent absence in the Kemble orders of the Parole and Countersign warrants the conclusion that this set belonged to G. H. Q., and is a copy made by a clerk who was careless about including the Parole for each day which was not likely to be required for reference. The newly found books are almost certainly the orderly room set and it was from these that the Aide de Camp would have copies of the orders made on separate sheets for distribution to all the units concerned. This supposition is confirmed by internal evidence, for the writer has, on the front page of one of the books, written or rather drawn his name in fanciful lettering:

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Captain Knight Aid de Camp to the Commander in Chief

The appointment of this officer as A. D. C. to Howe is not, as far as I know, in any printed record and would doubtless have remained unknown but for the discovery of his order books, where the appointment is entered under date September 26th, an entry missing from the Kemble series. In Knight's order books the first fifteen entries, from September 26th to October 11th, are written in a scrawling, untidy hand, probably by some junior officer on temporary duty. October 11th was probably the day upon which Knight took over his duties, for the entries from that day onwards are written in very remarkable copperplate handwriting and there is hardly a single blot or mistake of any kind.

It is difficult without long extracts to give any idea of the matters of general interest which are contained in these order books; of special value to the student of military history are the details of army routine and the reports of court martials. These reports show that the winter of 1776-77 when, as the historian Fisher has observed, "Howe went to sleep like a bear," was marked by a great number of desertions. The Americans made offers of land, fertile and rent free, which must have been very tempting to the hard-driven, penniless mercenaries who formed the greater part of Howe's army. Such offers were indeed made by both sides, but the enemy were in possession and therefore in a better position to redeem promises. The record of court martials held in "the Orderly Room in the City Hall" shows that these desertions were not, as some historians have stated, confined to the Hessian regiments. The order of the day for February 17, 1777, one out of many of a similar kind, reads as follows:

Patrick Snow Private Soldier in His Majesty's Regt of Royal Highland Emigrants tried by Genl Court Martial of which Lt Colonel Maxwell is President, for desertion is found guilty of the crime laid to his charge, and sentenced to receive 300 lashes.

Corporal John Stewart of His Majesty's 7th Regt . . . is found guilty and sentenced to suffer death. . . . John Ingram . . . sixth Regt is found guilty of desertion and sentenced to receive 1000 lashes.

Since flogging was not regarded as equivalent to a death sen-

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tence, the punishment of one thousand lashes cannot often have been accurately administered. The prisoner was strung up on a wooden triangle and flogged by the drummers of his own regiment under the observation of the regimental doctor, whose duty it was to see that the prisoner was not beaten to death.

A well-known incident of the campaign mentioned in the unpublished orders for May, 1777, is the capture of General Lee, an adventurer serving with the rebels who had formerly been an officer in the British army. Lee was captured as he slept, almost unguarded in a house within his own lines, by a raiding party under Colonel Harcourt. He was taken to the British G. H. Q. in his nightshirt and there treated with more consideration than he deserved. Howe's moderation is proved by the fact that instead of shooting his prisoner as a traitor, he kept him in honorable confinement for a few months and finally, probably acting on instructions received from England, released him in exchange for a British officer.

The following is the army order of May 11, 1777, which refers to this episode:

Headquarters New York 11th May 1777

Parole Burgundy

Countersign Champaine.

His Excellency the Commander in Chief is pleased to order two hundred days Batt, Forage and Baggage money to be issued to the Army. Returns to be given immediately to the Qr Master Genl signed by the Commanding Officer of Corps. Such officers as join the army after 1st August to receive one hundred days only.

The Commander in Chief has the pleasure to make known to the army, as signified by Lord George Germaine, one of His Majesty's principal Secretaries of State That His Majesty has been pleased to Express his Royal Approbation of the Ability and of the Exemplary Ardour which was manifested by the troops under his Lordship's Command. His Majesty has also been pleased to take very particular notice of the Bravery and Conduct of Lt. Colonel Mawhood on the 3rd Janr near Price Town and approved of the behavior of the Regts under his Command especially the 17th so highly commended by Lord Cornwallis. The Commander in Chief has it in Express Command to signify His Majesty's Royal Approbation as well of the readiness with which Lt Col Harcourt undertook the Command of the Detachment that made Genl Lee a prisoner, as of the address and Gallantry manifested by him on that Critical Occasion. It is from Authority the Commander in

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Chief Assures the Army that every officer who distinguishes himself and is the means of Advancing the Glory of His Majesty's arms, may be certain that his Services will not pass unnoticed by His Gracious Master.

The Commander in Chief has been pleased to make the following promotions:

52nd Regt Capt Lieut H J Barry to be Captain vice	
Crawford removed	8th May 1777
Lt. Edward Collier to be Capt vice Barry promoted	“ “ “
Ens Arthur Brooke to be Lieut vice Collier promoted	“ “ “
Lewis Thomas 27th Volunteers to be ensn vice	
Brooke promoted	“ “ “

“In New York during the winter of 1776” writes Fortescue in his “History of the British Army,” certain gentlemen, notably Mr. Delancy and Mr. Skinner, offered to raise troops to the number of more than six thousand; but only eleven hundred of them were ready for the campaign of 1777, while even of these but a small proportion were Americans.” Knight's order book under date September 29, 1776, contains the official appointment to military rank of a number of these loyal colonists:

Head Qrs New York Island	29th Sept 1776
Parole Phillips	C Sn Mahone

.....

The following gentlemen having offered their services to raise a Brigade of Provincials of three Battalions of 500 men each for the service of His Majesty, and the suppression of the present unnatural rebellion The Commander in Chief has made the following appointments:

Oliver Delancy Esq	Brigade General and Colonel of 1st Batt. [A unit afterwards known as “Delancy's Horse”]
John H. Cruger Esq	Lt. Colonel [John Cruger was mayor of New York from 1757 to 1766].
Capt Greene Late 40th regt	Major 2nd Batt. [According to Howe order book Nov. 17, 1775, Francis Greene was appointed captain of the third company of “Loyal American Associators under the Com- mand of the Hon Timothy Ruggles”].

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Geo. Bruerton Esq
 Thomas Bowden Esq
 Stephen Delancy, Esq
 Geo Ludlow Esq
 Richd Hewlitt Esq

Colonel
 Major 3rd Batt.
 Lt. Colonel
 Colonel
 Lt. Colonel

[Commanded Delancy's First Battalion
 in action at Long Island of Kemble's
 Journal August 22, 1777].

A. Menzies, Esq

Major

A Campbell Esq
 Major of
 Brigade

[Kemble's Journal for Wednesday
 March 19, 1777, contains the following
 entry "Capt. Campbell's New York
 company attacked a party of rebels in
 Ward's House. Killed between 20 and
 40 and took twenty and odd Prisoners
 but on entering the house was Killed
 himself with four or five men".]

The Loyalists had very little encouragement to remain faithful to the British crown. Constantly harrassed by Washington's militia, inadequately protected by Howe, they were regarded by his officers with the contempt which regulars usually reserve for amateur soldiers, although the successful assimilation of civil volunteers into Howe's army would have been sufficient to ensure success for the British who on this occasion seem to have acted as if the maintenance of army etiquette and traditions was of more importance than victory. That these appointments of civilians to military rank led to petty jealousy and that the new officers were regarded as outsiders is a fair deduction from the army order dated May of the following year:

Headquarters New York
 Parole Halifax

21st May 1777
 C. Sn Rhode Island.

As some inconveniences have arisen from a want of a proper regulation of rank between the Regular and Provincial troops, and as Rank cannot be in the latter as it is in the former, the Result of long Service and Considerable expense. The Commander in Chief has been pleased to direct that all the Brigadiers of Provincial Forces under this Commission shall take rank as Youngest Colonels in the line, all Colonels as Youngest Lt. Cols, all Lieut Colonels as youngest Majors and all inferior officers as youngest of their respective rank as established by His Majesty's Regulation of the 17th Decr 1760.

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Before dealing with the question of Henry Knight's connection with Scotland and of how his order books were found there after having disappeared for over a hundred years, I will quote in full a few more of the orders to give some general idea of the kind of information which these unpublished documents provide. Information of this kind does not affect the main outline of the history of the campaign nor supply any data of importance, but details which are clearly authentic, even if in themselves insignificant, bring history nearer to reality and assist the imagination to form pictures of the past approximately true.

Headquarters New York
Parole Marlborough;

15th Feby 1777
C:Sn. Devonshire.

The 6th and 14th Regt. the Invalids of the Army, the Widows and Orphans of the Soldiers Killed in the Service, under orders for going to England, are to embark immediately.

Mr. Oliver is appointed to the sole charge of the Sick and Wounded Rebel Prisoners.

Mr. Robt Tucker is appointed Surgeons Mate in the Genl Hospital.

Headquarters New York

17th Feby 1777

The main guard for the future is to report to Major Genl Pigot, Commandt of the Garrison, instead of the Commandt in Chief.

Patrick Snow Private Soldier in His Majesty's Regt. of R H Emigrants tried by the Genl Court Martial, of which Lt Colonel Maxwell is President, for Desertion, is found Guilty of the Crime laid to his Charge, and sentenced to receive 300 lashes. Corporal John Stewart of His Majesty's 7th Regt tried by said Genl Court Martial for desertion is found guilty of the same and sentenced to suffer Death. William Johnston Mariner, tried by said Court Martial for Robbery is found guilty of the same and Sentenced to receive 200 lashes:

John Ingram private Soldier in His Majesty's 6th Regt tried by said Court Martial for Desertion is found Guilty of the same and sentenced to receive 1000 lashes. Wiilm Walsh, Cathern Walsh and Joseph Vanblack a Negro, Inhabitants of the Garrison of New York, tried by the said Court Martial, for stealing Barrack Bedding. Prisoner Wm Walsh and Cathern Walsh are acquitted. Prisoner Vanblack is found guilty and Sentenced to receive 300 lashes. The Commander in Chief is pleased to approve of the above Sentences and to direct that the Corpl Punishments be immediately inflicted. The Court are directed to revise their Sentence upon Thomas Randal found of Robbery.

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New York 23rd Feby 1777

Parole Grant

C.Sn. Philadelphia

Garrison Orders

The Royal Artillery, 15th, 27th Regt and 17th Lt Dragoons to attend for receiving their Provisions next Victualling day at the Provision Store in Broad Street near the Post Office.

A Genl Court Martial to sit tomorrow in the Orderly Room in the City Hall to try such Prisoners as may be brought before them.

Headquarters New York

13th March 1777

Parole Cornwallis

C.Sn Jersey.

The Majors in the Army whose Rank is prior to 1773 and who may be able and willing to purchase Lt Coloneley's are immediately to acquaint the Adj General of the same, that their names may be transmitted to His Majesty's Secretary of War, and their Pretensions considered, whenever any Promotion by Purchase is going on at home.

The Officers and men belonging to the Army in Canada to prepare to join their respective Corps immediately. The Officers will send their Names to the D Adj Genl with a Return of the Men under their Command.

Doctor Michael Morris Physician Genl to the Hospital, is appointed Inspector Genl of all Hospitals for this Army and is to be observed as such.

The Commander in Chiefs Guard is to be visited by the Rounds as all other Guards are.

A Packet will sail in a few days for England.

Head Quarters New York

9th April 1777

Parole Newark

C Sn Bergen

A Packet will sail for England tomorrow.

Officers who come in on their Parole as prisoners of War with the Rebels are immediately upon their arrival to give in their names and Rank to Mr. Loring Commisary for Prisoners, in order that they may be exchanged as soon as possible.

His Majesty has been pleased to Invest the Commander in Chief with powers of granting such a portion of Lands as was granted by His Majesty's Proclamation of 7th Octr 1763, to all Volunteers his Excellency shall think fit to receive into His Majesty's Service.

Head Quarters New York

14th April 1777

Parole Bruges

C.Sn Bouchain

John Steel Carpenter and Henry Armstrong Mariner tried by the Genl Court Martial of which Major Martin is President for having forced Harmon Dick Private Soldier of the Hessian Regt of Mirbach, when Posted as Sentinel and safe Guard over His Ma-

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jesty's Store House, and having given said Herman Dick several wounds of which he Died. The Court having duly considered the Evidence, for and against the Prisoners Henry Armstrong and John Steel, are of opinion that Henry Armstrong is not guilty of having given the wounds to the said Herman Dick of which he Died, therefore acquit him of the said charge, but that he is guilty of having forced the said Herman Dick, when Sentry and safe Guard, in breach of the 14th section of the Articles of War, therefore adjudge him, the Prisoner Henry Armstrong to suffer Death. And it is the further opinion of the Court, that the Prisoner John Steel, is not guilty of the Crimes laid to his Charge, therefore acquit him of the same.

Peter Brady Private Soldier in His Majesty's Provincial Regt called the Queens Rangers, tried by the above Genl Court Martial, for having advised Richd Quin Private Soldier in the 4th Regt to Desert His Majesty's Service, and join the Rebel Army, is found guilty and Sentenced to receive 1000 lashes.

Adam Ruffe Private Soldier in His Majesty's Independent Company of Provincials, Commanded by Captain Campbell, tried by the above Genl Court Martial for Desertion and acquitted. The Commander in Chief is pleased to approve of the above several Sentences and to order the Prisoners Jn. Steel and Adam Ruffe to be forthwith released.

The above Genl Court Martial is dissolved.

Head Quarters New York

25th May 1777

Parole _____

C:Sn _____

The following Regts having recruits arrived on board the Henrietta Transport; they are to be sent for as soon as possible.

Viz:

	Sergts.	Corporals	Privates	Sick	Dead	German Women
English 4th.....	.	.	15	.	1	.
{43rd ..	1	1	25	.	1	2
{44th ..	1	1	55	1	1	3
German {46th...	1	.	5	.	.	.
{52nd ..	1	1	28	1	1	2
{57th ..	.	1	6	.	.	1
English 63rd....	.	.	1	.	.	.
Total	4	4	135	2	4	8

THE MISSING HOWE ORDER BOOKS, 1776-1777

Those for the 43rd are to Join the 45th till further Orders.

The Regts will apply to Lieut Marshal of the 63rd for these men, and settle their accounts with him.

Saml Dairson Mc Castleton Privt Soldier in His Majesty's 26th Regt of Foot tried by the Genl Court Martial of which Lt. Col Bird is President, for Desertion and Carrying Arms in the Rebel Army, is found Guilty of the Crimes laid to his charge and Sentenced to suffer Death.

Robert Gaul Private Soldier in the 43rd Regt of Foot, tried by the above Genl Court Martial for Desertion and Carrying Arms in the Rebel Army, if found Guilty of the Crimes laid to his charge, but in consideration of some favourable circumstances appearing, which tend to Mitigate the enormity of his offence, the Court ad-judge him to receive 1000 lashes. The Commander in Chief is pleas'd to approve of the above Sentences.

The above Genl Court Martial is dissolved.

The Commander in Chief is pleas'd to make the following promotions:

38th Regt

Ens Danl Ord to be Lieut by purchase vice Higgins
who retires

25th May 77

44th Regt

Capt Walter Dawson Fausitt of the 3rd Regt of
Foot Guards to be Capt vice Loftus who exchanges 10th May 77

My discovery of these books is the result of a chance visit made exactly twenty years ago to a sale in Aberdeen, where a bundle described by the auctioneer as "miscellaneous manuscripts" was put up during the few minutes that I happened to be standing in the auction room. So little importance did I attach to this purchase that the bundle was laid aside and remained in a drawer unnoticed and forgotten until the winter of this year. The fact that the writer had signed his name in one of the books has made it easy to trace the history of the manuscripts, to explain how they reached the city of Aberdeen and from their intrinsic evidence to reconstruct an episode of American history which affords a glimpse of long forgotten realities and makes of Henry Knight something more than a name inscribed in faded ink on the front page of Howe's Order Book.

In the parcel of manuscripts of which the missing order books formed the principal part, was a fourth book of similar shape and binding, but rather broader than the regulation army notebook, and it did not seem at first sight to have any connection with the war



VAN CORTLANDT MANOR HOUSE

of Independence or with Howe's Aide de Camp. It consists of ninety-four charter parties dated New York 1699 to 1702, under the names of Jacobus Van Cortlandt and Ouzeel Van Swieten which deal chiefly with shipments of provisions to the West Indies and of gold and silver currency to London and Amsterdam. American charter parties of the seventeenth century are probably very rarely found. I have looked through the catalogue of the Cortlandt House Museum, New York, where a reference to some such documents might be expected, but found only one autograph letter of Van Cortlandts and one mention of a "bill of Shipment" dated 1769. These charters, therefore, apart from their connection with the adventures of Henry Knight are of considerable historical interest. Those which deal with the shipment of gold and silver are stamped with a seal, representing a windmill, which was probably that of the Cortlandt family. The initial letter of each contract is ornamented with an engraving of a primitive type of sailing ship. The following specimen will show that these shipping charters are identical in form with those in use at the present day although the "exception clause" has increased a hundredfold and the risk of the high seas is now covered by insurance in place of prayers:

Shipped by the Grace of God in good order and well conditioned by Jacobus Van Cortlandt and Ouzeel Van Swieten in and upon the good ship called the *Indeavour* . . . whereof is master under God for this present voyage. . . . John Bonde . . . and now riding at Anchor in . . . the road of new Yorke . . . and by Gods Grace bound for . . . London . . . to say . . . Three hundred pieces of eight weighing two hundred and fifty-eight ounces and ten penny weights for accompt of Mr. William D Grandt at Holland . . . being marked and numbered as in the Margent, and to be delivered in the like good order and well conditioned at the said port . . . London . . . (the danger of the Seas only excepted) unto . . . Mr Edw Browne merch: London . . . or to his Assigns, he or they paying freight for the said . . . money . . . two per cent . . . with primage and average accustomed. In witness whereof the Master of Purser of the said ship hath affirmed to five bills of lading all of this tenour and date, the one of the five bills being accomplished the other four to stand void. And so God send the goodship to her desired port in safety, Amen. Dated in . . . N Yorke June 9th 1701

Weight unknown to

John Bond

THE MISSING HOWE ORDER BOOKS, 1776-1777

The discovery in Aberdeen of Van Cortlandt's shipping book in company with the Howe Order books raises the question of how all these documents came together. I have reconstructed, from the indirect evidence of the order books and from assumptions, which I have made in very great ignorance of local American history, a story which is probably very near the historical truth and certainly explains some of the coincidences which mark the presence of these papers in Aberdeenshire. I have not been able to get access to any documents dealing exclusively with the history of the Van Cortlandts, such books of reference as I have been able to consult do not state very clearly whether this family in the War of Independence were on the British or on the colonial side. My impression is that there were representatives on both sides.

Colonel Kemble, Howe's adjutant general, was related to the Van Cortlandts through his grandmother. Mr. E. de Lancy in a preface to the second volume of the Kemble Papers mentions that Colonel Philip Van Cortlandt, the head of the family, fought on the British side. Among the colonials, according to Kemble's "Journal," there was "a Colonel Van Cortlandt" in command of troops known as "Cortlandt's Corps." It is recorded in the Howe order book on November 13, 1776, that the Headquarters of the British on that date was at "Mr. Cortlandt's house." This is, I suppose, the identical house now known as the "Cortlandt House Museum" near New York, which had been built about 1740 by a son or grandson of Jacobus Van Cortlandt. I am not sure whether the owner of this place fought as a loyalist or a rebel. Kemble in his "Journal" for January 18, 1777, notes "The rebels retired as far as Cortlandt's house which they plundered." This would seem to indicate that Colonel Philip Van Cortlandt was the owner, were it not that the houses in the battle zone round New York were continuously plundered by the troops on both sides.

There is a very strong probability that the shipping book was taken away from Cortlandt's house by Henry Knight on November 13, 1776, and that his acquisition of it was purely accidental. The book at that time was nearly eighty years old, too old to have been kept in an accessible place for reference and not likely therefore to have been left lying about by the owner, and not old enough or interesting enough to have been regarded by anyone as of historical or sentimental value. The normal place of such a book would be in

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some cupboard along with the series of documents relating to the Cortlandt business. To an officer in the position of Knight, this book, even if he had access to it, would have presented no interest whatever and he would not willingly have added it to his kit, since, as the Howe order books show, officers' kits were reduced to a very small allowance owing to the difficulties of transport. Under normal conditions at Cortlandt's house there does not seem to be any probability that Knight could have taken the shipping book. But on November 13, 1776, conditions at Cortlandt's House were far from normal; according to American evidence, the house had been pillaged by Hessian troops before Howe actually took up headquarters. The pillagers probably made a bonfire of the books and registers of the Cortlandt business which they would have regarded as valueless and in turning out the cupboards in search of loot might well have left some of the books lying on the floor of the room where they had been stored. It was in such a room with papers scattered in disorder that Henry Knight was quartered on November 13, wrote out his orders for the day and transacted business with the Commander-in-Chief. In the hurry of an early departure on the following morning, the shipping book, similar in appearance to the army order books, was packed in the orderly box by mistake of the orderly sergeant. When the mistake was eventually discovered by Knight, perhaps many weeks after, he decided to keep the book as a souvenir.

All this is of course hypothetical, but that something of the kind took place is a supposition necessary to account for the presence of the shipping book and order books together in Aberdeen. They could not so have arrived by independent routes. That they should have arrived at Aberdeen at all is a strange thing in view of the fact that on November 13th, when they were first together in Knight's possession at Cortlandt's house, he chose as Parole for that day the word "Aberdeen." In the Kemble text, as printed by the New York Historical Society, the Parole and Countersign for that day are omitted; the order as written by Henry Knight is as follows:

Headquarters, Mr. Cortlandt's House.
Parole "Aberdeen"

Nov. 13th, 1776.
C. Sn. "Perth."

All the Recruits and drafts of the army are to join their respective regiments immediately. The men to carry their tent poles and

not to put them on the regimental wagons. Field officer for the Baggage as before.

It should be noted that the selection of the Parole and Countersign was carefully made, probably by the Aide de Camp, and the words chosen have usually some historical or geographical significance, perhaps in order to afford officers mnemonic assistance. For instance, on March 17, 1777, the Parole was "Ireland," Countersign "Saint Patrick;" and on April 18th (anniversary of Culloden) the Parole was "Culloden," Countersign "Cumberland."

In view of this curious choice of the word Aberdeen as Parole on November 13th, some connection between Howe's A. D. C. and Aberdeenshire will not be unexpected and the following facts will explain what that connection was. When Sir William Howe returned to England in 1778 he was accompanied by Henry Knight, whose name appears in the Army List for that year as a Major and in Howe's Order Book, May 22nd, as follows:

Capt Henry Knight from 43rd Regt to be Major by purchase vice Bulkely who retires.

Knight's subsequent movements are explained by the following entry which I have copied from Burke's Landed Gentry under heading "Knight-Erskine":

Mary Erskine of Pittodrie heir by Settlement 1754 m. Col Henry Knight—son and heir Col W H Knight-Erskine.

Pittodrie House, situated about twenty-five miles from Aberdeen at the foot of Benachie, is the ancient home of a branch of the Erskine family, formerly owners of large tracts of land in that district. On the marriage of the heiress the family name was retained; the full name of the son and heir is given in an army list of the second decade of the nineteenth century as William Howe Knight-Erskine. So that it is probable that Sir William Howe stood as godfather to the heir and often visited the Scottish home of his companion in arms.

It is not, therefore, very surprising that the lost order books should have been discovered in Aberdeenshire. Knight must have brought them back as a war souvenir. But why, on November 13,

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1777, when he took by mistake Van Cortlandt's shipping book from Mr. Cortlandt's house, he chose the Parole "Aberdeen" is a coincidence not easy to account for. I can only suggest that he had recently, perhaps on that very day, received a letter from his fiancée; (that he was at the time already engaged may be deduced from his choice February 2, 1777, of the Parole "Erskine.") His mind would be busy with plans for the future and so when the orderly sergeant came in to ask for the orders and for the Parole and Countersign the name of the district where he hoped soon to settle with his wife would naturally present itself. This explanation fits in with the choice of "Perth" as Countersign, for Knight himself came, I believe, from Perthshire. Van Cortlandt's charter book and the three army order books remained unnoticed for nearly one hundred and twenty years in the library of Pittodrie House until the estates were sold in 1903; the contents of the house were also sold about the same time and it is strange that there was no family tradition to save these documents from the uncertain lot of the auction room.

Perhaps the immediate descendants of Henry Knight had been willing to forget the details and not at all eager to preserve the souvenirs of a campaign where the British arms had met with a defeat which even the peace treaty did not explain away.



Early History of Westchester County Newspapers*

BY ALVAH P. FRENCH, PORT CHESTER, NEW YORK



ALTHOUGH Westchester County was one of the first ten original counties erected in the State of New York, November 1, 1683, and lies directly north and adjacent to New York County which represents the present day area of Greater New York, one hundred and sixteen years passed before a newspaper had been printed within its territory. This first newspaper was established June 19, 1799, at the Landing of Ossining and had for its title The Mount Pleasant Courier and was owned and edited by John Patterson. A copy of this publication is owned today by Robert T. Dennis, a newspaper man living in the village of Ossining. Thirty-seven years previous, 1762, James Rivington had established his newspaper, The Royal Gazetteer, in the city of New York, and this newspaper had been preceded forty-three years, 1719, by The Philadelphia Mercury while The New Hampshire Gazette published at Portsmouth, by Daniel Fowle, had preceded Rivington's Gazetteer six years. For years the records issued by the United States Government and compiled under the general title of The Newspaper and Periodical Press, had given as the first Westchester County newspaper, The Somers Museum, published at Somers, by Milton F. Cushing. The discovery of a copy of The Mount Pleasant Courier, which is omitted from the national history of newspapers, establishes beyond peradventure the fact that The Courier was in fact the first newspaper to be issued within the county of Westchester.

It will be seen by the foregoing that although Westchester County, adjacent to New York City, had a population at the time of its erection as a county of the Empire State, estimated at 28,000, The Mount Pleasant Courier, did not appear upon the newspaper

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horizon until eighteen years after the close of the Revolutionary War.

That Westchester County should have had a newspaper quite as early as the city of New York is admitted but it should be borne in mind that conditions in Westchester County did not admit of the advent of such an enterprise. The questions agitating the public mind of that era, the pre-Revolutionary War period, were those representing a divided constituency. There were two factions: Those who were favorable to a separation from the mother country and those who adhered to the English rule. Upon the breaking out of the Revolutionary War and the invasion of Westchester County by British troops in the fall of 1776 and the battle of White Plains, the county became debatable ground, and for the following five years a vast area representing today several townships came to be known as "No Man's Land," and finally was given the designation of "The Neutral Ground," over which Royalists and Continentals contended for supremacy. Within this territory lived those who strove for the success of British arms as well as those who, under the classification of Continentals, were pledged to the American cause. After the issues of that day had been submitted to the arbitrament of arms, and peace was assured, then those who were interested in the stability of government gave hostages to those agencies that gave utterance to local public issues as best expressed through the medium of a newspaper. It was under this new order that The Mount Pleasant Courier appeared and was later followed by the issuance of The Somers Museum.

Then followed in quick succession several newspapers. Many of them were short lived and others were successfully published over a period of years. The third venture was that of The Westchester Gazette published at Peekskill by Robert Crombie. Population, then as now, began to flow northward out of the city of New York and the first section to feel this influx was the southern portion of the county, and in 1812 The Westchester Patriot was established at West Farms, now a part of Bronx County. In 1818 The Westchester Herald and Farmers' Register was established at Ossining, by Stephen Addington. It later passed into the ownership of Stephen Marshall and finally became the property of Caleb Roscoe. It did not cease publication until 1857. Nineteen years later The Hudson River Chronicle was started by Alexander H. Wells at

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Ossining. He in turn sold it to Edmund G. Sutherland and this pioneer journalist was succeeded by James B. Swain, Abraham G. Levy, William C. Howe, Caspar C. Childs and Nelson Baldwin. In 1872 it again became the property of Caspar C. Childs. It was discontinued in 1895. On November 15, 1877, Michael Moran became the owner of *The Democratic Register* and it is still published at Ossining under that title.

Early in 1830 White Plains, the county seat, felt the need of a newspaper. Such an enterprise was encouraged by Alan MacDonald and Minot Mitchell. These men secured the services of a practical printer, Peter C. Smith by name, and soon thereafter *The Westchester Spy* was issued. This was the first newspaper to be printed at White Plains. In 1845 Edmund G. Sutherland established there *The Eastern State Journal* in association with his brother, Thomas Jefferson Sutherland. The founder, Edmund G. Sutherland, afterward became prominent politically, serving his town in the Board of Supervisors and later in the Senate of the State.

This brings the history of newspapers and newspaper publishing in Westchester County down to the Civil War period and since that time there have been many newspapers established and many have ceased publication, but that is, as Kipling would state it, another story.

It will be noted that the mention of newspapers from the earliest period in America, antedating the Revolutionary War, throws an interesting side-light upon their names. The nomenclature presents a curious study. There was no striving for diversity of titles. They ran to *Gazette*, *Gazetteer*, *Mercury*, *Journal*, *Packet*, *Courier*, *Currant*, *Post*. In the early days these newspapers were officially classified as Federal Republican, Republican, opposed to the Federalists, and Neutral. After the advent of political parties, other names appeared such as *Democrat*, *Republican*, *Whig*, *Constitutionalist*, *Patriot*, *Federalist*, *Palladium*, *American*, and *Advertiser*. And as the newspaper grew in power and importance in the world of business other sub-headings were added to better express the character of the publication and the clientele it was designed to reach and interest.

Habit of Thought

By CYRIL MORAND, DETROIT, MICHIGAN



HABIT of thought prescribes and not infrequently prophesies the method of life. Sleeping or waking it is our unremitting associate, coloring our viewpoint, determining our action and securing to us our fate. Developed from the first stirrings or reason through tuition and example, through observation and experience, it shapes the mould into which life is poured; always interesting, its processes are often amusing, occasionally grotesque, sometimes grand.

History, tradition, the great page of the past, all are palpable factors in its formation; and all, as is well known, suffer incredibly at the hands of time. History and heroic action especially are susceptible of this eternal mutation. Adorned and embellished in constant repetition, their lesson and aspect is oftentimes distorted to a degree that renders them utter strangers to contemporaries, innocent of authorship, the illegitimate children of many imaginations.

If you have witnessed a street accident, a fire, some out of the ordinary circumstance at which you were in a position to gather at first hand authentic facts and impressions, then I am aware of the eagerness with which you seized the next edition of the newspapers and the disappointment with which you scanned them. And perhaps I can construct some of the opinions with which you forswore the whole fourth estate, its peculiar probities and happy disregard for facts. Such an example suggests to what distortion an incident may be subject, even at the hands of so splendid an organization as the modern newspapers. How much greater then are the dangers and vicissitudes that beset the ever spreading structure of history; observed, as is so often the case, by casual and uninformed witnesses, repeated and recorded by even more careless chroniclers? These tendencies to inaccuracy, to euphemism, and their obvious bearing on the habit of thought, its modification, are here examined in a specific instance of American history: Not long ago a New York periodical, in an article on upper Manhattan, unblush-

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ingly declared of Morningside Heights that "Washington's troops here won the decisive victory of Harlem Heights on September 16, 1776, after suffering discouragement and defeat on Long Island."¹

It is unimportant that the magazine be indicted for an innocent bit of fun or that the author of the article be taken to task for a beguiling impression of history; what is important, however, is to consider that persistent generic weakness for self-gratulation that here manifests itself so plausibly. In effect, here, it is harmless, droll even, but it betrays unmistakably a habit, a tendency that, however born of carelessness or misguided loyalty, will bear none the less pernicious fruit. Perched astride that crusade which is at present trying to hide all embarrassing facts of American history—restricting the less to fact to release the more "to fancy's fields the mind"—this little fib merits pause and thought. That such a statement eludes the editorial pencil sadly proclaims the vanity of historians' labors; that it should slip unchallenged, unsmiled at, through the very city—on the ground, as it were—of the occurrence is wholly consistent with that simple faith and conviction in a sort of personal national virtue, entertained in the breast of American majorities who accept such translations as a matter of course and are moved to inquire no further.²

Apropos of the movement for predigested and sterilized history, from which the foregoing might well be an outgrowth, there is recalled a slip of the tongue for which one text book was severely dealt with. Its offense lay in the assertion that John Hancock, in the fashion of his age, gathered unto himself many a shilling properly destined for the treasury of His Majesty George III, through the agency of his Colonial Customs,—that Hancock, in a word, was a smuggler. Suppression of the work, according to accounts, followed in schools in the jurisdiction of the board who undertook the review. That Hancock was actuated by a principle fundamental in Colonial resistance to Crown authority, that the greater part of American commerce flourished in violation, in defiance of the British trade acts, that Colonial financial survival was dependent on this illicit trade and that finally, as such, its profit and risks were undertaken, financed, and shared in by the soberest and most influential figures of the times, names with which to conjure Liberty,—all this seems to have escaped the reviewers entirely.³ John Hancock was a smuggler. What of it? He could sign his name and he

The Board of Directors of the American Red Cross has the honor to acknowledge the receipt of the report of the Executive Committee of the American Red Cross for the year 1917. The report is a most interesting and valuable document, and it is a pleasure to find that the Executive Committee has done so much for the service of the country during the past year. The report is a most interesting and valuable document, and it is a pleasure to find that the Executive Committee has done so much for the service of the country during the past year. The report is a most interesting and valuable document, and it is a pleasure to find that the Executive Committee has done so much for the service of the country during the past year.

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served his young country well. That his legal status resulted from the enactments of a political bond to which he was not conscientiously a party, a bond he held intolerable and to the severance of which he devoted life and fortune, should neither stigmatize him to posterity nor prejudice the historical student. Nevertheless, until the Declaration of Independence established the Colonies on a new international basis, breach of British law was defiance of legally constituted authority, call it by what name you please. That Hancock evaded customs levies and restrictions, and therefore broke the law, cannot be denied.⁴ That he was one of the leaders successful in overturning the legal authority that instituted those laws is no less ethically discreditable than his contempt for the law in the first place. Yet, though both acts spring from the identical belief in personal rights, he is on the one hand eulogized as a founder of a great republic and on the other, curiously enough, the truth is stuttered over and whispered as if it were a thing to be ashamed of. That success bestowed on him the wrath of the patriot rather than disaster, the obloquy of the law-breaker reposed solely within the mysterious design of an all-seeing Providence. We cannot be over-pious in our backward glance; the student of history should be cozened no more with euphemism and elegance than his fellow of anatomy or biology. The necessity and greatness of the whole outweighs its vulgarity of detail and only to the thoroughly conversant lends understanding and strength. A little knowledge is a dangerous thing, and in every closet a skeleton may dangle, lacking only the light of controversy to betray him in his best grin. Nature, in deed, trips us when we strut.

Amerigo Vespucci, from whom we derive the racial name we have made great, who fastened his shabby cognomen on the whole western world, was a pickle vendor in Seville and a thieving one at that, "whose highest naval rank," relates Emerson, "was boat-swain's mate in an expedition that never sailed." He went out with Hojeda in 1499, wrote a book, and baptized us. So we must set the glories of our race and name to such disreputable accompaniment, but we're none the worse for it. On the other hand, the weaknesses of a heroic figure, the motives and discouragements incident to a great movement, if they possess historical value, serve as premises on which to base reactions. In the case of the man they emphasize his humanity, and command the greater admiration for his achieve-

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ments in the event, as determining factors to be considered in its result. In neither case is there sound reason for withholding shortcomings and reverses, the better to dwell on pleasing successes. The fame of the American Revolution lies not in a pure flame of unselfish patriotism animating all of its supporters, nor does George Washington's immortality rest on the fact that he wielded a hatchet and never told a lie.⁵ Since histories are being revised, it would be well if the bad were included with the good, that the unfortunate be mustered in its proper place beside the happy circumstance and providential, each to exhibit in the measure of its worth. Assuming the history teacher capable of stressing the faults of statesmanship, of conception and execution, that perforce must punctuate the Nation's page, of dwelling on the consequence and penalties relentlessly exacted for those mistakes, how they might have been avoided, then would justice be done and wisdom conferred. The Nation's young mind, on the flesh and gristle of hard fact, might then masticate to future advantage; not ruminate befogged in a roseate haze of American prowess with incidental undertones of the "Star Spangled Banner."

The word *decisive*, like many another thing in this day of extremes, is here too-casually placed—more sinned against than sinning. This discussion, however, is not raised on a point of diction, nor is its difference with the author of the line quoted. More as a mild inquiry as to our loose juggling of important circumstance is this undertaken, with a suggestion for comprehension as well as moderation in the chronicling of history—a trait which appears ethnically difficult to the American—that our dignity be well served in the proper scrutiny of posterity. That no epistrophe of glory, augmented through time, acquire us a habit that in a grander issue than this may hold us up to the world's ridicule as a nation of braggarts. Actually there was no battle decisively favorable to the Revolution from the Declaration of Independence (coincident with the opening of British operations against New York) in July 1776, until the Christmas night following, when Washington, in a brilliantly conceived stroke routed Col. Rall's Hessians at Trenton.⁶ A victory, even more so a decisive victory, conveys in a military sense, the immediate ability to impose one's will upon the enemy; this desirable requisite could hardly be claimed, even by the most extravagant patriot, for the battle of Harlem Heights. In it and the

campaign in which it fell almost the sole reflection propitious to the colonist might have been the knowledge, had he then realized it, that his fortunes were committed to so able a leader, so preëminent a soldier as George Washington. Our panegyrist of the battle perhaps culled information from some soon-to-be-popular school text or even from some briefer commemorative bronze, and, penning an epitaph, succeeded only in projecting a whimsical distortion on the screen of the past. Unimportant perhaps, and venial in itself, it is surely indicative of a serious trend in American culture and education. Carried far enough, which is conceivable, in history class and in print, such practice may well confuse the best intentioned student. It can furnish but one basis for the national estimate of an emergency-bewilderment. To carry it further, this happy idea of patriotic obfuscation may incubate a national conceit, a self-satisfaction that in a negligent rather than an aggressive policy, will serve us as was France at Sedan, or Germany (as is yet to be hoped) at Versailles.

The American, with his weakness for a bit of bombast, has ever been dexterous in turning defeat into victory. This, withal, is a manly enough admission for he has wrought the miracle as often, almost, in the shock of arms as in reminiscence. He is optimistic of the past as he is reckless of his future. We are confessedly the worst students in the world of history. It has been the writer's experience, talking with averagely informed and cultured Americans, to find a general impression of the War of 1812 vaguely compassed in three brilliant single-ship duels, all American victories: That of the *Constitution* over the British frigates *Guerriere* and *Java*, and the *United States'* conquest of the *Macedonian*. The land operations of that war, the leaders, except in areas immediately affected, are largely a closed book.

In briefly reviewing the campaign about New York in the summer of 1776, including the action at Harlem Heights, we may approximate the latter's relative value to the war, to the Revolutionary movement, and weigh its title to the distinction of "decisive battle." There at New York, General Washington opposed General Sir William Howe and his brother Richard, Earl Howe, the British admiral, aided, as one authority naively puts it, by "the greater part of the military and naval force of England." The British first squadron, from Halifax, arrived off New York June 27th, with Gen-

eral Howe and the troops with which he had evacuated Boston three months previously. On July 3rd, the day preceding the Declaration of Independence at Philadelphia, they debarked and set up camp on the eastern shore of Staten Island. This force was increased to 130 transports and ships-of-war with the arrival, on August 1, of Sir Henry Clinton and Lord Cornwallis with their troops from Charleston. Eleven days later Admiral Lord Howe arrived on the *Eagle*, 64, flagship of a squadron sent out from England carrying, besides home troops, a large draft of Hessian mercenaries in the pay of Great Britain. The two brothers were authorized and empowered as commissioners to treat for peace with the disaffected colonies, the annoying and persistent clamor of whose wrongs had at last begun to be attentively regarded by King George and his ministers. But the admiral's arrival had been too late by days; the decisive step had been taken and was not to be retraced. The Continental Congress was obdurate and would not recede a particle from the propositions they had consigned to imperishable ink. Following weeks spent in fruitless negotiation, active operations against the city and the strategically important line of the Hudson river valley were undertaken by both land and sea forces.

Washington's position, with the force available to him, was a precarious one. He had been unable to push his defenses as far as reason and his military sense dictated. With an island to hold, virtually surrounded by deep water navigable to large ships-of-war, with the lower bay occupied by the British fleet, its threat and weight presented a situation in subsequent operations that, none the less apprehended by Washington, remained beyond his powers of contravention. The utter absence of a similar force to contend with it critically, fatally embarrassed the American defense, and predicated a lesson in sea-power that seems difficult of comprehension today, as it was obvious and desperate at the time. Making the best disposition of his forces under the circumstances, Washington manned eleven redoubts on Manhattan, constructed on various points of high ground commanding the water, from the vicinity of Chambers street, on the Hudson, around the Battery and up the East river side to what is now 86th street, opposite Hell Gate. The fortifications contained in all 79 guns of various calibres. A battery on Paulus Hook protected the Hudson; works on Governor's Island and Red Hook defended the entrance to the East River. Forced to

abandon Staten Island at the first approach of the British, Washington necessarily surrendered control of the Narrows. The crucial weakness of the defensive plan were the heights of Long Island, opposite the city, which then did not extend above St. Paul's church, at Fulton street and Broadway. These heights, if seized, placed the city at the mercy of enemy artillery and rendered it untenable. They were the key of the situation; their possession and security were considered by the American generals of greater importance than that of the city itself.

Washington accordingly had established a line of redoubts resting on Forts Greene, Putnam and Box, running from Wallabout Bay, now the Brooklyn Navy Yard, to the swamps of Gowanus Creek.⁸ This fortified line was somewhat more than a mile in length and traversed a line passing close to the present site of Borough Hall. The hamlet of Brooklyn then consisted of a dozen houses a short distance to the east. Washington defended this line with 9,000 men—half his available army—and strengthened it throughout the favorable delay afforded by the peace negotiations. Howe, on August 22, crossed the Narrows from Staten Island to Gravesend Bay. In half a day, aided and protected by the British fleet, 15,000 men and 40 guns were transported, betraying the utter impotence of the defenders to obstruct a sea-land investment of this nature. A small force of Americans under Col. Hand, posted near Denyse's ferry at the lower end of the Narrows to report activities on Staten Island, fell back on their fortified lines to avoid being taken in flank by the advancing British. During the following five days Howe moved in 10,000 more men from his encampment, having meanwhile frequent skirmishes with American advance posts on Long Island, inflicting on them about 1,500 casualties. Washington, no longer in doubt that the heights were the first enemy objective, replaced his losses with 2,000 reserves from Manhattan and waited events which were not long withheld. On the morning of the 27th, his left flank supported by warships in the East River, Howe commenced his assault. British and Hessians under Generals Grant and De Heister made a frontal attack on positions defended by Generals Sullivan and Stirling somewhat in advance, to the southeast, of the fortified line. A flanking column, 10,000 of Clinton's, Cornwallis' and Percy's troops led by Howe himself, after an all-night march by Jamaica Pass arrived at daybreak in the rear of the American advance posi-

tions and all but cut off the forces engaged before they could regain their fortifications. With a loss in prisoners that included both Sullivan and Stirling, who took desperately successful measures to save their commands, the American casualties numbered well over a thousand; the British losses were about one-fourth of the American. Howe inexplicably failed to press his advantage and the following day commenced siege operations to reduce the position. The Continentals were critically situated. A swift river flowed at their backs, the discouragement of a reverse lay heavy upon them and only a feeble line of works interposed between them and a successful, experienced enemy more than double their number. It was in emergencies such as this that the genius of Washington asserted itself.

On the night of the 28th, Howe broke ground for his first parallels 600 yards from Fort Putnam.⁹ He threatened the rear of the Americans—their line of retreat—because of his undisputed command of the sea. He had every reason to believe them in his grasp. "Washington may have made a mistake in accepting battle in the open," observes one writer, "but his next movement was an operation unsurpassed in military skill." During the night of the 29th, in absolute secrecy and aided by an early morning mist on the 30th, the American general withdrew his entire army, without loss, across the East River and landed them on Manhattan, near the present foot of Fulton street. As the sun dispersed the fog, British patrols discovered and fired on the last detachment making the crossing, among them, Washington himself. "Admirable as the movement was in conception," says Mahan, "no less a term than escape can be applied to it."¹⁰ The army was quickly reorganized into three divisions under Generals Putnam, Spencer and Heath, and posted along the East and Harlem rivers, from the Battery to Kingsbridge, awaiting Howe's next move. The feasibility of abandoning the city, because of the loss of its dominating position, was discussed at a council of war. Its evacuation and destruction, to prevent its falling into the hands of the British, was strongly urged by General Nathanael Greene, who had constructed the Long Island defenses, but whom illness had deprived of command at the moment of battle. Some opposed these drastic measures and a middle course was for a few days adopted; part of the troops remained in the city, part at Kingsbridge, and the rest were stationed at intermediate

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points. At a second council five days later (almost too late) evacuation and retirement to the fortified line of the Harlem was decided on. Penetration of the Hudson as far as Tarrytown by British warships, and of the East River to the Sound, impressed Washington with the weakness of his communications; the supplies and munitions for the army, as well as provisions for the city, coming down from the west bank of the Hudson river. Governor's Island had meanwhile been abandoned, while the British lines had been extended along the Long Island shore from Red Hook to Hell Gate, commanding the full length of the East River.

On September 15th, as the American retrograde movement was being carried out, Howe suddenly crossed the East River with a strong force from Newton's Creek to Kip's Bay,¹¹ five ships of the fleet covering his landing with a heavy artillery fire. Covering the position were the raw militiamen of Douglas, who were to have been withdrawn that night in the delayed evacuation of the city and lower island. The inexperienced defenders were hopelessly unequal to the thoroughly organized assault. They were subjected to a cannonade from the frigates that veteran troops might well have crumbled under, and by the time the first boats of the enemy ground the beach they had broken and fled northwest toward the Post Road. The British, seeing their disorder, landed to the north of their position to cut them off. Washington was at Harlem when the action began and galloped to the scene, but in spite of all his effort to reorganize and encourage the troops the retreat became a rout toward the Bloomingdale Road, soon joined in by Parsons' and Fellows' brigades, which had been ordered in as supports from their position on Murray Hill, to the northwest. Eighty-four boatloads of British soldiers, led by Sir Henry Clinton and Cornwallis, moved almost unmolested in pursuit of the Americans. Had not the patriotic and resourceful Mrs. Robert Murray, wife of a Quaker merchant, invited Howe and his generals to a delightful and protracted luncheon at her home,¹² Putnam's division, retreating stealthily northward on the west side of the island, must have been cut off and captured. "Of the Kip's Bay affair," comments Henry P. Johnston in *The Campaign of 1776 Around New York and Brooklyn*, "there is but one criticism to be made—it was an ungovernable panic. Beginning with a retreat from the water line, it grew into a fright and run for safer ground." The disorganized columns found

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refuge by night on the heights of the north and west of Harlem.¹³ They had suffered casualties near 400 and were faced with the sober realization that their adversary had successfully bisected Manhattan from Bloomingdale,¹⁴ through MacGowan's Pass¹⁵ to Horn's Hook,¹⁶ on the East River. Washington with a heavy heart redispersed them in the works on the heights, Spencer's troops in the rear, Greene's division in front.¹⁷ "That night," says Humphrys, "our troops, excessively fatigued, their clothes wet by rain, their blood chilled by cold wind and their hearts sunk within them by the loss of baggage, artillery and works, lay upon their arms, covered only by the clouds of an uncomfortable sky." This was the gloomy situation on the eve of the "decisive victory" at Harlem Heights, an action in which American losses in killed were twice the enemy's, the wounded about equal, and of lost ground recovered, nothing.

Disappointed, but unremitting in his vigilance, Washington ordered a reconnaissance to be made of the enemy positions the following morning, to ascertain the limits of their advance. The Rangers, a detachment of volunteers from New England units, were detailed for the work. They had been organized, under the command of Lieutenant-Colonel Thomas Knowlton, of Connecticut, after the battle of Long Island and were used exclusively for scouting and detached missions. So it was in the course of the Commander-in-Chief's order that this little column, 120 strong, moved down from the heights before dawn on the morning of September 16, 1776, and crossing the Hollow Way¹⁸, climbed Claremont Hill¹⁹, and worked cautiously southward toward the terminus of the Bloomingdale Road, where the enemy had last been seen.

They had gone more than a mile when, shortly after daylight, near the Jones farmhouse²⁰, they encountered outposts of the British left, the camp of Leslie's brigade of light infantry. The 2nd and 3rd Battalions of this unit, supported by the 42nd Highlanders, moved out at once to attack the Americans. A sharp skirmish ensued, all British units in the vicinity getting rapidly into action. Knowlton sheltered his detachment behind a stone wall and from this vantage held ground against a rapidly increasing British fire. His men having fired about nine rounds apiece, Knowlton decided he had accomplished the mission assigned him; he had developed a strong force, much superior to his own, whose dispositions and strength were fairly revealed. The information sought by his com-

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mander had been acquired with small cost to himself and having no wish to maintain an action so unequal, that if persisted in might result in heavy loss or capture, he broke it off and retreated rapidly the way he had come. His losses were about ten men. The column was hotly pursued by 300 British, but regained the lines beyond Point of Rocks without mishap. Washington had anxiously awaited his subordinate's return. When informed of the strength of the pursuit, as reported by Knowlton and Colonel Reed, who had joined the former during his retreat, Washington perceived an opportunity which if quickly seized, might serve to reanimate the spirits of his soldiers from the effects of yesterday's rout. He had hardly concluded writing his report of "their disgraceful conduct" to Congress as Knowlton returned. The opportunity was no less than the surrounding and capture of the enemy column, who were by now defiantly organizing their isolated position on the slope of Claremont Hill, in plain sight across the valley.

Knowlton was thereupon reinforced with a battalion of the 3rd Virginia regiment, commanded by Major Andrew Leitch, and instructed to get in the rear of the British party, who were to be diverted by an attack developed on their left front by Rhode Island troops under Lieutenant-Colonel Archibald Clary. By this means it was hoped to encircle them and make them prisoners. The ruse had the desired effect. As Clary and his force moved across the Hollow Way, the British advanced to meet them down the slope, taking position in an open field at the foot. They sought protection behind scattered underbrush, and a rail fence that extended from the northeast face of Claremont Hill to the Post Road, facing Point of Rocks. Clary opened fire at long range to fix the enemy's attention to their front. Unfortunately the attack was pushed too vigorously or, as it was claimed later, unauthorized orders were given by junior officers in the flanking party. For when Knowlton and Leitch, crossing the plain to take the heights in the rear, cut upward to the right, they found that instead of getting behind the British they were attacking on the flank. There was no help for it then, the stratagem had revealed itself. The British were already moving back and now, finding themselves subjected to a cross-fire, the Light Infantry started to run. The Americans followed up the slopes gallantly, pouring in a brisk musketry fire on the fleeing enemy. It was while scaling the heights²¹ that Major Leitch was

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mortally wounded and, a few moments later, the gallant Knowlton instantly killed by British riflemen posted on their right flank, and hitherto out of sight on lower ground. The Rangers and Virginians pressed their attack under junior officers. Washington, advised of their need of support, reinforced them with three (some records have it nine) companies of Maryland troops under Major Price. At the same time, most of Nixon's and Sargent's brigades were sent in to strengthen the frontal attack; Col. Douglas' Connecticut levies (who had fled the day before from Kip's Bay) and others went into action, until the total of Americans engaged reached about 1800. "Besides Col. Reed, and other members of Washington's staff," writes Johnston, "Generals Putnam, Greene, and George Clinton accompanied the detachments and encouraged the men by individual examples of bravery."

With reinforcements rested an offensive option which the Americans were not slow to seize. They promptly charged and drove the British from the crest of the heights, approximately 400 yards through a small wood and into a buckwheat field.²² There, reinforced by the 42nd Highlanders and a detachment of Donop's Hessians, the enemy stood fast for more than an hour. Two field pieces, which Howe had ordered up in support, came into action against the Americans in the buckwheat field. It is at this point that the battle of Harlem Heights establishes its claim to the interest and memory of Americans. It is a claim not based on factors of military advantage or remotest resemblance to a decisive victory; but rather on the moral achievement it attests in the recovery of a beaten and discouraged army's *esprit* and confidence, following a series of reverses and disaster. In war, of which psychology is so intrinsically an element, these intangible values, properly appraised and utilized, are at once the stamp of a commander's genius and often of equal value with the more concrete factors of annihilation and conquest. "It was not a great battle," says Greene, "its importance is due to the fact that the same troops which had fled in disgraceful panic on the previous day at Kip's Bay recovered their courage, drove the British and Hessian regulars before them for more than a mile; fought them in the open at 40 yards range and finally²³ retreated in good order and without molestation to their own lines." The British indeed retreated from close quarters—the no-cover, eye-to-eye fighting in the buckwheat field. Their rein-

forcements having expended their ammunition, the line again dropped back, vigorously pursued by the Americans into an orchard a short distance southwest, in the direction of the Bloomingdale Road. The redecoats were in turn driven from this position and finally brought up, at three in the afternoon, near the Jones house, where the action had commenced in the early morning. They were here met by Linsingen's Grenadiers and the 5th Infantry, too late to participate in the fighting. Howe, in an excess of caution, had by this time sent in most of Cornwallis' division and had brought up in all close to 5,000 troops.

Historians are unanimous that it was far from Washington's mind to precipitate a general engagement, his last idea to "bring on a battle." His troops having finished where they began, he withdrew them satisfied, with confidence restored, to their lines northward. Washington himself did not designate their success by the term of battle; as he later wrote to General Schuyler, "The affair inspirited our troops prodigiously." This then, was the "decisive victory" of Harlem Heights—at the end of which the conformation of the British lines remained unchanged and undisturbed; an action that grew out of a scouting expedition, seconded by a small coup that failed, and, contrary to either commander's plans for an engagement, developed into a skirmish in force that was abruptly broken off without objective advantage to either side. Briefly, it was a "shindig" between the lines which lost to the Americans two valuable and tried officers among their thirty killed. The enemy's reported dead was fourteen, and the wounded on each side approximated two hundred. Swelled by tradition to a victory of some proportions, this small link in a vast chain of events, save for its undoubted psychologic interest and value, was incidental; of insufficient importance to merit the scrutiny and analysis of military historians.²⁴ The advantage of morale gained in the action was largely vitiated in the subsequent misfortunes that overtook the Continental army, effectively aided by stupidity, by downright disobedience, among Washington's subordinates. Into these reverses (Howe's flanking movement through Long Island Sound that resulted in the partition of Washington's force, the battle and abandonment of White Plains, the separation of his army, and the loss of Forts Washington and Lee) it is unnecessary to inquire. They serve only as the dark sequel, a background to the event which we

have examined. Of the succession of moves and counters that found Washington early in November crossing the Hudson into New Jersey; of his masterful retreat across that state, his fugitive column dwindled to less than 6,000 men; and of his final safety behind the Delaware, in Pennsylvania, history spreads too broad a page for our embellishing. Sufficient it is that the action at Harlem Heights, the whole campaign of 1776, however dark its aspect to the cause of the Revolution, strikingly revealed Washington's genius to seize and capitalize to the utmost the slightest opportunity tendered by an opponent. He established beyond question his surpassing skill on the defensive; and in its turn, an initiative that forever ranks him among the greatest of military leaders.

The bare recital of so illustrious a career, of such profound events, leaves glory and to spare. Movements so epic, so far-reaching in their influence on mankind, beggar our meagre praise. They can well dispense with exaggeration and are only stultified by specious fictions and the grandiloquence that adds not one cubit to their stature. They stand well by themselves. Despite rags and tatters of avarice, suspicion and treachery with which they are so often draped, in their naked grandeur they will remain as imperishable milestones to the progress of the race. In the modern ubiquity of printer's ink, however, the trend of hero worship surely, inevitably, degenerates into a sort of blind deification that eventually may distort the message of great men, rob us of the lesson and example rendered in their lives, and erase the true significance of the event in which they moved. Only by examining carefully the motives, the misfortunes and reverses, as well as the successes, can we acquire the definition of life and an insight into greatness. Let history, therefore, be written faithfully and read with circumspection; that, with its intimate relation to our habit of thought, we fully discharge our duty to ourselves in its proper understanding. And, as we shall accurately appraise the past, so we shall interpret the events of the present with a wisdom of policy and an energy of action that will fairly lay the foundation stone to a secure, to a just and successful future.

Notes and References:

1. *The Acropolis of New York*, by Helen Bannard Risdon, *Tavern Topics*, April, 1922.

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2. Discussing the view entertained by Americans toward the Revolution as early as its twenty-fifth anniversary, R. G. Usher, American historian, says: "Moreover the victory, besides demonstrating our military efficiency, was naturally supposed to prove that the history of the war was the tale of a triumphant march toward the goal of independence, of which their fathers had been proud, whose glories the sons must venerate with enthusiastic and sincere devotion, and whose reverses could only add to the martyristic halo already shrouding the patriots who fought it.

"So strong indeed is the predisposition of every loyal American to accept these conclusions as true (i. e., the corollary of the victors having necessarily the best army, organization, and commanders) that historians have long been afraid to emphasize the real aspect of the war for fear of being charged with disloyalty and a disposition to destroy patriotic ideals." *The Rise of the American People*, p. 123.

3. "Trade with foreign countries or their West India colonies was forbidden. Not only were the detailed regulations of these acts disobeyed (by the Colonists), but even their general intent was nullified. The coast was crowded with smugglers; sugar and molasses were openly sold at more than one place for less money than the duty; most ships carried several sets of false papers, and traded at will with the foreign sugar islands in the West Indies and with Europe. The English calculated in 1767 that a trade worth more than a quarter of a million pounds sterling was being carried on by Americans with Germany and Holland (in defiance of the Navigation Acts). Attempt after attempt to stop the smuggling was of no avail; new acts, new regulations, were simply waste paper, and few or no men could be found in America who were willing to accept an appointment as customs officer, so excessively unpopular was the service and so determined were the Colonists to evade the regulations. Randolph was astonished at the lengths to which they went in Boston in 1676 to thwart him. They landed their goods at night and when he appeared to investigate arrested him for breaking the curfew rule; they landed their goods on Sunday and arrested him for working on the Sabbath. The courts would issue only special search warrants permitting him to search only for specified articles in a specified place. He found that the merchants had built a series of connecting warehouses, and, after they had seen his warrant, kept him standing at the door while they rolled the sugar and molasses into the next warehouse. When there was nothing he could seize left in the place he was allowed to search, they admitted him. Their intention to disobey was an open secret. Violence was not infrequent in later years where the customs officers showed any real determination: heads were broken, ships burned, officers tarred and feathered, ridden on rails, or even murdered." *Ibid.*, p. 69.

For the reasons and justification of these lawless measures on the part of the Colonists, able arguments may be had in Stephen Hopkins' *The Rights of the Colonies Examined* (1765), and *Records of the Colony of Rhode Island and Providence Plantations*; see remonstrance of the colony against the British Sugar Act, Vol. VI.

4. In the opposition of Boston citizens to the Stamp Act and the Townshend Act, "Revenue officers who attempted to inspect Hancock's sloop, the *Liberty*, were locked up by the crew, who landed the cargo and made false entries in the books at the customs house. The subsequent seizure of the vessel brought out the old Boston gang, which had long been accustomed to oppose the revenue officers, and which sacked the houses of the inspectors and controller of customs in the most approved fashion." *Ibid.*, p. 95.

5. "The Revolution was a time of defeat and despair. . . . Yet the difficulties of the situation, far from robbing Washington and his aides from the glory that has so long been accorded them, only increases and intensifies it. The laurels given a leader whom all conditions favor, whose army is strong, whose countrymen throng around him with joy, is in no way comparable to the crown to be awarded the general who wins his war without a strong army and in the face of the hostility and suspicion of his countrymen. . . . So far as it can be true that any one man ever did win a war, George Washington won the Revolution single-handed. He did not so much lead the American people, as drag them after him to a victory and independence which they had not entirely made up their minds to seek." *Ibid.*, p. 127.

6. Washington's generalship, and the uses to which the military mind may apply the smallest circumstance, are here given a striking illustration: a detail so minute as the torpor following a Germanic celebration of Christmas was one of the cogent factors in determining the attack, and was relied upon for a victory in which Washington staked his army—and possibly the whole cause of the Revolution. For a defeat at Trenton, added to the discouragement and dissatisfaction that already permeated the ranks, would have caused, historians believe, the dissolution of the army and the probable collapse of the Revolutionary movement.

7. An example of a slip in phrasing by a careful and well equipped military writer. Major General Francis V. Greene, in *The Revolutionary War*, p. 34. General Greene's figures give more than 400 transports and supply ships employed against New York, convoyed by 10 ships-of-the-line and 20 frigates; 30 warships in all, manned by about 3,500 seamen.

The British Navy List for 1776 numbered more than 270 vessels of distinctly fighting character, including 130 ships-of-the-line, this rating rejecting ships of less than 50 guns. The authorized naval enlisted strength was then in process of expansion from 28,000 in

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1776 to 45,000 the following year, and is estimated for July, 1776, to have been about 35,000 men.

Though the land forces employed, 32,000, were in no sense an inconsiderable portion of England's military establishment, they were far from the "greater part," occupied as the Empire then was, in securing and organizing throughout the world the fruits of the Seven Years War.

8. The vicinity of the present Erie Basin.

Figures on the strength and disposition of forces and works are taken from Greene's *Revolutionary War*. All therein are compiled from authoritative and reliable sources.

9. Now Washington Park, Brooklyn.

10. Article on the Revolution in *History of the Royal Navy*, (Clowes) Vol. III., p. 384.

11. East 34th Street.

12. Now 36th Street and 4th Avenue.

13. Near the present intersection of 130th Street and Manhattan Avenue.

14. Broadway and 97th streets.

15. Central Park.

16. East 86th Street.

17. The works occupied ground between the present 127-147th streets, west of Manhattan and St. Nicholas avenues.

18. 125th Street.

19. Grant's Tomb.

20. 105th Street and Riverside Drive.

21. Near 120th Street and Morningside Park.

22. 120th Street, between Broadway and Riverside Drive.

23. The liberty has been here of deleting a phrase of General Greene's because of the belief that it is misleading and unwarranted by the facts. Feeling that though the impression it conveys is erroneous, the phrase cannot properly be omitted, so it is here included and discussed for the reader's own conclusion:

The words objected to are: . . . "*when the object of the movement was accomplished, they retreated in good order,*" etc., (*The Revolutionary War*, p. 50).

At the time Washington broke off the action at the Jones house and for some time previously, there had, in the writer's opinion, been no objectives worth mentioning. It is obvious that the initial objective, the actual reconnaissance which brought on the day's fighting, had been entirely and satisfactorily attained by Col. Knowlton early in the morning and the action broken off before the second phase, prompted by the weakness of the pursuing column, shaped in Washington's mind the plan to capture them. The second objective, for the reasons given, failed.

The latter part of the engagement lacked definite object; un-

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less the spontaneous act of Washington, who, seeing his troops aroused, let them work off some of their heavy score against the British, can be so called. One advantage, the psychological result of the second phase of the skirmish, was achieved, and the men were withdrawn only when they had approached enemy lines which could hardly have been cut without heavy loss.

24. In the *History of the British Army*, an elaborate and authentically compiled work by the Hon. J. W. Fortescue, (London, 1902) the action is given this brief notice: "On the 16th there was sharp skirmishing between detached parties of the two armies, but with no result." Vol. III., p. 187.

"Howe took possession of New York City, and on the 16th of September he made a frontal attack on Washington's position at Harlem Heights, but was repulsed." *American Campaigns*, by Matthew Forney Steele, Major, U. S. Cavalry.



A Few Came Home With Gold

LETTERS OF EDWARD HAYES SKINNER, WHO CROSSED THE ISTHMUS OF
PANAMA IN 1852 WITH HIGH HOPES AND A NEW
ENGLAND CONSCIENCE

BY HORACE EDWARD BUKER, ROCKFORD, ILLINOIS



CROSS the perspective of years, through eyes of romance, California of the '49 Argonauts seems peopled by a race of riotous giants who sifted golden nuggets from the sands each day to toss away each night. Between the primitive long-toms of the peaks and the modern dredgers of the valleys lies man's allotted span of three-score years and ten. Not all the story of those early years has yet been told. Sierra streams brought wealth or ruin to thousands in the first years, while to a smaller but most earnest group they offered the keys to a prosperous future, rather than the treasure chest. Those were the men of set purpose and high character, who panned a stake, ignored the lures, and carried home the prize—a comparative trifle, perhaps, by modern standards, but more than they could have saved in a decade at home.

Edward Hayes Skinner was one, typical perhaps of thousands, some of whom fared better and many of whom fared worse. His letters home, surprisingly reportorial for a young artisan-farmer from rural New York, project those early days across the gap of time in photographic fidelity. They belong as definitely with the literature of that stirring epoch as all the dramatic pageantry which struts through mists of legend, and obscures the sober truth. Labor, loss, loneliness and hope deferred, played greater roles those days in the lives of real men than the novelists admit. Nevertheless there is something of drama, even tragedy, and much of human interest in these letters—some perfectly preserved and others pieced together from brittle bits,—letters which have been treasured for seventy years by members of the family. Their historical value lies only in sincerity of reproduction, therefore they are presented

A FEW CAME HOME WITH GOLD

without alteration, interpretation or dramatization, and with only such omissions as are personal or uninteresting.

Edward Hayes Skinner was born at Prattsburg, N. Y., in 1829, the product of two centuries of substantial and distinguished Colonial stock. He graduated from Prattsburg Academy and learned the trade of wagon making. His genius was in horticulture, but he was a younger son and could not aspire to the old home farm, which still remains in the family. In 1851, at Rushville, N. Y., he married Penelope Janet Leddeck, daughter of Peter Leddeck, a gunsmith, distinctly of Holland descent. Early the following year, with his father-in-law, he left for the gold fields of California, by the Isthmian route, ascending the Chagres by poled skiff and crossing the divide on foot. The first letter, which follows, is merely an offer made by an overland company, which was not accepted, and the others, presented in order, are self explanatory:

(From Joseph David at Cincinnati to E. H. Skinner at Prattsburg, N. Y., offering accommodations in an overland caravan to California).

Cincinnati, Feb. 21, 1852.

Mr. Skinner:

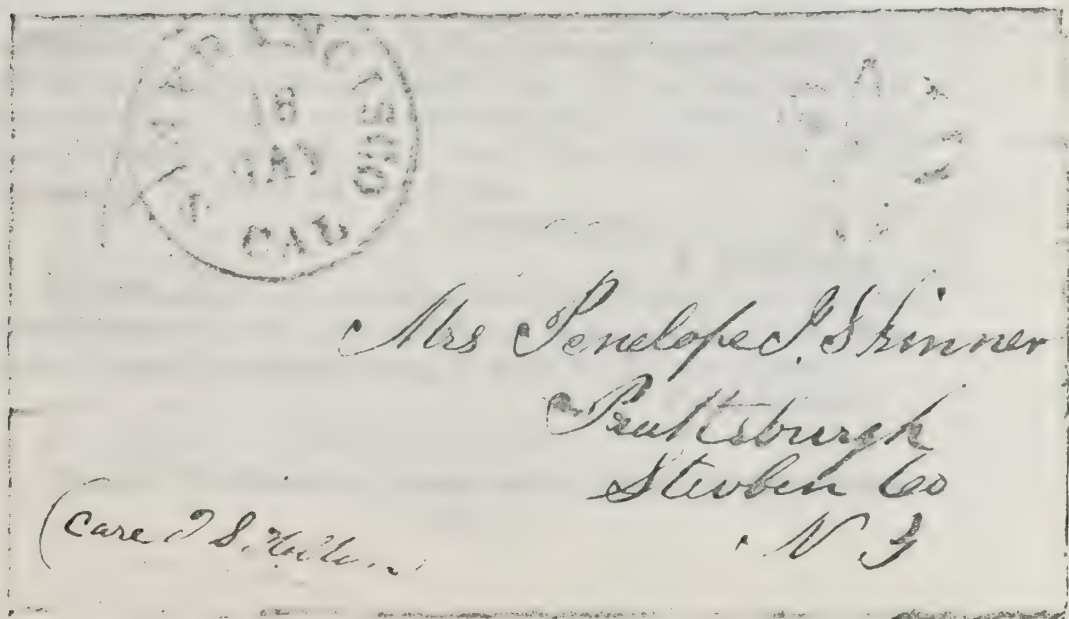
Your's of the 19th is now received and in reply will say that I can accommodate you in my company if your application be made soon, so I can make the arrangements. Many people from your state will join me. Terms are made known in this contract here enclosed. Persons residing at a distance who do not wish to come here until I get ready for starting will send to me \$40 for each person who intends going and when he arrives here he can make the balance of payments. Send the name of each man if there are three of you. Purchase a draft on some of our banks here payable to my order and have it properly mailed at my risk. I leave here the first of April. Will be in St. Louis by the 6th of April and at Council Bluff by the 14th of April. Get two pairs of short, light, thick soled boots without heels, one pair of extra pants, four check shirts, revolver or other gun. Wear a cap. You will answer soon as possible. Three of you joining send \$100.

Yours, etc.,

JOSEPH DAVID.



EDWARD HAYES SKINNER, AGED TWENTY-FOUR YEARS,
UPON HIS RETURN FROM CALIFORNIA
(Rephotographed from a daguerreotype)



THE FIRST LETTER HOME

A FEW CAME HOME WITH GOLD

(From E. H. Skinner in New York City to his wife at Prattsburg, Steuben Co., New York, the day before sailing for California).

New York City, Apr. 8, 1852.

Dear Wife:

I arrived here yesterday at 2.30 o'clock after a tiresome night ride. I went to Potter Center and stayed until 2 o'clock on Tuesday and then went to Penn Yan and took the cars at 10:30 in the evening. We had a pleasant time, although a tiresome one to me, not being used to it. Today I went over to Brooklyn on a ferry boat and back for one penny. John Senlober and I went into Barnum's museum and saw everything that ever was seen, I guess. It is well worth the time.

There are stages and carriages of all kinds, without number, going on the New York streets. I can ride all over the city for a sixpence. It beats all what they do find to do. It is hard getting along the streets, they are so crowded with people and goods of all kinds. I should not like to live here unless they would clean the streets, for they smell very bad. Some of them it is almost impossible to breathe in. The winter has been so long that they have not been able to clean them in four months, but they are at it now. I thought that a city was neat, but a nastier hole I never got into. We all went onto the "Empire City" yesterday to see how it looked, and I think it is very nice. Our berths are on the first deck. We do not go down into the hold as we supposed. It is as good a place as we want, good mattresses to lie on, and for aught I see it is very comfortable. Tell Lemira that it is not quite as nice as I said it was but a great deal nicer than she said it was. It is an exception to all the vessels that I went on for some of them were worse than hogpens. We start tomorrow at 2 o'clock. Your father is well and in fine spirits. He sends his love to you.

Affectionately,

E. H. SKINNER.

Dear Daughter: We are now about to sail and I have nothing of importance to write, only to tell you that we are all well. Edward is in good spirits for going, so good bye for the present.

PETER LEDDECK.

(From E. H. Skinner at Panama to his wife in New York State.

A FEW CAME HOME WITH GOLD

A letter begun April 20 on the Carribbean sea and evidently completed and mailed five days later).

On the Caribbean Sea, Apr. 20, 1852.

Dear Wife:

We started from New York city the 9th at 15 minutes past 2, sailed along finely until about 11 o'clock at night when we were awakened by a terrible noise. It was very dark and, through the carelessness of the crew, another vessel ran against the one we were on and stove in her bow up toward the top, and knocked down two or three berths about 20 feet from where I slept.

The 10th we sailed finely. We saw porpoise without number. They are a fish about four feet long and look as near like a hog as anything I can think of. They jump out of the water every few minutes. The 11th was Sunday. We had preaching from the missionaries in the forenoon. The wind blew too hard to preach in the afternoon. I was very sick, the meanest sickness that I ever had.

The 12th we saw flying fish. They will weigh from half a pound to a pound and look as near like a bat as anything. It rained a little toward night. The 13th was warm July weather. We saw three or four large fish, twelve feet or more long. The captain said they were sharks. By watching in the water by the side of the boat we could see all kinds of fish. The funniest one was a large green fish with something across its nose that looked like half a barrel head.

The 14th we saw Florida early in the morning. The ship ran aground at 10 and we did not get off until after 11 o'clock. It was lucky that it was sand instead of rocks on the bottom. All passengers were on deck in a hurry. Some were terribly scared, but there was no serious damage done. The 15th Florida was still in sight.

The 16th we saw Cuba at a distance at 10, and we landed at Havana about 5 in the afternoon. There was a celebration for some Spanish generals that came in the day before. There were two or three hundred mules in the water with their riders on their backs, for what purpose I can't say. The carriages that the nobility ride in look something like a sulky, large enough for a man and his wife besides the driver. The thills are between twelve and fourteen feet long, clumsy looking things they are, too.

The 17th we left Havana at 2 o'clock. Havana is the hand-

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somest place that I ever saw. There we could see cocoanut trees loaded with nuts, orange trees with oranges. I bought a watermelon as large as a pumpkin for ten cents. It seemed curious to come out of a country covered with snow and in one week's time have watermelons, muskmelons, oranges, pineapples, etc. The 18th, nothing of consequence happened. The 19th very hot. The 20th two sailors got to fighting and the captain put them in irons. The 21st we saw a whale at a distance, spouting water. The 22nd we reached Navy bay at 9 o'clock in the morning. I paid \$5 to ride 22 miles on the cars, \$3 more to ride 20 miles up Chagres river. We were one day and a half on the river. Six natives with long poles pushed the boat. It was a curious way to ride and we were very slow.

The 23rd we started from Gorgona at half past 6 o'clock and arrived at Panama the 24th at 6 o'clock, a distance of 27 miles from Gorgona. The whole distance across the isthmus is about 73 miles, and terribly bad traveling. Some hired mules. Two mules gave out on the road and were killed. There were houses along the road where we could get a cup of coffee of natives for a dime, not exactly coffee but stuff. The tents are made of reeds covered with palm leaves and are very comfortable for this country. There are watermelon patches along the road. The rainy season has commenced and it has rained every day since we have been here. There are fruits of all kinds except apples, oranges for two cents apiece, nice ones. It would astonish you to see how many are going to California from all parts of the world. There were on the "Empire City" people of all ages, ranks and colors. Some were from the south, with their slaves, some from Italy, some from Ireland, some from other parts of the world. There were about 20 women, and they had a hard time crossing the isthmus. I felt sorry for them, but could not help them much, for it was all any one could do to take care of himself. My feet and legs are sore from walking in the hot climate—it is so very hot. When we were on the river we saw four alligators and the boys who had revolvers shot at them, but with no effect. We saw monkeys and parrots without number. I would not cross the isthmus in this way again for anything. It is enough to kill a man unless he is made of iron. There are places where the mire is knee deep, and other places where we had hard work to get down the rocks. I must finish writing, for I am very tired. You

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must excuse such work as I have made in writing this letter, for there is no place to write but on my lap.

We start tomorrow for San Francisco on the steamer Philadelphia. Your father is well and in fine spirits. You must not worry about me, for the worst is over. Tell Mr. Lewis that the vessel his (an omission here) went on was wrecked at Acapulco. There was no life lost. I must finish, so good bye for now.

From your husband,

E. H. SKINNER.

Perhaps it should be stated in justice to this depreciatory young man that his letters, one and all, are models of neatness, not more difficult to read today than clear typewriting. Evidently the good old Presbyterians of Prattsburg Academy taught with care, for his characters are as plain and definite and honest as his character proved to be in every test of life. Almost all the letters are written on strong blue paper with black ink which has faded but little. Evidently this paper was taken from home, for letters to Mr. Skinner from the east are on the same kind and color. It seems that he and Peter Leddeck did not sail from Panama on the Philadelphia, as expected, as he reached San Francisco, May 10, on the "Tennessee," as shown from the next letter to his wife.

San Francisco, May 11, 1852.

Dear Wife:

I arrived here last evening on the steamship "Tennessee." We are all well but tired. We will leave here for Sacramento this afternoon at 6 o'clock. I can get \$125 per month and my board on a farm and if mining is not favorable I shall take whatever I can get. There were three deaths in two days on the vessel the day and the day after we left Acapulco. They were all blacksmiths and all died of the Panama fever. One of them was from Ireland, one from Ohio and one from Michigan, by name of Van Valkenburgh. He told me, if I remember right, that he was connected with Mr. Quackenbush in Prattsburg. He was a very nice man. There were others sick at the same time, myself among the rest, but I am as well as I ever was, now. It was a solemn time to see them thrown overboard when we were in sight of land. They were sewed up in

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canvas with weights of iron at their feet and then laid on a plank and slid into the sea.

You must not worry for me, for I am on land now, and I am thankful that we are all tolerably well. It is not to be wondered at that so many go from here poor because you can see them gambling on every corner. Write immediately, and direct your letters to Marysville, California, for we will be within a few miles of there, somewhere.

Your husband,

E. H. SKINNER.

(From E. H. Skinner in Sierra County to his wife, the first letter after he started panning).

Downieville, June 20, 1852.

Dear Wife:

I have neglected writing longer than I should have done, but I have not had an opportunity to send a letter to the office. I am at work in the mines about eight miles from Downieville, and doing very well, although not as well as I am in hopes of doing. Some days I don't make more than four dollars, but I have for the last 12 days made an average of \$17.21 per day. We yesterday took out one piece that weighed 3 oz. and over. I am in company with two old miners. We work the gold with a machine called a Tom. It is a trough with iron at one end full of holes. The gold drops through the holes into a riffle box and then is taken into a pan and the remaining sand washed out. I have been in company with these miners 18 days and we have agreed to work together all summer. I now have in gold dust \$183. One of our company has got to go to Marysville in about 10 or 12 days and I will send you what I have by Adams & Co. express.

There are other miners at work in the same ravine where I work, but we are doing better than most of them. Not one in twenty is doing as well as my company is. We have struck a crevice and as long as that lasts probably I shall make big wages. Direct your letters to Downieville, Calif., and don't neglect writing one day after you get this letter. Your father is about 20 miles north of me, doing tolerably well, say about four to six dollars per day. The name of the diggings where I work is Eureka. I am ragged and

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look as if I needed shaving. I never was so healthy as I am now. My pardners are hurrying me to go back, so good bye.

Yours,

E. H. SKINNER.

(From E. H. Skinner at Carrion Creek, California, to his twin brother, Edgar, at Prattsburg, N. Y.)

Carrion Creek, July 25, 1852.

Dear Brother Edgar:

I am now mining eight miles north of the place where I was when I wrote last. You may think it strange, my leaving diggings where I could make from \$4 to \$17 per day. I worked there over a month and averaged over \$8 per day, some days more and some days less. The reason I left there was because the water failed and we could not work. I bought my partners out for one hundred dollars, that would be about \$34 each, so that I now own four claims of 60 feet each, and as soon as it rains this fall I shall go back there for the winter. If it pays as well all the way in to the bank as it has so far I shall start for home as soon as the water fails next year. That would be about the 10th of July.

I shall hire men enough to run three Toms or sluices as long as there is water enough. I can hire men for \$4 per day this winter and that will be making a good profit. I have been offered \$500 for my four claims. A thousand couldn't buy them of me. It takes four men to each claim. I paid \$150 here for one-third of a claim. I would not buy a whole claim for it is very risky business. We start working tomorrow and if I make anything at all, probably it will be well. The claim below us has done well. Some days they don't make their board and other days they make well. I have now left \$340 after paying for my claims and as soon as I get \$160 more, that will make \$500, I will send a draft to New York and you can go after it or send by some of the merchants who go after goods. When the money gets there, if you want to, take whatever the fare is and come to Carrison Creek, but I advise you not to come. Do as you like, but if you do come come on the Vanderbilt line by all means. There is snow in sight of where I am sitting, and also a

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pine tree that is seven feet through. Tell Penelope I will write soon. See that she has everything she wants.

Your Brother,

E. H. SKINNER.

(From a sister at Prattsburg to E. H. Skinner in California announcing an important event).

Prattsburg, N. Y., Aug. 15, 1852.

My Dear Brother:

Now don't be disappointed because this commences Brother instead of Husband, and I'll tell you some news. Why didn't I commence Father! Yes, you are father to one of the sweetest, plump-tess, beautifullest, little—which will you have it, boy or girl? "Oh, girl," I hear you say, so girl it is—just like its own dear mother, and you are satisfied. Oh, Edward, we have wished very much for a few days that you could have been here. Penelope has suffered very much (about which she will soon write you) but now she is very comfortable and there is no reason why she may not be quite well in a week or two. She bore all very patiently; we all love her and she will be taken care of, you may be sure. The baby has been crying, and Penelope says it cries to see its father. You had better come home and see wife and baby; they are worth more than their weight in gold, and you do not expect to get over fifty pounds of that article if you have good luck. So you see you will be the gainer to come at once. Oh how he will want to see it, Lemina says, and so we all say. Still we all say, don't come home on this account. We are thankful that Penelope has got along so well, and I am thankful to be the one to write you the good news.

I am at Father's with my three children to make a good long visit; it seems to me my last but we do not know. All the sisters are here but none of the brothers. I wish we all could be together once more. Possibly we may at some future day. We have heard from Henry and Edgar since Penelope wrote. They are well. Edgar had written you, but directed to Marysville. Said he would write you to Downieville soon. What are you to call the baby? Think up some pretty name, Goldiana, Mineacuto, or some such "diggins" name—Buenovista, Santanna.

Well, if you can read this you do better than I can, but they

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are all talking and I cannot think. All your friends are well. Spencer is comfortable. All wish to be remembered. I do, I am sure, about a hundred dollars or so if you get rich, and if you never get rich I do not wish any the more to be forgotten. That is all from,

Ever affectionately,

E. S. ROBINSON.

Have you ever met a John Fisher there, son of David Fisher? As soon as you get the news Penelope wants you to write to her father. She will write to you both as soon as she is well enough. Mr. Bellows wishes to know if you have ever seen Isaac Bellows. Mr. Wheaton wishes to know if ever you have seen their son, Charles Wheaton, there.

E. S. R.

(From E. H. Skinner at Spanish Flat to his wife in New York state).

Spanish Flat, Sept. 25, 1852.

Dear Wife:

I have dreaded writing on account of the failure of the flooming that I bought a claim in. I paid \$150 for one-third interest in the company. We commenced working the claims on Tuesday and got nine ounces of gold and it continued growing better all the week. We took that week in all \$750. On Saturday I was offered \$500 in gold for my interest. I thought best to try my luck. Since then the company failed entirely. I lost between \$500 and \$600 in that operation. I am now at Spanish Flat. Your father and myself have just finished building a blacksmith shop and we expect our tools this week. We are in partnership in the shop and in claims here. We look for rain before long now and as soon as water comes we think we can make something pretty handsome.

The price for sharpening pick-axes is one dollar, and where I put steel in the point I charge two dollars, and other work accordingly. You wished that I would write how I liked living in California. I like it very well, if it did not separate us from each other. That is all that worries me. I think of it often. How I wish I could see you once more, but I hope the time is not far distant, if our lives are spared. You may look for me home by the fourth of

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July next, without fail. I hope never again to be separated from you so long. It seems hard, but we must make the best of it.

Mr. Smith, the man who came to California with us from Potter Center committed suicide by cutting his throat a few days ago. He also bought into a flooming company and through bad luck did as he did. He went to a spring not more than fifty rods from where our shop stands after a pail of water. He dipped up the water, set down his pail, walked about eight feet, took off his hat and neckerchief and laid them together on the ground, then took his jack-knife and cut his throat in three different places. He was a horrible sight to look at.

Mr. Leddeck is in good spirits and sends his love to you all. I have received only one letter from you. You cannot tell how glad I was to get so good a one. I am now sitting under a large fir tree and writing to you, a few steps from the shop. Write often. Tell Rosette to write to me, and also Ellen. Tell her that I have the gold dollars for her. Give my love to all inquiring friends. So good bye.

Your husband,

E. H. SKINNER.

(From E. H. Skinner to his wife's younger sister, Rosetta Leddeck, at Rushville, N. Y.)

Spanish Flat, Oct. 12, 1852.

Dear Sister:

It is some time since I heard from you or Nell (Penelope, his wife. Ed.) but I thought it best to commence a letter. Your father and myself are mining together here. We are doing very well, and as soon as water comes this fall we think we can do still better. We shall hire twelve or sixteen men this winter and if we do as well as we expect to we will both be home in the spring or by the first of July at any rate. We live in a log cabin, as happy as you please. It costs us about two dollars apiece a day to live here, but we have everything that we wish for. I will tell you the prices of a few things here. Potatoes are $1/6$ per pound; flour is $2/5$ per pound; corn meal $1/9$ per pound and everything in proportion.

The overland emigrants are coming in daily by the thousands. It beats all. I don't see what they are all going to do here, for there are altogether too many here now for their own good. It was only

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good luck that we happened to get as good claims as we have, for we got diggings that are hard to find every day in California nowadays. When we have plenty of water we can make an ounce to every man that we hire, and we are looking for rain every day now. You must write often to Nell, and to me. I would be much pleased to hear from you, once a month at any rate if you think it too hard a task to write oftener.

How are your mother and George? Write all about them and all the rest of your friends. I must close this letter as there is a chance to send to Marysville now. Direct your letters to Marysville. Good bye for the present.

Yours,

E. H. SKINNER.

(From E. H. Skinner at Spanish Flat to his wife in New York in the fall of '52 after luck began to come his way).

Spanish Flat, Oct. 23, 1852.

Dear Wife:

It is now one month since I wrote to you, and it is over four months since I received a letter from you. I would like to hear from you very much. (Mrs. Skinner wrote frequently but many a letter failed to reach the isolated camps those days. Ed.). Your father and I are at Spanish Flat and doing well. You may look for me home by the first of next July. That will be after water dries up here. I have just written to Edgar and to Rosetta. I lost heavily in a flooring company but am doing all right now. I have made over \$200 this month and your father has made the same.

There are five of us in company and we are going to send to Marysville next Monday for our winter provisions, which will cost us over \$1,000. We intend to hire twelve or sixteen men this winter. I think Mr. Leddeck and I have been very lucky for there are thousands here in California who are not making anything to compare with what we are making. One month and a half ago I was completely strapped. I had nothing except a large piece weighing one hundred and ten which I got at Carrion Creek this summer that I kept and am going to keep until I go home. And now I have got one set of blacksmith tools and a good shop and also a good claim which will pay an ounce to every man every day after water

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comes. We are going to hire men all winter. Your father will work the claims this winter and I will work in the shop. I have had two or three days work each week to do in the shop, and as soon as water comes I will have as much as I can do. I get the gold for everything I do and at pretty big prices. There is no trust here.

The first day that I worked I earned \$27, and did not work all day, either. The work is principally sharpening picks, although there is some other work. But this is not interesting to you. Probably you would like to see some of the dust, itself. Well here it is in the corner of this letter. You would think it not worth coming to California for, and you would think right if I did not do better than some who come here. There are hundreds of men here that have been here since 1849 and haven't enough to go home with, but it is their own fault. They are not willing to take up with six or eight dollars a day, that is some of them. And others gamble it away as soon as they get it and others drink spree as fast as they get it. They spend it for some foolish thing or other. There are men here who won't work one-half the time, and they can't make anything that way, certainly. They want to make what they call big strikes, but they don't know when they are well off. They will hear of some big gold strike and away they go, and when they get there it is not any better than the place they left, and so it goes. Men act more like fools in a country of gold than in any place in the world. For my own part I have got good diggings and am going to stay here until I go home. If I had stayed here this summer I would have been one thousand dollars better off, but I did not know anything about mining then. I am now on claims that I took up last spring when I first got here, but not knowing how to wash the gold to good advantage then I sold my interest to my partners, and after finding that they were making money very fast I bought back my share again and intend to keep it this time, as it is a sure thing.

It is not the river diggings. They almost all failed this season. This runs very regular every day. Tell Ellen that she shall have her gold dollar. Tell Florre not to cry, for she shall have one, too. I must close, for I want to write a line to all, but now one more to you. I want you to write immediately for you must know that I am anxious. Do not neglect writing.

Good bye for this time,

E. H. SKINNER.

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It is some time since I wrote this letter. Thinking of a little more that might interest you. Sacramento was almost all burned up, at least all the business part. Marysville has also suffered much by fire since Sacramento burned, which was election day, and flour has raised up to 34 cents per pound. One load of provisions came on yesterday, and consists of potatoes, beans and pork. Pork is \$70 per barrel. It has rained now eight days and very hard. We have plenty of water now. Direct all your letters to Marysville.

E. H. S.

(From E. H. Skinner to his twin brother in the east).

Spanish Flat, Dec. 11, 1852.

Dear Brother Edgar:

I just received your letter with pleasure, for it is a long time since I received one from any of you. I have had but one from Nell since I left home. I think she has written, beyond doubt, but I have not received them. I cannot think that she would neglect writing so long. In fact I know better. I would like to receive one or two more from her before I leave California, for if I do as well as I have since water come I will be home by the first of July next, without fail.

If I tell you how much I have made the past week you will say that I am telling a big one, but it is the truth, thank Fortune. There are five of us in company. We took out \$1372 and paid our hands and other expenses \$324, which left us over \$1,000 to be divided among five of us. We have 12 hands hired at \$4, and we board them. I think that I shall be lucky in coming here, for I have one of the best chances in California at the present time. Tell Nell to direct her letters to Marysville, California.

Your Brother,

E. H. SKINNER.

That is the last of the letters which have come down the long avenue of years, but good luck must have continued for Mr. Skinner and Mr. Leddeck returned to New York state, by way of Panama, early in 1853. The latter immediately organized a company and returned to the gold fields, where he died soon afterward at Marysville. Mr. Skinner purchased, with his California stake, a tract of

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land at Marengo, Illinois, and became a horticulturist of repute, buying crops, importing seeds and leaving the impress of genuine genius upon the Middle West. In 1870 he moved to Rockford, where he owned 100 acres, now within the city, and where his vision outran his market until he had to start a cannery.

Always leader, employer and discoverer, Edward Hayes Skinner approached wealth several times but never became really wealthy. He survived misfortunes of fire, hail, and blight, but never knew discouragement. In his later years he established his third extensive orchard in Oregon, near Newberg, where with his wife he entered old age and passed the golden wedding day in that serenity and surrounded by that friendship which had marked every step in a useful, honorable, American career. His talks and writings on horticulture were contributions to progress, his development of new berries and distribution of imported growths a community benefit, and his invention of a practicable cherry pitter a boon to canners as well as another proof of unusual versatility. His son is a successful grower at Yuba City, near where Peter Leddeck, prospector, was buried, and all his children and grandchildren, have sought to justify an honorable heritage.

It is strange, indeed, that E. H. Skinner should seek gold in California, carrying the image of growing things in his heart, and that his son should carry forward his vision, bringing from the valley soil far greater wealth than the father panned from the hills. Perhaps the gold was but a lure to people an empire with a race capable of developing, in the fullness of time, its real treasures of the soil and sun.

There is another letter here which must be included, the last one written home by Peter Leddeck before he died. It is given as it stands, although the double reference to the boat "Eagle" seems confusing.

Buck Eye, Calif., Dec. 11, 1853.

Dear Children:

I take my pen in hand to let you know how I am. I am not very well but am better than when I came from the Southern mines. The next day after I left San Francisco I was taken with the chills and ague and found that the climate would not agree with me. So I started back to Spanish Flat, and there I stayed until last week. Then I came down to the Buck Eye where I am at present and get-

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ting much better. I think in a few days I will be well enough to go back and mine. Edward, you know that claim that was vacant and lays near the big pine stump and right above the Peters claim? I have taken it, and when I get well enough I will work it, when water comes. There is no water there. It snowed some yesterday and I think we will have water soon.

French is well and all the rest of the boys from home. Penelope I would like to see you and George and Ed very well. I wrote to you when I got to San Francisco and at Panama I sent you a paper. We had a rather hard trip coming out. The same day that we got to Aspinwall we started out on the railroad. It was a dark night, and before we got to the end of our journey I heard a smash, and told Aldrich to clear himself and we jumped out of the window and went down the bank some twenty feet. The bridge that crossed the Deep Cut brook went down. The engine and coaler went down some thirty feet and two baggage cars, and then came the passenger cars, one on top of another. Such screaming you never heard. Men with arms broken and legs broken, and some scalded, and others dead or dying were taken out of the wrecked cars. There were four killed that I know of.

When we crossed the isthmus we had some trouble with a Spaniard. He drew his knife on Mr. Everts, who came with me, and I made motion to Everts to shoot him, but he did not and he called to me. I went back and told the Spaniard to put up his knife or I would blow him into the next country. So he put up his knife and commenced calling for help, and we rode off as fast as we could.

When we got in the California current we had a very hard blow and we all expected that we would go to the bottom. We were for over three hours hatched down, and all thought it was the finish.

Nothing new until after we left San Francisco for Stockton. That night we ran up to Slough 1, and got there at 11 o'clock. Found the Boat "Eagle" blazed up and we had to stop our boat and take in one killed and four scalded. Then we put out at 1 o'clock and ran to 3 Slough and were hailed again by signal and found the Boat "Eagle" had blown up there, two killed, nine scalded. Flour and provisions of all kinds were floating on the water.

Enough of that. Let me know how you get along. Address your letters to Marysville.

PETER LEDDECK.

To E. and P. Skinner and George Leddeck.



THE SCENE OF THE STORY, WITH A GREAT-GREAT-GRANDSON OF PETER LEDDECK IN THE FOREGROUND

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Within a mile or two of where his grandson and his great-granddaughter reside with their families upon prosperous fruit ranches, lie the bones of Peter Leddeck, gunsmith, prospector, gentleman of fortune. Long before R. W. Skinner came there four decades ago the early markers and records disappeared. Edward Hayes Skinner claimed seventy-three years of happy, industrious and respected life before he died in 1902. Both he and his wife are buried in Portland, Oregon.

Many an event of early California days, told with chuckles in later years, did not find its way into his letters home. He frequently spoke of a negro camp cook who vanished with their entire outfit while the partners were at work, of bears tearing at the cabin shacks eager for the treasured provisions, of snow-bound months and of desperate efforts to save from high water a flume which represented an entire summer's work. In fact, the disaster in the river diggings was worse than indicated in the letters, eventually costing the lives of the other two partners. Perhaps that is best shown in the following extracts from reminiscences of Mr. Skinner published in the "Newberg Graphic" in 1893, the spring following a farewell visit to the old scenes—forty years after the great adventure of young manhood.

Highland Home,
Near Newberg, Ore.,
February 15, 1893.

Editors Graphic:

Forty-one years ago this spring I landed in California, when Marysville was a city of more tents than houses. I then thought it was the roughest place I ever was in or ever expected to be in. The principal places seemed saloons and gambling dens. One large tent I well remember was both. It was called Blue Ruin. A strip one yard wide of bleached sheeting at the bottom, then one yard of blue jeans for the center and another yard of white made the sides. The cover was made the same way. It was rightly named for many a poor fellow was robbed and ruined there. Several murdered in that den are buried on the banks of the Yuba.

The second day after arriving there I started for the mountains, with three others, each carrying his own blankets, a pick, a shovel, a prospecting pan and twenty pounds of provisions. It was very warm the first and second days in the valley. The fourth day

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we reached the snow line where we hired to help dig a miner's ditch, each getting \$6 per day and board. When the ditch was finished we again moved on in search of paying diggings. I found a claim that we thought would make fair wages if we had lumber for sluice boxes so we could work it. One of our party went forty miles to Downieville and bought a whipsaw, paying \$40 for it. While he was gone we three dug a pit, then cut a log and rolled it upon the pit, high enough for a man to stand under it to pull down the saw. With one man on top to raise the saw we could make about 100 feet of boards a day. We succeeded in getting to mining in about ten days, making from \$10 to \$15 to the man each day until water gave out. Then we recorded our claims and left for river diggings where we joined with twenty others and built a flume large enough to carry the entire stream through it, so we could work the bed of the river. This claim did not prove a paying one after going to so much expense, but we worked on from day to day in hope we would strike it. Finally the rainy season commenced, which soon raised the river and carried away our flume. That left us in debt. We decided to return to our old claim, as water now could be had to work. My partners started back and I remained to square accounts for the four of us, setting up pins in a nine-pin alley at \$6 a day, or \$10 when I worked nights. We squared our accounts, which was better than many did. When I was about to leave, my employer said: "Now, sir, what are you going to do for provisions for the winter? You must get them soon or you can't get them at all. Snow will come and mule teams can't get into the mountains. You have not the money. Well, I'll see to that."

And so he did. He ordered our winter supply and it proved fortunate for us, as the snow came, fifteen feet deep, shutting us in completely. Oh, what a long and dreary time we had. When it stopped snowing and commenced thawing, we dug down ten feet to our sluice and started work the best we could. Mr. Smith, one of our party, became discouraged, thinking of his family in the east, went crazy and cut his throat. This so affected another partner that he decided to return home as soon as he could get out of the mountains. He did so, and wrote us from Panama, where all trace of him was lost. His friends never have found him. My father-in-law and I were now alone, and we worked on until water failed.

Many miners took out large sums which they gambled away or

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spent for whisky at 50 cents a drink. When I was in California last fall I again made the trip to my old diggings, this time with a team over a good toll road which shortened the distance to 70 miles. When I climbed those mountains on foot in 1852, loaded down, it was called 90 miles by the nearest trail. The elevation where I worked is 6,000 feet above sea level, and there were some banks of snow in October last. I located my old claim by landmarks, but all was stillness and desolation, miners vanished, no sound of the pick or din of the saloons and gambling dens, which were in every mining camp. I stooped down to drink at the old spring. In the clear, cold water was the face of an old man. Can this be true? When I was here first I was young. What good have I done in all the years that have past and gone? Well, I have not become a millionaire, but I have done much better. I have raised a large family of honest, intelligent men and women. Not a bad one among them. I have greater reason for pride than those with their millions.

E. H. SKINNER.

Seventy years ago, Peter Leddeck and Edward Skinner, heavy laden, climbed rugged trails to Sierra peaks. Forty years later Edward Skinner, snowy haired, came again with a team on a good toll road. Thirty years more, and descendants motored from the East, joined others at Marysville, climbed in roomy cars, with camp conveniences, over practically the same route, and for nothing more important than rainbow trout. There were in that party, a grandson, a great-grandson, and a great-great-grandson of Peter Leddeck, and the latter, at 17 years, had driven over many a western trail and peak. Times had changed, and packs and trails, as well, but within that span of seventy years, within the lives of those five generations assembled in flesh or spirit on the peaks, reposed the history of an empire. Scattered from Los Angeles to Seattle today are the descendants of those two prospectors of old, and of their kind, legion upon legion, and in their keeping rests the future of the West.

And it seemed to three generations that night, as they gathered around the cracking fires in Plumas forest and gazed away from Lassen's dome toward where the Feather river plunges into the southern gap from Almanor—it seemed that two strong men somewhere near, within the silent shadows, laid aside their picks and flashed an answering beacon through the mist of years.

“—Fallen in Action”

(Contributed)

“How shall we rank thee upon glory's page,
Thou more than soldier, and just less than sage?”

—THOMAS MOORE.



F, as a soldier of the Union Army of the West in the Civil War, Fenwick Y. Hedley had made the supreme sacrifice, there is but one official report that he would have coveted, the eloquently expressive words “Fallen in Action.” As a soldier in the field he believed that to be the most glorious end to patriotic and loyal service to his country, and the ideals and habits of thought instilled amid the scenes of the tented field and the roar and flare of cannon were those that dominated his young manhood, his mature years, and his old age. More and more, as the years added their burdens and the duties of the day became a heavier labor, did he determine that the final call should find him at his post of duty, and there, in his eightieth year, Death’s messenger came upon him. He breathed his last in a hospital bed, it is true, but it was not an asylum he sought. It was a haven to which he was borne when a weakened heart had faltered in its beat, when the editorial pen and the printers’ galleys that had been the inseparable companions of his life work had fallen from his nerveless grasp.

To survey Captain Hedley’s long career is to be impressed with the continuity of the military atmosphere and influence throughout its length. A youth of barely seventeen, he answered President Lincoln’s first call to arms, and during his four years with the colors rose to the rank of captain and important duties in the capacity of company and regimental adjutant. In the years following the war he held to the personal attachments and associations of the dark days of the war, and when the Grand Army of the Republic came into being he entered wholeheartedly and enthusiastically into its program, becoming commander of his post in his middle-western home, and in later life served in the same office and as adjutant of U. S. Grant Post No. 327. For a number of years prior to his death



F. G. Hedberg

“—FALLEN IN ACTION”

he had been in charge of the Memorial Day services at the tomb of General U. S. Grant, the guardian spirit of his post, and to these exercises, of which he was always chairman, he brought many public men of national prominence as the speakers of the day, himself sounding the keynote of the occasion with an impressive eloquence and patriotic fervor that the significance of the ceremony never failed to inspire in him, nor to rekindle in his auditors.

A Scotchman by birth and of English education, Fenwick Y. Hedley was nevertheless intensely American in instinct and thought and his views of public issues and national aspirations, although scrupulously fair and unbiased in the main, were nevertheless colored by the passionate devotion he felt toward his country's institutions and traditions. He was a man of scholarly mind and habits and through self study and the cultivation of the classics attained a degree of erudition that enabled him to hold his own under circumstances which would have caused a less brilliant scholar endless confusion and embarrassment. He could discourse upon the literature of any period with easy familiarity, had delved deep and reasoned widely in philosophy, knew the charts of the heavens and much of astronomic lore, quoted the poets, especially Shakespeare and Burns, with the warmth and appreciation of the lover of rhythmic expression, and was intimately at home in the Scriptures. Not the least of his cultural gifts was an unusual musical talent in voice and instrumental ability, and at various times he played the organ in churches he attended, as well as directing the choir. One of what he called the “great compensations” of his late years was found in the fact that his editorial chair in New York City was within close hearing of the chimes of Grace Church as they pealed out the hymns that he had loved and played and sung throughout the years. He is a figure well remembered by the writer of these lines as, before his associates had gathered, he walked the length of his office singing, in time with those beautiful chimes, some such uplifting strain as “Jesus, Lover of My Soul” or “Lead, Kindly Light.” It is pleasant to recall, in connection with the latter hymn, that at the request of a friend and associate, the chimes player of Grace Church, who had entertained Captain Hedley at the keyboard a few months before, played the hymn as a tribute to him the morning following his death.

Fenwick Yellowley Hedley was born at Berwick-on-the-Tweed,

“—FALLEN IN ACTION”

County Durham, Scotland, on March 2, 1844, a son of Fenwick Yellowley and Susanna (Hunt) Hedley. His father, the Reverend Fenwick Y. Hedley, was born in the year 1819 and became one of the most renowned Baptist ministers in Scotland. His death occurred on January 14, 1847. Reverend Hedley became associated with the famous revivalist, Father Theobald Mathew, appropriately termed “The Apostle of Temperance.” Father Mathew was a Catholic priest of Cork, Ireland, who wandered one day into a Quaker meeting and heard a sermon of temperance which so fired his soul that he obtained permission from his superiors to go through Ireland and preach temperance. He secured the greatest audiences in Europe since Peter the Hermit, at the time of the Crusades, and is said to have given the pledge to more than two million people. Upon his return to England, where his fame had preceded him, he requested that the English Temperance Society assign a Protestant minister to accompany him in his crusade. Reverend Hedley was chosen, and the two men achieved wonderful success and became fast friends. Father Mathew frequently visited in the Hedley home, and upon one of these visits hung one of his temperance badges around the neck of the four-year-old Fenwick Y. Hedley. Reverend Hedley finally broke down from over-work, and died, leaving a widow and two little children: Fenwick Y., three years of age, and a sister less than a year old. The mother brought her children to America, arriving in New Orleans, settling first at St. Louis, Missouri, and finally removing from there to Carlinville, Illinois.

Here the young Hedley grew from boyhood to young manhood and received his early education in the Carlinville public schools, which he supplemented by a short course at Blackburn University. In 1856 he began his career in the journalistic field by accepting a position in the office of the “Carlinville Democrat,” a newspaper which had been founded by John M. Palmer, who subsequently was Governor, Major-General, United States Senator, and candidate for the Presidency of the United States on the Gold Standard Democratic Ticket. Here, in this newspaper office, Fenwick Y. Hedley first met Abraham Lincoln. Lincoln frequently called at the office, which was between the Square and the depot, and often brought in copy for the newspaper which young Hedley would later set up. One day, during a severe snowstorm, as Mr. Hedley was eating his dinner which he had brought from his home a mile away and was reading

an issue of the “New York Tribune,” Lincoln came in to seek shelter from the storm. He had always taken a fatherly interest in the lad, and asked him if he understood what he was reading. A friendship had already sprung up between the two, the youth and the man, and for some time Mr. Lincoln remained in the warm office, giving the lad words of advice and encouragement and of deep understanding and sympathy, while the storm raged outside. At another time Mr. Lincoln gave his young admirer a photograph of himself, which, now faded and yellowed by time, is a highly-prized heirloom in the possession of Captain Hedley’s daughters.

At the outbreak of the long-feared Civil War in 1861, Fenwick Y. Hedley was seventeen years of age. He at once enlisted as a private in the 32nd Regiment, Illinois Volunteers, under the command of Colonel John Logan, and participated in all the engagements of the Western Army, including Fort Henry, Shiloh, the siege of Corinth, and the siege of Vicksburg. In January of 1864 he re-enlisted in the same regiment, and served in General Sherman’s Campaign, closing with the fall of Atlanta. He was the soldier who took the Confederate flag from the City Hall at Columbia, South Carolina, in the march through the Carolinas. He had two guns shot out of his hands at Shiloh, and was present at the capture of General Johnston after the memorable battle of Bentonville. He was also in the campaign against the Indians in the far West, and was acting assistant adjutant general of the Second Brigade, Fourth Division, Seventeenth Army Corps, to Brigadier-General C. J. Stolbrand. With a company on board the United States Gunboat “Tyler,” on March 1 and 2, 1862, he landed at Pittsburg Landing, Tennessee, and fought a battery on the ground where the battle of Shiloh took place a month later.

At the close of General Sherman’s Campaign he was made adjutant of his regiment, and in that capacity was a participant in the famous “March through Georgia.” He also served in the Carolina campaign and for his services received special commendation from General Belknap, his brigade commander, later the Secretary of War, and from General Gresham, his division commander, later the Secretary of State. At Goldsboro, North Carolina, he was ordered to New York by General Frank B. Blair as *avant-coureur* of General Sherman’s Army, and was there cordially entertained by General Anderson, of Fort Sumter fame. In later life it was

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his pleasure to edit and print an article on his host and comrade-in-arms in the pages of this magazine. After rejoining his command he was assigned to duty as acting assistant adjutant general to General Stolbrand, with whom he appeared in the grand review at Washington in May, 1865. In the same capacity he was ordered to the State of Utah, and upon arriving at Fort Kearney, was returned home with his command, and on the 16th of September, 1865, was mustered out of the service, having been brevetted captain, “for gallant and meritorious services during the entire war.”

At the close of the war he settled at Bunker Hill, Illinois, and on the first of January, 1866, began the publication of the “Bunker Hill Gazette.” He was a facile and talented writer, and as a stylist and editor he made for himself a worthy reputation. He was also noted for his forensic abilities, and as a lecturer and speaker at political and military meetings he attracted a considerable amount of attention. He was the author of a volume of war sketches entitled “Marching Through Georgia,” which was widely reviewed and commended, and, through the recommendation of General Sherman and Secretary of War Belknap, was placed in the library of every military post in the country.

Almost twenty years ago he came East and formed an association with M. L. and E. Lewis, founders of the Lewis Historical Publishing Company, and in the capacity of editor continued with that company until his death. Here his practical printing knowledge and gift of writing found full exercise, and, as the scope of the company’s business increased, his responsibilities widened in number and importance. He possessed in exceptional degree the historical sense, supported and strengthened by a scholarly mastery of ancient and modern history, and his editorial pen fell heavily upon work lacking in merit or taste. He was elected to the secretaryship of the company and served in his dual office until his passing. He was also editor-in-chief of “Americana.”

His political views were always strongly Republican, and he was a familiar figure as delegate and committeeman in State, Congressional, district and local conventions. Throughout his life he was active in Republican politics. He served as postmaster in Bunker Hill for a period of thirteen years, until he was removed by President Cleveland. President Harrison re-appointed him, and upon President Cleveland’s second election he resigned. He also

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served as Deputy United States Marshal under John A. Logan, under a commission dated July 6, 1869.

Fraternally, Captain Hedley held membership in the order of Ancient Free and Accepted Masons, and in the independent Order of Odd Fellows. He was one of the original members of the Society of the Army of Tennessee; a companion of the Missouri Commandery of the Loyal Legion; a comrade of Hubbard Post, No. 721, Grand Army of the Republic, Department of Illinois; and secretary of the Shiloh Battlefield Association. Upon establishing a residence in the East, Captain Hedley became a member of the U. S. Grant Post, No. 327, Grand Army of the Republic, and of such importance was his work in this post that he became widely known throughout the metropolitan area. The associations and memories of his war days were always especially near and dear to his heart. He had been a friend and associate of such patriots and nationally famed figures as Generals Grant, Logan, Cullom, and both the senior and junior Gates. His youthful friendship with the great Lincoln had always been a great incentive and influence in his life. The last time that Captain Hedley ever saw the “Savior of his Country,” was in the latter part of August, 1860, during a political rally at Springfield, Illinois. The Captain and his company marched to Springfield to participate in the rally, and upon their arrival each man was given a badge to wear on their capes, each badge bearing a portrait of Lincoln. After the torch-light procession at night, and just before they entrained for home, they marched to Lincoln’s home, whereupon the great man came out and shook hands with each member of the company.

Captain Fenwick Yellowley Hedley married (first), September 20, 1868, Mary Elizabeth Harlan, and they were the parents of five children: three sons and two daughters, the three sons dying in infancy. The two daughters survive their parents: Mary H., the wife of Charles E. Drew, a banker of Bunker Hill, Illinois; and Sarah V., the wife of Andrew S. Cuthbertson, an attorney of the same town. Mary Elizabeth (Harlan) Hedley died in the year 1879. Captain Hedley was married (second), in 1883, to Sarah P. Sanborn, of which marriage there was no issue. He married (third) Ella Helen Brown, whom he survived, there having been no children of this marriage.

Upon Captain Fenwick Yellowley Hedley’s death on January 7,

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1924, at Brooklyn, New York, the U. S. Grant Post of the Grand Army of the Republic published an order of which the following is a part:

“Comrade Hedley was Adjutant of the fifth G. A. R. Post organized in the United States. He later joined this post, was elected Commander in 1908, and appointed Adjutant in 1922, holding this office until his death. For many years he had charge of the services conducted by this Post on Memorial Day at General Grant’s Tomb, always introducing the orators of the day in addresses of unusually effective and eloquent expressions of the sentiments and aspirations of his Comrades.

“Of Fenwick Y. Hedley this may be truly said: As a citizen, loyal, interested and active. As a comrade of this Post, untiring and unselfish to the limit of strength and ability in its support. As a friend, a most delightful companion to all those privileged to enjoy his confidence and intimacy.

“In all these relations and activities his courage in conduct and conviction, his strength of mind, his tenderness of heart, his love of music, his humor, his wide knowledge of American history and public men, his strong, steady and serene outlook on life and labor, all harmoniously embodied and expressed in this Comrade, entitle him to that tribute of appreciation and affection so well expressed in these lines from Browning:

“One who never turned his back but marched
breast forward,
Never doubted clouds would break;
Never dreamed, tho’ right were worsted,
wrong would triumph;
Held, we fall to rise; are baffled, to
fight better; sleep, to wake.”

For several months before his final collapse, Captain Hedley had received definite warnings that his heart had reached the limit of his endurance, but these he disregarded, securing stimulants that enabled him to go through the day, while a night of rest invariably enabled him to return to his desk in the morning, the first of the office force to reach his post. At length nature refused to answer his demands, and he was taken to his home and placed under medical and nursing care. Still his courageous spirit, keenly feeling what he felt to be the ignominy of invalidism, caused him to attempt work while confined to his room. This was soon afterward interdicted, although he struggled against it; and, organic complications en-

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suing, he was taken to the hospital, where a few days later his death occurred. He had made a gallant, valiant fight, not as one loth to face the Great Beyond nor as one over-fond of this world's joys, but as a soldier who knew not defeat or death until the last gun had been silenced. In the light of knowledge of his last days of illness, the picture is plain as to his soldierly conduct in the battle-fields of the South and one feels with startling poignancy the spirit that takes the mortally stricken soldier forward in the charge, to fall with his dying clutch grasping the enemy's ramparts.

Fenwick Y. Hedley was as strong and interesting a character as is met within the limits of an ordinary experience. From the time of his youthful exercise of the almost autocratic powers (however much they may be modified by personal attributes) of a commissioned officer of the U. S. Army, throughout his direction of a printing office and the possession of the sweeping force of an editorial page, until the completion of his final service as editor-in-chief of the American Historical Society and as editor of this magazine, he had no experience in which his authority was questioned or limited. Thus he came to demand and expect unquestioning compliance with his wishes and immediate obedience, without suggestion or consultation, to his orders. In his Grand Army Post, among men in many cases his equal in native intelligence and cultivated graces of mind and manner, and often his superior in material possessions, he maintained a similar rule, not through special favor but by virtue of an innate quality of leadership, an efficiency and faculty of accomplishment that won admiration and regard. His memory was remarkably tenacious and exact, and in his editorial capacity he carried in his mind, without many of the aids of exact system generally considered so essential, the facts and figures of many editions involving a vast amount of detail and thousands of dollars of capital. He knew and loved the printing and publishing business, had set and printed on a hand press hundreds of pages and had directed the linotype setting of thousands of pages and their printing upon a modern, high-speed, electrically operated press. In a Utopian existence he would have been a leader of conference, a teacher of the multitude in literature, the arts, and philosophy. He would have had little to do with practical affairs, but would have followed the higher plane of thought and study for those more earth-bound than he. With a few kindred spirits, when emer-

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gency demanded, he could have laid aside the cap and gown, and donning the coat of mail, could have taught the lessons of patriotism, loyalty and fidelity to duty to the ranks of an army, and could have led them where fame waited at the cannon's mouth.

“The fast thinning line of blue” mustered out another member when all that was mortal of Fenwick Y. Hedley was placed in its flag draped resting place and given a place of honor in the home of the U. S. Grant Post in Brooklyn. About him, as he lay in the uniform of a soldier of the Republic as worn in 1861-1865, were grouped his comrades of the post, white-haired old veterans, destined every one to answer the final roll call ere many months should pass. Those at the four-score mark, their own steps unsteady, helped those whose years were numbered beyond that time. The eyes of all were moist. In another portion of the room were grouped his social and business friends, joining in this last tribute with his veterans and comrades. The impressive ritual of the Grand Army was read and its reading was followed by a few words of affectionate farewell from three comrades and a longer speech by Dr. MacMillan, a minister and life-long friend, whose father, also a minister of the gospel, had been chaplain of Captain Hedley's regiment and had died in that service, almost in the Captain's arms. No more moving rite could be enacted than this simple ceremony of an army almost entirely mustered out of earthly service, and upon the assemblage lay the hush of reverence for the fallen soldier and the ideals he embodied.

Taps sounded, a benediction of music, the harmonious echo of a soldier's farewell.





Joseph Bonaparte

JOSEPH BONAPARTE, "THE COUNT OF
LITTLE FRANCE"

The Count of "Little France"

A BONAPARTE IN NORTHERN NEW YORK

BY ALTA M. RALPH, WATERTOWN, NEW YORK



THE soft haze of a warm September evening hovered over the waters of a little Adirondack lake that resembled a great blue sapphire, in its setting of living green. The gorgeous coloring of the maples in all the glory of their autumn dress was intensified by a background of never changing pines. Under the trees, by the shore, were gathered a merry party, of whom a short, dark man, rather stout of build, dressed in a green velvet hunting suit, seemed to be the center. They were conversing in French, and this man, who was always addressed as King Joseph, was none other than Joseph Bonaparte, ex-King of Spain and Naples, and eldest brother of Napoleon. While they were sitting by the water's edge, a runner came from Wilna, bringing letters and papers to King Joseph, one from General Bertrand, stating that the Emperor (Napoleon), was in as good health and form as could be expected. King Joseph said that his brother would not always be upon that rock (St. Helena) nor always be compelled to accept the good offices of the "red islanders," as he called the English. When misfortune came, and the King of Spain, driven from his throne, fled from his angry subjects to Blois, one of the first to call to pay his respects and offer consolation, was James D. LeRay de Chaumont, a friend of many years' standing. M. LeRay was the guest of Joseph Bonaparte at Mortefontaine when the treaty of September 30, 1800, between the United States and France was signed there. On the occasion of this visit at Blois, Joseph asked his friend to dine with him, and during the dinner said: "I remember you spoke to me formerly of your great possessions in the United States; if you have them still, I should like to have some land in exchange for a part of the silver I have in those wagons drawn up under the windows." This led to the purchase, by the ex-King, of a tract of wild land in the northern part of New York State. A trust deed with

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covenant and warranty was passed December 21, 1818, to Peter S. Duponceau, the confidential agent of the Count, (Joseph Bonaparte was known here as Count de Survilliers) for 150,260 acres, excepting lands not exceeding 32,260 acres conveyed or contracted to actual settlers. The tract conveyed by this instrument included the greater part of Diana, Lewis county, two tiers of lots on the southeast side of Antwerp, the whole of Wilna and Philadelphia, a small piece south of the Black river at the Great Bend, a tract four lots wide and seven long from LeRay, and nine lots from the easterly range in Theresa, Jefferson county. By an act of March 31, 1825, Joseph Bonaparte was authorized to hold lands in New York State without becoming a citizen, and on July 31st of the same year Duponceau executed to him a deed of all the rights he had before held in trust.

Among the news items in a copy of the "Sacketts Harbor Gazette" of October 8, 1818, is the following: "We hear with satisfaction that Joseph Bonaparte, after having traveled through a great part of this country, has expressed in the most lively terms, to different persons, how much he admires this part of the United States and wishes to give it the preference for his residence, if his lady consents to come. He has left everywhere a strong desire that he may carry into execution his project." His wish was fulfilled, his lady consented, and many happy hours were spent by them in hunting, fishing, boating, and in enjoying all the pleasures of woodland life.

The wife of Joseph Bonaparte, Mlle. Marie Julie Clari, whom he married in 1794, daughter of a rich merchant, and of whom Napoleon entirely disapproved, declined to follow him into exile, and refused to accompany to America his secretary, Louis Maillard; the latter was sent across to Switzerland, where she was occupying a chateau and living upon the allowance made her by her husband, while also, as is claimed, receiving a pension from the Orleanists, then ruling France, to remain apart from her spouse. It was then, it is said, that Joseph decided to form a left-handed marriage with Annette Savage, the pretty daughter of a proud old Philadelphia family. She it was who presided over his various homes in the United States. He persuaded her and her mother, then a widow, that his European marriage was only a formal state alliance which he would have annulled. A contract was drawn up and signed which recognized the obstacles to a marriage, but bound

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Joseph to fidelity, and to make proper provision for the support of the lady and her offspring. He was devotedly attached to his American wife and always spoke of her with the greatest respect and affection as "the beautiful Quaker girl." Two daughters were born of this union, the elder dying in early infancy from injuries caused by a flower pot falling on her head. Joseph Bonaparte took Annette Savage and her mother to Europe where they lived for some years, probably 1832 to 1837, in England, Switzerland, and a part of the time in Paris.

On his trips from Bordentown up the Hudson river and through the Mohawk valley to the forest wilds of the Black River country, Joseph Bonaparte traveled in great state, a procession of coaches and a small army of woodsmen and laborers. In one gilded coach, drawn by six horses, rode himself with Annette Savage and their child, another carried his secretary and valet and the French maids, while another bore four old grenadiers. He caused roads to be cut through his land, one from the old turnpike to the lake which has since borne his name. Near the extreme eastern edge of the town of Wilna one branch of the Indian river runs underground for a short distance, forming a natural bridge of white limestone six feet above the water and fifteen feet wide. Here he laid out a village called Natural Bridge and built a residence, a strong block house of massive hewn timbers, a veritable fort, provided with port-holes and bullet-proof sleeping rooms. The lower floor was occupied by the old French grenadiers to guard him against Bourbon or Spanish emissaries, whom he always feared were on his track.

As hunting was the favorite pastime of the Count, one of the several towns embraced by his purchase was named, at his request, Diana, after the goddess of the chase. Entirely surrounded by the lands of the ex-King, eighteen hundred feet above sea level, he found one of the most beautiful of the wilderness waters, five miles in length, averaging about two miles in width, its many bays and indentations forming a coast line of about twenty-five miles. On the most commanding site that the shores of the lake presented, a bluff two hundred feet above the water, he built a house of logs for the use of himself and friends on their hunting expeditions. From this point can be plainly seen many of the Adirondack peaks fifty miles away, and below lies the lake environed by bold rocky shores alternating with wooded swamps and intervalles, altogether one of the

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most picturesque and quiet woodland scenes which the great forest affords.

Near the outlet of the lake, where in later years was the mining village of Alpine, he had a clearing of some thirty acres made and a quite pretentious villa known as the "White House" erected. Here he built ice houses and other conveniences with the view of making this a summer residence.

In these wilderness homes he spent four summers, surrounded by a retinue of French servants, and accompanied by a number of companions, some of whom had shared the better days of the former King. Among those who enjoyed the hospitality of these woodland homes in "Little France" were Joseph's son-in-law, Charles Lucien, Prince of Canino; his nephew, Prince Murat; the Count and Countess de Balmat; the Duke and Duchess of Oldenburg; and the Marquis de Grouchy. By these people Joseph's wife was much loved and admired and was called Madame Bonaparte. She was spoken of as "the pretty wife of King Joseph, a most charming madame whose French is pretty and new." Many are the stories told of the hunting and fishing expeditions enjoyed by Joseph and his guests, and of the dinners of venison and fish prepared by Mmes. Bonaparte, Oldenburg and Balmat. The ex-King frequently said that the happiest days of his life were spent here, and "Little France" was the dearest spot on earth to Madame Bonaparte.

In this hunting lodge on the shore of the lake came to him a letter bearing many signatures, offering him the crown of Mexico. It told him that a number of leading men of that country would soon start for Bordentown to consult with him in regard to it. This, he said, much to his regret, would necessitate his going soon, as the Mexicans would be awaiting him and it would not do to disappoint them, though he did not intend to give serious consideration to their offer. He started on September 17, intending to return to his northern estate later in the autumn. Madame Bonaparte wanted to remain, saying it would save two long journeys if she could wait for him. He seemed quite vexed at this and would not go without her.

A letter from Madame Bonaparte, written from Bordentown the following February, says in part: "He related to-night, for the benefit of all present, but especially for Lucien, who had not heard the details before, the conference between himself and the Mexicans. He said he told them their offer would be a most tempt-

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ing one had he been unacquainted with the nature of a kingly life. Even then, he told them, he was flattered by the proffer, for it indicated that the family, in all its troubles, was well thought of in America." He said to them: "I have worn two crowns; I would not take a step to wear a third. Nothing can gratify me more than to see men who would not recognize my authority when I was at Madrid, now come to seek me in exile; but I do not think that the throne you wish to raise again can make you happy. Every day I pass in this hospitable land proves more clearly to me the excellence of republican institutions for America. Keep them as a precious gift from Heaven; settle your internal commotions; follow the example of the United States; and seek among your fellow-citizens a man more capable than I am of acting the great part of Washington." Prince Murat and Prince Lucien both urged that the acceptance of the crown of Mexico would be the entering wedge of the great American empire of which they had all been dreaming. To this Joseph demurred, saying that if his brother were free and in the New World the proposals of the southerners would be of different import. Napoleon would, Joseph said, take it up as quickly as he would doff his chapeau; but that as for himself, there was no longer any ambition to wear the purple with its attendant anxieties. Enclosed within this letter was a brief line from Joseph in which he says, referring to the visit of the Mexicans and their proposal,—“I am happier on the little lake in ‘Little France’ than I ever was in Spain or probably ever would be in the Mexican country.”

Returning to New Jersey from one of his visits to his summer home, his party arrived about noon at a prominent tavern on the Mohawk river and ordered dinner in a style commensurate with that of a king. The town was searched for delicacies and the meal partaken of and enjoyed, but great was their astonishment when a bill of five hundred dollars was presented. Joseph demanded the items. With the utmost stretching, the worthy Boniface could make these amount to but fifty dollars, but his Mohawk Dutch greediness came to the rescue and he completed the charge with: “To one damned fuss,—\$450.00.” This so amused the Count that the bill was paid without further question. On these trips between his summer and winter houses, he would sometimes stop by the wayside to dine, being served with great ceremony from golden dishes filled with every delicacy that the country afforded. Upon one occasion

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he dined under the primeval pines on the plains near where the government concentration camp is now located; at another time near the present village of Carthage, where the Black River expands into a long reach of still water. Here was launched a six-oared gondola such as he had been accustomed to use on the waters of Italy when he was King of Naples. This gondola with its liveried gondoliers and gay trappings later floated gracefully upon the waters of his beautiful lake of the wilderness.

Generous in the use of money, courtly but pleasing in manner, he won the esteem and respect of the neighboring hunters and settlers, who awaited his annual return with interest and saw him depart with regret.

"The hunter loved his pleasant smile,
The backwoodsman his quiet speech;
And the fisher's cares would be beguile
With ever kindly deeds for each."

During one of his visits to his hunting lodge on the lake, he sent for a noted hunter named Newell, then living at what is now called "Bonaparte Clearing" near Alpine, to come and hunt for him on a certain day. While Newell was making preparations to start, his wife, being more refined, urged him to dress up in order to appear respectably before a king and to take off his hat when he entered his presence. Newell told her in reply that he was a Massachusetts Yankee and that his people never took off their hats even to a king. In due time, with gun and dog, he reached the house and was met at the door by a servant who politely requested him to name the nature of his business. The hunter did so, the servant retired, and Bonaparte immediately appeared. The grand military cap he wore came off with a bow and he warmly shook the hand of the forester. "Tell ye what, boys," said Newell, "didn't my own coon-skin cap come off mighty quick then? Good manners, boys, even from a New Englan' Yankee, called for it. The thought of sich a man takin' off his cap to a coon-skin, larnt me a lesson that I will never forgit. Bonaparte had five or six slick lookin' chaps with 'im, all trimmed up with gold and silver, but they had the real grit in 'em. We hunted and fished four days and had the most amazin' time I ever hearn tell on. Every one killed a deer and ketched lots o' trout; and we come purty nigh havin' a scrimmage with an all fired big



THE JOSEPH BONAPARTE HOUSE AT NATURAL BRIDGE

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painter that riled us up consid'able with his tarnal hootin' and yellin', and the pesky varmint was sorter sassy like with his leetle pranks when we happened to run agin' 'im and skeered 'im out. For my sarvices each man gin me a present, but the king the biggest one; and I'm blamed if I didn't go home with forty dollars in gold in my pocket."

So many and varied are the stories told of the doings of the Count and his guests while sojourning in his Adirondack homes that it is difficult to sift fact from fiction. Tradition credits the following to an old man who, as a boy, was a member of the Bonaparte household, his parents being servants at the hunting lodge: "Northern New York being largely settled by French refugees, many having located at Castorland and Cape Vincent, it may readily be imagined that the advent of a lot of young gallants such as surrounded Bonaparte was hailed with joy by all the girls in the new settlement. One, Jean Vallois, an especial favorite of the Count, in one of his hunting trips came across a French settler named Beausant, who had a beautiful daughter Marie. The first meeting led to others and a mutual affection sprang up between these young people. Unfortunately for young Vallois, Marie had another lover, a young hunter and trapper, who had often met her at her father's home in the woods and who was much enamoured with her. When the handsome young officer with his courtly grace and deferential manner came to woo her she learned to love him with all the warmth of her French nature. Her other lover, Normonde, by name, was a Canadian half-breed and had all the vindictiveness and duplicity of the Indian and French nature combined and he used to watch the young couple and annoy them by his acts. To avoid his persecutions, and to escape the notice of Bonaparte, who did not approve of this courtship, the young lovers used to frequent a cave or grotto about a mile from the great house. This grotto, penetrating the side of an almost perpendicular cliff, the entrance concealed by a large flat rock jutting out over it, was very secluded and difficult of access. It looked down upon a small lake almost hidden by the towering rocks around it, whose deep, quiet waters reflected the dark green shadowing of the giant forest trees above, giving it the name of Green Pond. In this romantic, sheltered spot the lovers spent many happy hours. From one of their boating trips Jean and Marie failed to return, and Normonde disappeared at the same time.

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The continued absence of Normonde caused a suspicion of foul play; but as there was no proof against him, and the boat could not be found, it came to be believed that the young couple were drowned. In 1850 some hunters removed the fallen stones that had partially blocked the entrance and explored the cave. To their great surprise they found two human skeletons, some gold coins bearing the bust of Napoleon, and jewelry and other things sufficient to identify the remains as those of the ill-fated lovers. Among those still living who remembered the disappearance of Jean and Marie, suspicion against Normonde was again aroused. There yet remained the mystery of the whereabouts of the boat, which was not to be solved until nearly a half century had rolled by. In 1897 the stone dam at Alpine at the outlet of the lake was blown out by vandals, resulting in the lowering of the level of the lake. A fisherman looking into the clear water saw the outline of a boat which was nearly hidden by the glistening sand at the bottom. It was raised and carried to shore and was found to have been scuttled and loaded with stones. It was of quaint design and bore evidence of great age and was believed to be the very boat in which Jean Vallois and his pretty sweetheart sailed the waters of Lake Bonaparte. The marks of an axe which had cut through one of the bottom boards, and the stones with which the boat was loaded, furnished proof that Normonde was a murderer." Thus, after many years, the waters and the cave gave up their secret.

In 1832 Joseph Bonaparte went to England where he remained until 1837. Returning to America he spent two years in traveling about the country and settling up his affairs. Before taking his final departure in 1839, he fulfilled the provisions of his contract with Annette Savage by providing liberally for the support of herself and daughter. On a bend of the Indian River, between the villages of Evans Mills and Philadelphia, he built her a residence of massive stone with a large "N" carved over the door. There he left her and their daughter, Caroline Charlotte.

Sometime after his departure, Annette Savage married Joseph De La Foille, a young Frenchman of good family who had come among the refugees to this section. Two daughters were born to them. When M. De La Foille had succeeded in squandering his wife's fortune, they moved to Watertown, Madame De La Foille assisting in the support of the family by keeping a small store where

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materials for fancy work, writing paper, etc., were sold. After the death of M. De La Foille, she married Harry Horr and moved to New York City where they lived many years. She died there.

Caroline De La Foille, as the daughter of Joseph Bonaparte was called, grew to be a beautiful woman. She is said to have borne a striking resemblance to her father as well as to her aunt Caroline, youngest of Napoleon's sisters, and wife of Joachim Murat, ex-King of Naples, after whom she was named. While living in Watertown with her mother she met and married Zebulon H. Benton, their wedding being the most elaborate one that had ever been celebrated in the town at that time. They started on their wedding journey in a coach drawn by six horses. Mrs. Benton received from her father a wedding dowry very large for those days.

The will of Joseph Bonaparte, dated London, England, June 14, 1840, contained this clause: "I charge Mr. Louis Maillard with a special legacy of ten thousand dollars, the use of which I have indicated to him, and for the execution of which I wish that his honor may be trusted absolutely, without any question or demand ever being made to him in this regard. The ten thousand dollars shall be reckoned to Mr. Maillard in the year of my death. He need never make any account of it." Might not this have been a provision for Mrs. Benton or her mother?

Zebulon H. Benton, the husband of Joseph Bonaparte's daughter, was born in Apulia, New York, January 27, 1811, the son of a physician, who became one of the pioneer settlers at the OxBow, so called from a curve of the Oswegatchie river near the line between Jefferson and St. Lawrence counties. He was a cousin of Thomas Hart Benton, the Missouri statesman, father of Jessie Benton Fremont, the noted wife of the famous "Pathfinder." He was also a relative of the novelist, James Fennimore Cooper.

Seven children were born to Mr. and Mrs. Benton, the five who grew to maturity bearing the appropriate names of Josephine Charlotte, Zenaide Bonaparte, Louis Joseph, Zebulon Napoleon, and Thomas Hart. The dream of Mrs. Benton's life was to be recognized in France as the daughter of Joseph Bonaparte; but not until 1869, during the Second Empire, was this to be realized. Having obtained a letter of introduction from General Grant (then President) to Hon. Elihu B. Washburn, United States Minister to France, and one from Dr. J. de Haven White, the eminent Philadelphia

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dentist, to his former pupil, Dr. Evans, the dental surgeon of Louis Napoleon, she and two of her children sailed for France September 4, 1869. In writing of her trip, she said: "Monday morning, September 13, 1869. All are impatient to behold the shores of *La Belle France*, not one more eager than I am to behold once more that beloved land. I was indescribably happy. I should in a short time behold thy shores again O France!" Of her arrival in Paris a few days later she wrote: "Before starting out for the day, I was desirous of finding some old familiar spot, and from the memories of childhood soon stood within the arcade that was all gay and dazzling with rare and elegant merchandise. There was the toy shop that had been my delight; a few steps onward the confectionery where I had parted with many bright coins." While in France she obtained an audience with the Emperor and received immediate recognition as the daughter of Joseph Bonaparte; and, by his imperial will, and the laws of France, the union of her parents was confirmed and her legitimacy established. In this first interview with the Emperor Mrs. Benton attempted to show her letters, but he prevented her with the remark: "No, my cousin, this is unnecessary, as I see my uncle Joseph in your face. Why did you not come sooner? What a pity!"—as if the shadow of the approaching war was in his thoughts. Honored by an invitation to attend the French Court, she and her two children were there kindly and cordially entertained by the Emperor and Empress, who presented her with valuable souvenirs. The Emperor often expressed regret that he did not know his cousin earlier, so that he might sooner have bestowed upon her children the places to which, by right of birth, they were entitled. Her son was put in the French Military Academy, and her daughter Josephine was a maid of honor to the Empress. When the Prussian war broke out and the royal family took refuge in England, Mrs. Benton shared their exile for a time, sailing from Liverpool for America on January 25, 1871, arriving in New York February 9. Mrs. Benton was an educated, talented woman, and showed great versatility in writing. Many brilliant articles in various papers and magazines were the productions of her pen. After her return from France she published a book entitled "France and Her People." She taught French in Watertown for some years, afterward living in Utica and Richfield Springs. She died in Richfield Springs in December, 1890, aged seventy years. For many

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years one of her sons spent his summers in a cottage on the opposite shore of Lake Bonaparte from the bluff where, in days gone by, his kingly grandfather held his wilderness court. Nothing remains of this hunting lodge on the bluff but the outlines of the wall, but the surrounding ground is annually dug over by tourists, drawn there by the glamor of the name of Bonaparte, in the hope of finding some souvenir of the days when the north country was French.

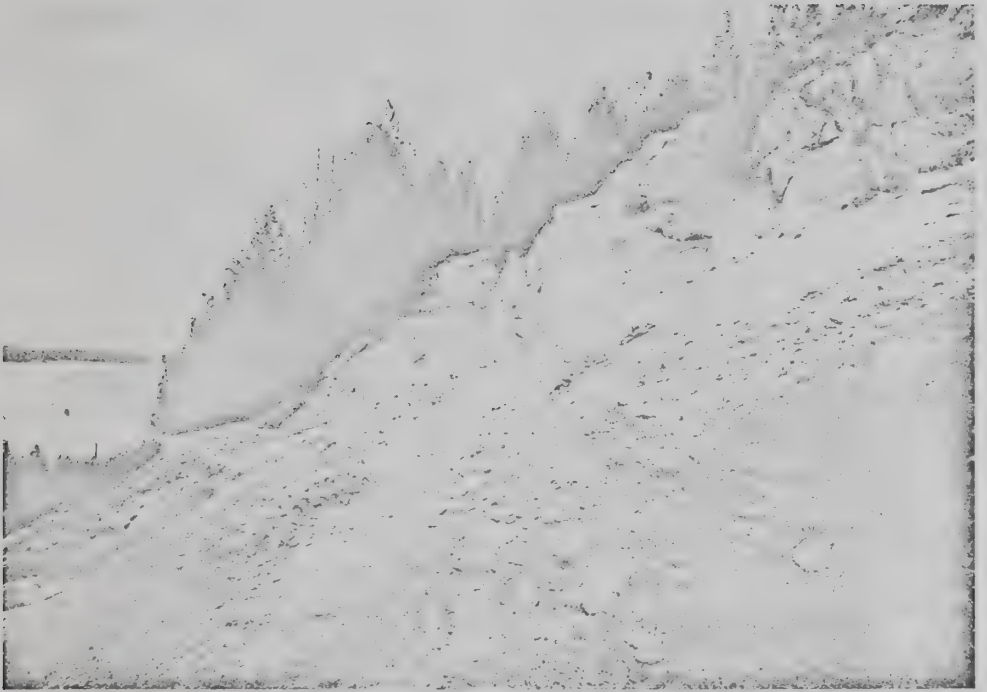
When Prince Napoleon Francis Lucien Charles Murat came to share his uncle's exile in America he settled on a farm near Columbus, New Jersey. Sometime afterward he bought a farm of about one hundred acres at Bordentown. Here he built a house, the walls of which were adorned with relics of royalty. While living at Bordentown, Prince Murat met and loved Miss Caroline Georgine Fraser, daughter of Major Fraser, a former officer in the British army. In spite of the objections of both families to the match, the young couple, while driving one afternoon, went to Trenton and were privately married. The prince was tall, handsome and aristocratic looking, but very democratic in his tastes, choosing his associates from among the lowest classes. A polished gentleman when occasion demanded, his manners were like a pair of gloves,—to be drawn on or thrown aside at will. A spendthrift, he squandered a fortune of seventy thousand dollars, borrowed all he could of his uncle Joseph, and finally induced his wife and her sister to invest in a tract of land in Jefferson county, New York, on the Indian River, between the villages of Evans Mills and Theresa. Here he erected a grist mill and store, built roads, commenced a hotel that was never finished, put up a number of small frame dwellings and a residence for his own use, in which, during the periods of his occupancy, he held a sort of protracted carnival, and named the city which he fancied he had founded, "Joachim" in honor of his father. Instead of stocking his store with the goods needed by pioneer settlers he filled it with French finery, artificial flowers, millinery and silks, which he distributed freely among the maids of the settlement. He gave fantastic entertainments at which he decked the farmers' daughters out in his imported silks. Things went well while the money lasted, but when that gave out the town collapsed and the Prince left the country. Nothing now remains of "Joachim," a city whose glory passed away while yet it never was, but the name still clings to a bridge and dam which were built when the city was planned.

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Upon the blood-stained field of Waterloo, on that eventful night in June, 1815, when from the guard rose the cry "Sauve qui peut," the curtain fell on the greatest drama of modern times. The hundred days were at an end and France and Napoleon Bonaparte had been instantaneously struck down together. Nothing remained for the Bonapartes but flight to America. The "Commerce," a small common looking brig of two hundred tons, laden with a cargo of wines consigned to Charleston, South Carolina, sailed from Bordeaux, France, on July 25, 1815, arriving in New York on August 28. Thrice during the voyage was she overhauled by English frigates searching for Napoleon. A few days after landing her passengers in New York, the newspapers published an account of the successful escape from France of Joseph Bonaparte, ex-King of Spain and Naples, giving the name of the vessel which brought him to America. To none did this cause greater surprise than to Captain Messervy, when he learned that the man who booked his passage with him on the "Commerce" under the name of M. Bouchard, was a brother of the great Napoleon, and that in the hold of his vessel he had carried half a million in gold and part of the crown jewels of Spain. The captain at once called upon Louis Maillard, King Joseph's secretary, who had accompanied him in his exile, and said to him: "Why did you not tell me? I never would have betrayed him." Maillard explained to him that it was thought best to conceal the identity of his passengers for fear he might show some hesitation when boarded by the English officers. "I think you were right," said the captain, "I would have sunk my vessel rather than let them come on board; you were right!" Joseph was much pleased by this demonstration of Bonapartism on the part of the Swedish captain, and sent him a handsome present in token of his appreciation.

The hotels of New York being crowded, Henry Clay, who had just returned from Europe where he had been to negotiate the treaty of Ghent, surrendered to Joseph Bonaparte and his suite the apartments in the City Hotel which he had engaged for himself and party. The acquaintance thus pleasantly begun continued through life.

After the abdication, in the last interview between the two brothers, Napoleon and Joseph Bonaparte, at the Isle d' Aix, the latter offered to surrender to the former his chance of escape by



THE CLIFF PATHWAY

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taking advantage of their close resemblance to each other in form and features. Napoleon, in deep emotion, rejected this offer saying: "I will not allow you to expose yourself to dangers which belong to my destiny alone." Again, a few hours before embarking on the French brig which was to take him to the United States, Joseph sent Maillard to the Emperor with a letter once more urging him to exchange places and make his escape from France in the "Commerce." Napoleon replied verbally to the messenger: "Tell my brother that I have well considered his offer, and that I cannot accept it. It would seem like fleeing from danger; besides, I could not leave behind me so many brave officers who have sacrificed everything for me. Tell my brother that I hope he will escape the cruisers of England and arrive safely." Had Napoleon accepted his brother's offer he would doubtless have reached America, as the disguise of the fugitives was so complete, the passports and papers so carefully prepared under fictitious names, that they were not discovered.

Soon after his arrival in America, Joseph Bonaparte went to Philadelphia. In a letter dated, Leraysville, New York, Dec. 23, 1815, written by Vincent LeRay de Chaumont to David Parish, Esq., Philadelphia, Pa., is the following: "I am glad that King Joseph is going to enjoy in your hospitable house the pleasures of your elegant city. He will take back with him a more favorable idea of our country than he would otherwise have done. I presume he will not stay in it many months longer." He did remain in Philadelphia for some time, occupying several different houses. The first was on Ninth street near Spruce. It was built sometime in the eighteenth century, the bricks and other fine building materials used in its construction being imported from England. He also resided in the house known as the "Bingham Hotel," corner of Eleventh and Market streets. Another of his residences in Philadelphia was "Lansdowne" in Fairmount Park, a palatial establishment, formerly the home of John Penn, the last Colonial governor of Pennsylvania. His last home in the Quaker City was one of the houses in Girard Row, Chestnut street, belonging to the Girard Trust Fund. This he rented of the city of Philadelphia and occupied for years as a city residence. The story goes that before these houses were built Joseph wished to purchase from Stephen Girard, the block from Eleventh to Twelfth and from Chestnut to Market streets. In

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discussing the subject at a dinner given by Bonaparte to Girard, Joseph offered to pay any fair price. "What do you consider a fair price?" asked Girard. Joseph replied, "I will cover the block with silver half dollars." With a calculating look Girard said slowly: "Yes, Monsieur, if you will stand them up edgewise."

After the retreat from Moscow, after Grossbeeren, Magdeburg, Katzbach and Leipsic; after LaRothiere, Soissons, Craonne and Laon, when the sun of the Bonapartes was low in the west, Napoleon and Joseph were discussing the possibility of being forced to leave France and seek refuge in America. Unrolling a map of the United States and placing his finger upon a spot in New Jersey, Napoleon said: "If I am ever forced to flee to America, I shall settle somewhere between New York and Philadelphia where I can receive the earliest intelligence from France by ships arriving at either port." This may have influenced his brother in the choice of a home in New Jersey.

Another factor in his selection of a permanent residence was doubtless the evident willingness of the Legislature of the State of New Jersey to pass an enabling act permitting an alien to hold land in fee simple. In 1816, Joseph Bonaparte, under the title of Count de Survilliers, applied to the Legislature of New Jersey for permission to hold real estate without becoming naturalized. A copy of the act granting his request was sent to him by Governor Mahlon Dickerson, accompanied by a courteous note dated January 28, 1817. Under this act he acquired title to land divided into ten farms on the border of Crosswicks creek, extending up to opposite the village of Groveville, and a park of about one thousand acres situated on the elevated plateau of Bordentown, on the south side of the creek, and extending from its confluence with the Delaware to the White Horse bridge more than a mile above. Here, on a high promontory overhanging the creek which he named "Point Brise," suggestive of his broken fortune, but which was soon corrupted into the meaningless "Point Breeze," he laid out a splendid park and built a stately mansion. In this beautiful home he entertained lavishly and drew around him many of the exiles from France who came to seek refuge in America. Here also came the prominent men of this country, Henry Clay, Daniel Webster, John Adams, and others.

The two daughters of Joseph Bonaparte by his first marriage, joined him in America. The elder, Princess Zenaide Charlotte Julie,

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born July 8, 1804, married her cousin, Charles Lucien, Prince of Casino and Musignano, son of Lucien Bonaparte, at Brussels, June 29, 1822, coming to America soon after. Here Prince Lucien gained a high reputation as an ornithologist, which was increased by his subsequent labors after his return to Italy in 1828. He was the author of several scientific works. He died in Paris in 1857. His wife, Zenaide, was an accomplished woman. She translated Schiller's dramas and assisted her husband in his scientific labors. She was also quite an artist. She died in Italy in 1854, leaving eight children.

Joseph's second daughter, Charlotte, after living with him for a time, returned to her mother in Italy in 1824, and three years later she married her cousin, Napoleon Louis, Grand Duke of Cleves and Burg, eldest son of Louis Bonaparte, King of Holland, and brother of Napoleon III.

Although Napoleon Bonaparte refused to accept his brother's offer of a means of escape from France, it was his hope and expectation to join Joseph in America, settle upon the northern New York lands and found large manufacturing establishments in the valley of the Black river, thus becoming England's rival in her most important interests. To further this plan, a plot to abduct Napoleon from St. Helena was conceived by some of the French exiles under the leadership of Count Pierre Francois Réal, former Prefect of Police under Napoleon. Sometime prior to 1818, Count Réal built, at Cape Vincent, a house known from its peculiar style of architecture as the "Cup and Saucer House," intended for the occupancy of Napoleon. In it were placed many articles which had belonged to him, one room being always known as Napoleon's room.

What a different story might have been told of our northern border had Napoleon Bonaparte been allowed to occupy this house, from whose windows he could have watched the setting sun drop into the waters of Lake Ontario, instead of laying down his life on the wave swept rock of St. Helena.

NOTE.—For the material for this article I am indebted to Hough's *Histories of Jefferson and Lewis Counties*; Wallace's "Guide to the Adirondacks"; "Historical Sketches of Northern New York and the Adirondack Wilderness," by N. B. Sylvester; "Bonaparte's Park and the Murats," by E. M. Woodward; "France and Her People," by Mrs. Caroline Benton; and old letters and newspapers.

Fundamentalism—1852

SARAH C. REEVES, HADDONFIELD, NEW JERSEY



It is probable that many families of Quaker descent cherish, or, with a negligence by no means unusual, have lost such a document as is reproduced on the opposite page. When, in our present day, religious unity is further endangered, when new schisms and controversies are coming into being within the Christian churches, it relieves the pressure of the moment and cools the heat of conflict to look over history's pages and find that the crisis of today is but an episode in the life of a movement and an institution whose record is one of ever increasing strength and glory,—the Christian faith. Thus there are reviewed the reform movements of the Continent and Great Britain and the names of their leaders and martyrs who lighted, in Bishop Hugh Latimer's words "a candle by God's grace in England as (I trust) shall never be put out." Following the annals as they tell of the flight to the New World for the enjoyment of liberty of conscience, we find that here the oppressed became oppressors, and that in their turn they sought to restrict the liberty of conscience and action of their fellows in manner closely similar to that which caused the original revolt.

Within the membership of the Society of Friends there have always been found in abundance the virtues by which good men set most store and which serve as the corner-stone and foundation of society. But within this religious fellowship there was also harbored the conviction of an absolute righteousness in the form of worship and manner of life and from this conviction sprang such actions as recorded in the facsimile herewith. That the "one of another religious profession" was, in this case, a Baptist maid of faultless reputation and that the "priest or hireling minister" was a devout, God-fearing clergyman of the Baptist church had not the slightest bearing upon the action of the meeting. The letter of the law had been broken, immediate and drastic treatment was necessary, and this "reading out of meeting," virtual excommunication

Thomas H. Albertson having had a birth right in the religious society of Friends having so far deviated from the good Order professed by us as to accomplish his Marriage with one of another religious profession, by the assistance of a priest or hireling minister for which deviation he has been treated with but not being disposed to make the necessary satisfaction, we therefore disown him from having a right of membership with us untill he manifest a disposition to return a Consistant Member which he may be favoured to do is our desire.

Singed in and by direction of Haddonfield Monthly Meeting of Friends held 6th Month 9th 1852.

By, Seth Matlack -
Clerk for the day -

NOTIFICATION OF DISMISSAL, SOCIETY OF FRIENDS, 1852

(albeit excommunication providing the usual means of return to grace, retraction) was the discipline universally applied.

The dominant impression left by the consideration of such an official action is its inconsistency with the broad catholicity of this Friendly faith in many other respects. We quote from the "Journal" of John Woolman, perhaps one of the most able chroniclers of the "Quaker" faith, whose writings throw into clear relief the beliefs and practices of the sect in the middle eighteenth century:

The outward modes of worship are various; but wherever any are true ministers of Jesus Christ, it is from the operation of his Spirit upon their hearts, first purifying them, and thus giving them a just sense of the conditions of others.

Further consideration of Friend Woolman's writings, with special reference to passages casting light upon tolerance or intolerance toward those of other religious persuasions, discloses the following, written in connection with a visit to Indian tribes in the Wyoming Valley in Pennsylvania, whither a Moravian had also journeyed with missionary intent:

But the Indians, knowing that this Moravian and I were of different religious societies, and as some of their people had encouraged him to come and stay awhile with them, they were, I believe, concerned that there might be no jarring or discord in their meetings; and having, I suppose, conferred together, they acquainted me that the people, at my request, would at any time come together and hold meetings. They also told me that they expected the Moravian would speak in their settled meetings, which are commonly held in the morning and near evening. So finding liberty in my heart to speak to the Moravian, I told him of the care I felt on my mind for the good of these people, and my belief that no ill effects would follow if I sometimes spake in their meetings when love engaged me thereto, without calling them together at times when they did not meet of course. He expressed his good-will towards my speaking at any time all that I found in my heart to say.

So against the evidence of the pictured document we must place the words of the virtuous, dutiful Woolman, and must consider these incidents and the beliefs and rituals that engendered them in their proper places in the history of sectarianism. Each age and period has its fundamentals for which devoted adherents will gladly fight

and sacrifice. The present day is no exception, but the throes of conflict are less alarming and the prophecies of the destruction of religious unity strike less terror to our hearts if history's perspective is employed, adjusted with even so homely an aid as the pictured notification of dismissal.



A Diary of 1776*

BY J. NEILSON BARRY, PORTLAND, OREGON



It is a little leather covered book, much worn, and the paper yellow with age. In it are notes of the momentous year of 1776 kept by Abraham Ten Broeck, a member of the General Assembly of New York, representing Rensselaer. He also appears to have been a colonel of New York Militia at that time, although he subsequently became a brigadier general.

It is a copy of "Gaine's Universal Register, or American and British Kalendar for the year 1776." The type is small, with the long "s" used at that period. The size is about three inches by five. In the one hundred and sixty-eight pages there is a great amount of information relating to that year, with the names of so many people that it is a sort of "Who's Who" of Europe and America.

The notes written by Colonel Ten Broeck are scattered through the book, and are varied, being both personal and military. He records a violent ear ache and various financial transactions, and also battles and events relating to the Revolution. On December 26th his record is "At 8 O'Clock in the morning General Washington Attacked the Enemy at Trenton & obtained a Compleat Victory by taking 1100 Prisoners 50 killed 100 Wounded 8 Brass Cannon 1 Howitzer, 4 Standards & other Trophies, with the loss of 3 men only." He mentions the Battle of Long Island, the landing of the "Regulars" on "York Island," the Battle of Harlem and that on Lake Champlain, Cumberland Bay, which "Began at 11 & Continued till 5 O'clock," November 3rd "Genl. Carlton's Army left Crown Point," "The 16th Fort Washington taken." On a fly leaf is an expense account headed "Albany 2d July 1776 Surrender of Norman's Hill Possession," which amounted to twelve pounds, seven shillings and nine pence.

*In the letter offering this article for publication Mr. Barry states that it is "a delightful little book which 'smells' of the Revolution." His story takes appropriate place in a number of the magazine which carries another contribution bearing upon old books of Revolutionary interest.

There is a pencil mark at July 4th, which that year was on Thursday. The weather forecast printed for that day was "Cloudy, and it may rain about this time," while the phases of the moon, the tides and time of sunrise and sunset are given for this day and for all others. There is a map of the city of New York, which elsewhere is described as being a mile and a half in length and half a mile broad, containing 4200 houses and 30,000 inhabitants. The book contains nearly fifty pages of information relating to Europe, but chiefly pertaining to England, lists of notables and officials, and data regarding the army and navy, including rates of pay. The estimate of population in the Colonies is given as 3,026,678 with Georgia omitted, since there "The Number of white Inhabitants is very uncertain," although there were 14,000 "Negroes and other Slaves." The lack of a standard monetary system must have been the cause of considerable trouble, since each colony appears to have had its own rates for the various coins in use. Consequently there are statistics of values scattered all through the book. Another frequent item is that of duties and taxation, the tax of three pence a pound on tea, however, applying to all the Colonies.

In the great mass of names are many who are now well known. George Washington, "General and Commander in Chief of all the American Forces." "Dr. Benjamin Franklin, Post Master General for North-America, appointed by the Hon. the Continental Congress." A large number of those who became prominent during the Revolutionary War, both English and Americans, are given in the lists. One of the interesting features of this fascinating little volume are the notes by Abraham Ten Broeck in regard to the names of officers in the New York regiments, one of whom is marked "bad character."

Eighteen colonies are included, only twelve of which subsequently revolted, Delaware at that time having been included in Pennsylvania. "The Counties of Newcastle, Kent and Sussex upon Delaware, tho' annex'd to the Province of Pennsylvania, have a distinct Assembly, Courts of Justice &c." The other colonies of which statistics are given were East Florida, West Florida, Nova Scotia, New Foundland, St. John's and Canada, which at that period embraced all the country north of the Ohio river. While tables are given of the statistics of each colony, there is little in regard to Massachusetts. "The present unhappy State of this Province pre-

vents us from being as particular in our Account of it as we cou'd wish. . . . We do not know who are in, or who are out of, Office. . . . When the melancholy Differences that now subsist between the Mother Country and her Colonies, are happily terminated, we shall with Pleasure present the Public with as correct and copious Lists of the Officers of Government as can possibly be obtain'd."

Philadelphia was "supposed to be the largest and most regularly laid out of any in North-America: It contains above 5500 Houses, and 40,000 Inhabitants. There are three Churches of the Episcopal Denomination, and a great number of other Persuasions." Charleston, South Carolina, is credited with 1450 houses and a population of fourteen thousand. That this latter city was evidently growing is seen by the fact that the number of vessels which cleared from the Custom House had increased in forty years from two hundred to five hundred. The number of houses in Albany was only 600 with 3600 "inhabitants." There are no statistics as to the size of other cities; Newport, Providence, Hartford, New Haven, Williamsburg, Virginia and Savannah are mentioned, as well as numerous settlements and "The little incorporated Borough of West Chester." New Jersey, unfortunately, had "no towns of any importance." Maryland was "A Proprietary Government;" Except for the Customs of His Majesty, the Lord Proprietor "has the sole Appointment of all Officers civil and military in the Province." "The King's Assent is not necessary to their Laws; but they may be dissented to by the Proprietor within a certain time. In short, the Power of the Proprietor of Maryland, is equal to that of any Sovereign Prince, who is not despotic in his Dominions."

No statistics are given in regard to William and Mary College in Virginia. The New York College had "Professors in the different Branches of Science usually taught in European Colleges." "The Building (which is only one Third of the intended Structure) consists of an elegant Stone Edifice, three complete Stories high, with four stair cases, twelve Apartments in each." "The Edifice is surrounded by a high Fence, which also encloses a large Court and Garden; and a Porter constantly attends at the front Gate, which is lock'd at 10 o'Clock each Evening in Summer, and at 9 in Winter; after which Hours, the Names of those that come in, are delivered weekly to the President. The College is situated on a dry gravelly Soil, about 150 Yards from the Bank of Hudson's River,

which it overlooks; commanding a most extensive and beautiful Prospect." The College and Academy of Philadelphia included a grammar school and charity schools for boys and for girls. "Expense of Boarding, Washing, Lodging, Schooling and Firewood, about 76 Dollars per Annum."

"The College of New-Jersey. This Building is founded by a Royal Charter granted in the year 1748; called Nassau-Hall, at Prince-town in West-Jersey; is handsome and commodious, and lies upon the great Road from New-York to Philadelphia." "There is also a Grammar School . . . where the Languages are taught after the most approved Method in Scotland." Yale College in "New Haven" had two professors and two tutors. Rhode Island College had thirty-five students, and the grammar school eighteen. "Young Gentlemen who produce Certificates of a good moral Character are admitted to such Standing in the College as their Proficiency in Knowledge will entitle them to upon Examination. . . . The College Edifice is an elegant Brick Building, four Stories high, 150 by 46 Feet, besides a Projection on each Side of 33 by 10 Feet." "Tuition 12 Dollars per Year, Boarding 1 Dollar per Week."

The only hospitals mentioned were situated in East Florida, New York, and Philadelphia, but Custom Houses seemed far more numerous. Nothing manufactured of wool in the colonies could be carried by land or water from one to another. One of the many dutiable articles was deer-skin. In New York "Negroes if directly from Africa," forty shillings a head, but eighty if from any other place. In South Carolina there was a duty of fifty pounds on Indians imported as slaves. "Negroes or Slaves, 4 Feet 2 Inches or more high" ten pounds. "Ditto under, and above 3 Feet 2 Inches" five pounds. "Ditto under, and above 2 Feet, 2 Inches (sucking Children excepted)" two pounds, ten shillings.

Among the very many items may be mentioned references to lighthouses at Philadelphia and on Tybee Island in Georgia, regular nightly watch and lighting the streets, a fund contributed for insuring houses from fire, a society for promoting the culture of silk, and an American Philosophical Society for promoting useful knowledge. "It consists of near 300 Members, amongst whom are some of the first Eminence in Europe, who have declar'd they thought themselves honour'd by their election into the American Society." In Philadelphia there was a corporation for the relief and employ-

ment of the poor, and the widows and children of deceased masters of vessels and of deceased clergymen of the Church of England seem to have been well looked after, judging from the number of names of contributors. There were sixteen ministers in New York City, while in Georgia, of the twelve parishes eleven were vacant, but there were three "Dissenting Ministers." There is a list of over one hundred and fifty Presbyterian ministers.


In New York the mails were made up on Mondays and Thursdays for Boston, every Thursday for Albany, and on Monday, Wednesday and Friday for Philadelphia and southward. "The Mail for England is clos'd at the Post Office in New York the first Wednesday in every Month, at 12 o'Clock at Night, and a Packet is dispatch'd therewith the next Day for Falmouth." The names of five packet boats are given. Postage from New York to Newark was eight pence, to South Carolina two shillings and ten pence.

"There are four commodious Stage Coaches and a genteel Chariot, constantly plying from Providence to Boston. Passengers pay Two Dollars." There are four convenient Stage Boats from Providence to Newport. Each Passenger pays a Quarter of a Dollar." The tables of distances on the roads give a very clear idea of the routes. Many of the stopping places were evidently taverns, such as Blue Ball, Plough, Black Horse and Waggon. "Harris ferry" is given as fifty miles westward from Philadelphia. The little volume closes with a table of distances from Quebec to the mouth of the Mississippi.



The Song of Yankee Doodle

By JOHN J. BIRCH, SCHENECTADY, NEW YORK



HE story of the familiar song of Yankee Doodle is connected with the history of that tremendous conflict known as the French and Indian Wars. The greatest of the struggles, and the last began in 1755. Both France with her Indian allies and the English, united with the Colonists, determined to fight to the finish. England detached a vast number of troops to America to be reinforced by the Colonists. In 1758, Major-General James Abercrombie with upwards of 10,000 British troops encamped along the Hudson River opposite Albany. They were later joined by twenty Continental regiments, preparatory to attacking Fort Ticonderoga. The contrast between the appearance of the two armies was striking. The British, under the command of General Abercrombie, were well trained and well dressed with the regulation English uniforms. The Continentals, commanded by General Amherst, were clad in whatever fortune had been kind enough to supply them,—some in buckskin shirts and others in coonskin caps, while still others wore makeshifts of uniforms.

It was while the Colonial troops were encamped near the British that the song known as Yankee Doodle was composed. The general appearance of these troops and their marching and maneuvering greatly amused the well-drilled British soldiers who laughed at them and derided them. The troops from Connecticut were nicknamed "Yankee Doodles," which became a byword not only in camp but also in Albany. Dr. Shutteburg, the army surgeon attached to General Abercrombie's forces, was somewhat of a wit and composed a song as a parody upon the Yankee troops, giving it the name of Yankee Doodle. The Connecticut soldiers took it as a good natured joke and called it "Nation Fine."

THE SONG OF YANKEE DOODLE

Dr. Shutteburg, being a favorite of General Abercrombie, was a frequent visitor at his headquarters in what was the first residence of Kilian Van Rensselaer the Patroon. The building was erected in 1642 a few hundred feet from the Hudson on a slight rise of ground which commanded an excellent view of the river for many miles. Van Rensselaer used it both as a manor house and place of defense. On a stone in the cellar wall is an inscription: "K. V. R. 1642, Anno Domini." There is also engraved on a stone in the wall: "Do. Megapolensis." Domini Megapolensis with his wife and children sailed from Holland, June, 1642, in Van Rensselaer's ship. On either side of the front entrance are two key-hole shaped port-holes. The round part was used as a hole for projecting the gun, while the slot above made it possible to sight along the barrel. These are in an excellent state of preservation. There are two very small windows in the rear gable of the house, which were also undoubtedly used as port-holes for protecting the rear of the house against invasions. On the west side of the front door is a tablet bearing the following inscription:

Supposed to be the
OLDEST BUILDING in the
UNITED STATES
and to have been erected in 1642
as a manor house and place of defence,
Known as Fort Cralo,
General Abercrombie's headquarters
While marching to attack Fort
Ticonderoga in 1758, where it is said
that at the cantonment east of the house
near the old well, the army surgeon
R. Shutteburg, composed the popular
song of YANKEE DOODLE.

While General Abercrombie was stationed there, the house was the scene of many social activities and Dr. Shutteburg, being of a very genial and humorous disposition, always found a welcome. At one of these gatherings the guests were making jests at the colonials, and the surgeon, in high humor, with some of the company left the drawing room and sat in the well house in the garden. Here he wrote the parody to the melody of an old English song which had been preserved for a long time in rhymes of the nursery:

THE SONG OF YANKEE DOODLE

"Lucy Locket lost her pocket,
Kitty Fisher found it;
Nothing in it, nothing in it,
But the binding round it."

The song was caught up by the Yankee troops who liked it and it soon became a favorite. Little did Dr. Shutteburg think that within a few years the British forces would suffer reverses at the hands of the "Yankee Doodle Dandy." In 1781, when Cornwallis surrendered at Yorktown, the American bands greeted the falling of the British colors with the song which characterized them as "Thick as hasty puddin." Whenever America has shouldered arms in the name of freedom, liberty or honor, this song is heard. It is America's song of victory.



BOSS

Arms—Gules, a lion rampant double queued argent.

PIERCE OR PEARCE

Arms—Argent, a fesse humetté gules between three ravens rising sable.

Crest—A dove with an olive branch in its beak.

Motto—*Dixit et fecit.*

KENT

Arms—Azure, a lion passant guardant or, a chief ermine.

Crest—A lion's head erased erminois, collared, lined, and ringed azure.

CARPENTER

Arms—Argent, a greyhound passant; a chief sable.

Crest—A greyhound's head, erased per fesse sable and argent.

Motto—*Celeritas, virtus, fidelitas.*



Boss



Pearce



Kent



Carpenter

Boss, Eager, and Allied Families

BY MARY MARJORIE TYLER, CLARINGTON, OHIO

Boss-Bois Arms—Gules, a lion rampant double queued argent.



FAMILY annalists and interested persons making diligent inquiry into the antecedents of Edward Boss are unable to determine whether his origin was in Holland or Germany, and recent researches have been no more fruitful. Certain it is that whether his ancestry be Dutch or Teutonic, in America he founded a line furnishing its own claims to distinction.

I. Edward Boss, who was supposed to have come from Holland, locating at South Kingston, Rhode Island, was born in 1651, and died August 12, 1724, in South Kingston. He married Susannah Wilkinson, of Providence, Rhode Island, who was born in February, 1662, and died August 15, 1724. They were both Quakers. Her mother, Susannah (Smith) Wilkinson, who died in 1692, was the wife of Lawrence Wilkinson, of Providence, Rhode Island, who died August 9, 1692, and a daughter of Christopher Smith, of Providence, Rhode Island, who died in 1676, and his wife, Alice Smith, who died in 1681. Edward Boss and his wife Susannah had two sons: 1. Edward, of whom further. 2. Jeremiah, of Westerly, Rhode Island, born about 1697, died about 1774. He married, March 22, 1722, Martha Spencer, of Exeter, Rhode Island, born September 8, 1700, died in 1774.

II. Edward (2) Boss, son of Edward (1) and Susannah (Wilkinson) Boss, was born January 20, 1685, in Newport, Rhode Island, and died December 25, 1752. He married April 20, 1709, Phillis Carr, of Conanicut or Jamestown, Rhode Island. She was born December 8, 1688, daughter of Caleb Carr, of Jamestown, Rhode Island, who died in 1690, and Phillis (Greene) Carr, of Warwick, Rhode Island, born October 7, 1658, and died before 1706. Caleb Carr was son of Robert Carr, of Newport, Rhode Island, born in 1614, died in 1681. Phillis Greene was a daughter of John Greene, Jr., born in 1620, died November 27, 1708, and Ann (Almy) Greene, born in 1627, died May 17, 1709. John Greene, Jr., was a son of

BOSS, EAGER, AND ALLIED FAMILIES

John Greene, of Warwick, born in 1597, died in 1658, and Joan (Tattersall) Greene. Ann Almy was a daughter of William Almy and his wife Audry. Edward Boss and his wife Phillis were the parents of eleven children: 1. Mary, born September 1, 1710. 2. Free-love, born in 1712, died in 1791. 3. Abigail, born in 1715, died in 1715. 4. Edward, born in 1716. 5. Hannah, born in 1719, and died in 1732. 6. Susannah, born in 1720. 7. Joseph, of whom further. 8. Unnamed child, born in 1724, died the same day. 9. Phillis, born in 1725, died in 1728. 10. Benjamin, born in 1727, died in 1824. 11. Unnamed child, born in 1729, died same day.

III. Joseph Boss, son of Edward (2) and Phillis (Carr) Boss, was born January 30, 1722, and died August 14, 1807. He married, August 8, 1756, Elizabeth Linscom, of Newport, Rhode Island, born in Brandon, Ireland, in June, 1725, and died September 24, 1807. She was a daughter of James Linscom, of Newport, born in 1700, died October 17, 1753. Joseph Boss and his wife Elizabeth were the parents of two children: 1. John Linscom, born May 6, 1757, died August 7, 1824. He married, February 21, 1779, Sarah Boss, of Richmond, Rhode Island, his second cousin. 2. William, of whom further.

IV. William Boss, son of Joseph and Elizabeth (Linscom) Boss, was born February 24, 1767. He married, September 22, 1793, Edith D. Prior, of Newport, Rhode Island, who was born April 23, 1773. They were the parents of fourteen children: 1. Eliza Linscom, born August 10, 1794. 2. Christopher Prior, born May 20, 1796. 3. Martha Dickinson, born November 20, 1797. 4. William Davis, of whom further. 5. Thomas L., born April 28, 1801. 6. Sarah P., born June 1, 1802. 7. Robert P., born February 21, 1804. 8. Charles, born August 26, 1805. 9. John Henry, born August 22, 1806. 10. Abby, born April 19, 1808. 11. Philip Martin, born January 19, 1810. 12. Charles Dickinson, born March 27, 1812. 13. Joseph, born December 10, 1813. 14. Catherine Gardener, of New York City, born March 20, 1816.

V. William Davis Boss, son of William and Edith D. (Prior) Boss, was born April 10, 1799, and died in March, 1883. He married (first) Eliza D. Stall, born January 10, 1799, and died about 1836 or 1837. He married (second), December 30, 1838, Eliza M. Ambrose, of Newport, Rhode Island, who was born September 7, 1811, and died April 24, 1863. The children born of his first

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marriage were: 1. Isaac S., born April 11, 1823. 2. Nancy B., born October 18, 1825. 3. Abby S., born December 15, 1827. 4. William D., born March 22, 1830. 5. William D., born January 6, 1832. 6. Charlotte E., born March 25, 1834. 7. Robert P., born February 20, 1836. Children of his second marriage: 8. Robert Prior, of whom further. 9. William Ambrose, born March 26, 1842, died in 1862, at Memphis, Tennessee. 10. Charles Edwin, born June 7, 1846. 11. Edith Prior, born October 25, 1851.

VI. *Robert Prior Boss*, son of William Davis and Eliza M. (Ambrose) Boss, was born at Newport, Rhode Island, January 11, 1840, died in Inglewood, California, June 12, 1911. He became a printer in calling, and in 1861, the year of his marriage, he enlisted in the United States Navy for the duration of the war. Exposure and the hardships of a sailor's life worked ill effects upon his hardy frame, and after fifteen months of service he was compelled to return home on two months' sick leave. Rejoining his ship, he continued at his post for fourteen months, but in May, 1864, he once more returned to Newport, in a sick and disabled condition. After recovering his health he made a voyage to South America, then concluding that he had had enough of the sea, he resumed work at his trade in Providence. About 1870 he moved to Boston, Massachusetts, and became known as an able and talented master printer, as superintendent of the composing department of the Boston "Daily Globe," planning for that paper one of the finest and best arranged composing rooms in the country.

Robert P. Boss married, September 1, 1861, Clarissa Phoebe Pearce, of Newport, Rhode Island, daughter of Benjamin Wood and Clarissa G. (Carpenter) Pearce (see Pearce IX). Mrs. Boss was born in Pawtucket, Rhode Island, attending school in Charlestown and Providence until her fifteenth year. Daughter of a master printer, and reared in an atmosphere of literary appreciation, it came as a natural sequence that her first contribution to the press was made when she was eleven years of age, and, learning the art of type-setting from her father, she was the first of her sex to work at a case in Newport. Her experiences during the Civil War were such as to bring the significance of the conflict most forcibly home to her, and twice she nursed her husband to health and strength when he returned home from sea duty, worn out by his patriotic labors. Mrs. Boss was endowed with gifts and appreciations that

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made hers a most useful, joyous life, diffusing happiness and inspiration in the wide circle of her contacts. Her literary talents found many forms of expression. A sympathetic understanding of children led her naturally into Sunday school work of a thoroughly practical character, and with an uplifting enthusiasm she emphasized the lesson for the day by reading to her boys a new story from her pen each week, some of these afterward being published in "The Churchman." She studied the works of Charles Dickens with an insight and discernment rarely equalled, and the last paper written by her for the All-Round Dickens Club, and which was to have been read by her on Wednesday, May 10, 1899, the day before she was laid to rest, was "A Study of David Copperfield." Among her lectures which attracted favorable comment were: "The Social Development of Women," "The Spirit of Poetry," "Feminine Characters in Fiction." Mrs. Boss "had no repression of ambition, no desire to check the highest aspirations of life, but a thorough belief in the fact that the simple round of duties, the common tasks of daily living, the upbuilding and upholding of home will furnish all that the average human will need of self-sacrifice. . . . The one of Mrs. Clara P. Boss's essays, that which shows her most marked characteristic of home life and old associations, is in 'Newport on the Hill and Oldport by the Sea.' She uses the word 'homey' to express the homelike idea. The word furnishes the keynote to the character of one who, with home and 'homey' influences as the radiating centers and best foundations, found ample scope for sympathy and work for all that tended to make the home virtues prominent." Much of her time and strength was devoted to church and beneficent work, in which her Christian character appeared in effulgent beauty. Her devotion to her father in his declining years was almost without parallel. Nothing that might contribute to his comfort and his solace was omitted by her and her husband, and when separated they kept in constant touch by weekly correspondence. Mrs. Boss's death occurred May 7, 1899, in Jacksonville, Florida, while on a vacation trip with her husband. She is buried with her kindred in the Island Cemetery.

Robert Prior and Clarissa P. (Pearce) Boss were the parents of the following children: 1. Caroline (Carrie) Burnett, born May 15, 1862, married (first) Robert R. Thompson; (second), September 22, 1907, Charles Henry Eager (see Eager VIII). 2. Nellie Am-

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brose, born at Newport, March 4, 1865, died in May, 1865. 3. Edward L., born at Boston, Massachusetts, August 30, 1875.

(The Pierce-Pearce Line).

Pierce—Pearce Arms—Argent, a fesse humetté gules between three ravens rising sable.

Crest—A dove with an olive branch in its beak.

Motto—*Dixit et fecit.*

The genealogist of the Pearse, Pearce, Peirce or Pierce family claims that twenty generations of the ancestry have been traced in England. From Galfred, to whom the famous English family of Percy (identified with Pearse, Pierce, etc.) traces its ancestry, the American lineage is given as follows: I. Galfred. II. William. III. Alan. IV. William. V. William. VI. Agnes. VII. Henry. VIII. William. IX. Henry. X. Henry. XI. Henry. XII. Henry. XIII. Henry. XIV. Henry. XV. Henry. XVI. Ralph. XVII. Peter Percy or Pearce, son of Ralph Percy or Pearce, had a son Richard. Peter was standard-bearer to Richard III at the battle of Bosworth Field in 1485. XVIII. Richard Percy, son of Peter Percy or Pearce, founded Pearce Hall in York, England, where he lived and died. XIX. Richard Pearce or Pearse, son of Richard Percy, changed the spelling to Pearce or Pearse. He resided on the homestead of his father, and had sons: 1. Richard, an American immigrant. 2. Captain Michael, of whom further. 3. William, a distinguished master mariner in his day, killed by the Spaniards, July 13, 1641, at Providence Island, Bermuda, as he was taking a load of colonists from Massachusetts to that island. 4. John. 5. Richard.

I. *Captain Michael Pierce*, born in England about 1615, was killed in battle with the Indians, March 26, 1676. He came to America about 1645, was first of Hingham, Massachusetts, in 1646, and then of Scituate, in 1647. His first wife died in 1662, and he married (second), about 1663, Hannah James, a widow, having a son, Mark James, and daughter, Abigail James, who married Charles Stockbridge, born 1638, son of John Stockbridge. His house was on the Cohasset road, a mile from the present North Meeting house. He was in the Narragansett Fight in December, 1675; was commissioned captain by the General Court in 1669, and had been an ensign and lieutenant before that. The story of the death of Captain Michael Pierce is extremely interesting. Early in 1676 the Narra-

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gansetts again made an attack upon the English town, penetrating to Plymouth, where they killed a number of the inhabitants. Captain Pierce, of Scituate, with a company of fifty-five Englishmen and twenty friendly Indians, was ordered to pursue the Indians toward Rhode Island. He proceeded without any encounter to near Pawtucket. There he discovered that the Indians were near. He thought the number small and ventured to cross the river and commence the attack. This done, he found himself in the presence of an overwhelming force led by the Indian chief, Canonchett. Realizing that retreat was impossible, he decided to make the sacrifice of himself and his force as costly as possible to the foe. He retreated to the river's bank in order to avoid being surrounded. Then the fight began. The Indians sent a party across the river to attack from the rear. This surprise only induced the captain to change the front of his company and place them back to back. Thus they fought until fifty-two Englishmen and eleven Indians were slain. Captain Pierce fell during the fight. It was later learned that the Indians lost over one hundred and fifty men. Captain Pierce's will was dated January 15, 1675, "being now by appointment of God going out to war against the Indians." He assisted in building the first saw mill in the colony, burned by the Indians, May 20, 1676. Issue: 1. Persis, baptized 1646. 2. Benjamin, baptized 1646. 3. John, married Patience Dobson. 4. Ephraim, of whom further. 5. Eliza. 6. Deborah. 7. Anna. 8. Abiah. 9. Ruth. 10. Abigail, married John Holbrook.

II. Ephraim Pierce, son of Captain Michael Pierce, was born about 1650. He lived in Weymouth, Massachusetts, and Providence and Warwick, Rhode Island, and was a freeman of Providence in 1681. He died in Warwick, Rhode Island, September 14, 1719, and his will was dated July 18, 1718, proved at Warwick, September 23, 1719. He married Hannah Holbrook, daughter of John Holbrook, of Weymouth, Massachusetts. Issue: 1. Azrikim, born January 4, 1671. 2. Ephraim, of whom further. 3. Michael, born in 1676. 4. Rachel, born in 1678; married a Peet. 5. Hannah, born in 1680; married a Martin. 6. Experience, born in 1682; married a Wheaton. 7. John, born in 1684. 8. Benjamin, born in 1686, died August 9, 1698.

III. Ephraim (2) Pierce, son of Ephraim (1) and Hannah (Holbrook) Pierce, was born in 1674, and lived at Rehoboth and

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Swansea, Massachusetts. He married Mary Low. Issue: 1. Mial, of whom further. 2. Mary, born November 16, 1697; married Benjamin Norton. 3. David, born July 26, 1701. 4. Elizabeth, born May 30, 1703; married Jeremiah Eddy. 5. Clothier. 6. Ephraim.

IV. *Deacon Mial Pierce*, son of Ephraim (2) and Mary (Low) Pierce, was born April 24, 1692, and died October 18, 1786. He lived at Warwick, Rhode Island, and Swansea and Rehoboth, Massachusetts. He married Judith Ellis, born 1686, died October 6, 1744, daughter of Judge Ellis. Issue: 1. Ephraim, born November 9, 1712, died November 1, 1789. 2. Wheeler, born July 11, 1714. 3. Nathan, of whom further. 4. Mary, born October 18, 1718; married a Martin. 5. Judith, born October 21, 1720; married William Tibbett. 6. Mial, born March 24, 1722. 7. Job, born April 25, 1723. 8. Caleb, born June 8, 1726. 9. Joshua.

V. *Rev. Nathan Pierce*, son of Mial and Judith (Ellis) Pierce, was born February 21, 1716, and died April 14, 1793. He lived at Rehoboth and Swansea, Massachusetts. He was a Baptist minister and for forty years preached in one church, being succeeded by his son, Rev. Preserved Pierce, who also preached in the same pulpit for the same number of years. This church was known as "Pierce meeting-house," now the Second Baptist Church of Rehoboth, Massachusetts. He married, October 6, 1736, Lydia Martin, daughter of Ephraim Martin; she was born July 17, 1718, died December 21, 1798. She was noted for her learning and the assistance she gave her husband in his work. Issue: 1. David. 2. Lydia. 3. Freeloove. 4. Nathan. 5. Joseph. 6. Benjamin. 7. Pardon. 8. Mary. 9. Martin. 10. Judah. 11. Hezekiah. 12. Peleg. 13. Preserved, of whom further. 14. Isaac. 15. Chloe.

VI. *Rev. Preserved Pierce*, son of Rev. Nathan and Lydia (Martin) Pierce, was born July 28, 1758, and died June 29, 1828. He lived in Rehoboth and Swansea, Massachusetts, and followed his father as minister of "Pierce meeting-house," serving forty years. He married (first), May 15, 1784, Sarah Lewis, born in 1765, died October 4, 1823. He married (second), May 10, 1824, Nancy Cushing. Issue: 1. Lewis, of whom further. 2. Lydia. 3. Preserved. 4. Sallie. 5. Lillus. 6. Candus. 7. Patience. 8. Martin. 9. Polly. 10. Otis H.

VII. *Lewis Pierce*, son of Rev. Preserved and Sarah (Lewis) Pierce, was born in Rehoboth, Massachusetts, March 11, 1794, and

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died at Swansea, Massachusetts, in 1825. He married, January 8, 1815, Phebe Wood, born May 7, 1797, died in March, 1864. Issue: 1. Alfred, born May 7, 1817; married Marietta Williams. 2. Benjamin Wood, of whom further. 3. Leander, died in infancy. 4. Frederick, died in infancy.

VIII. Benjamin Wood Pearce (note change of spelling), son of Lewis and Phebe (Wood) Pierce, was born in Swansea, Massachusetts, April 9, 1819, and died in Newport, Rhode Island, April 15, 1904. Fall River, Massachusetts, became the family home when he was five years of age, and his schooling was limited to three years, during which he learned to read. A year after going to Fall River his father died, and for two years the mother continued the unequal struggle alone, but finally was obliged to place her two sons, Benjamin and Alfred, at work. They entered a woolen factory at a wage of fifty cents a week, and the result of this procedure, followed at the urge of necessity, was that when Benjamin W. Pearce was seventeen years of age he was unable to write his name and made his mark by the side of his name in the factory book when he received his wages. This was noticed by a kind employer, who began at once to teach him to write by tracing his own signature. This was his first real start for an education, and once the beginning had been made he followed a course of study with diligence and zeal.

With his studious habits had come a strong desire to follow the printing trade, and a year later he became an apprentice in the office of the Fall River "Patriot." He was a restless youth, full of ambition, and another year found him in a job printing establishment in Providence, Rhode Island, while six months later he worked his passage to New York on a trading vessel. During his stay in the metropolis he founded his first publication, the "Sunday School Monitor." The "Monitor" failed and its young publisher returned to Fall River, going to Pawtucket, Rhode Island, when he was twenty-one years of age and working in the Franklin printing plant. His first marriage occurred in the following year, Mrs. Pearce's death occurring about five years thereafter, and his second marriage took place in 1847. In Pawtucket he was entrusted with editorial work and, being a strict adherent of temperance, his editorials on this subject were of such uncompromising strength and vigor as to incur the enmity of a group of law breakers in that place.

In 1852 he moved to Boston and entered the office of the "Amer-



B. W. Pearce

ican Patriot," with this journal filling the positions of compositor, foreman and assistant editor. In his work on this paper he accomplished the unique feat of placing his editorials in type without first writing them out. While in Boston Mr. Pearce served as teacher of a class at the Charlestown State Prison, during a portion of the regime of Chaplain Hempstead. His next association was in Fall River, where, in 1857, he was identified with the publication of the "Daily Evening Star." When this paper was about three months old Mr. Pearce originated one of the most unusual and enjoyable Fourth of July celebrations ever held in Fall River. Mr. Pearce later moved with his family to Newport, his residence in this place beginning at the time when the slavery question had come up with all its force to try the souls of men. For this cause he worked ceaselessly, while he supported his family by his activity as ship news reporter, also establishing the office of harbor master, which he held for eight years. In 1861 Mr. Pearce became associated with the "Evening Press" as its Newport marine and local correspondent, and for twenty-five years consecutively he filled that office. In 1886 the "Evening Press" went out of existence, and then began the hardest struggle of this worthy man's life, the supporting of an invalid wife, and two daughters without employment and capital. But he proved equal to the task. He established about this time a periodical store, and as his faith in the printing business had not languished, he founded a publication of his own, the Newport "Enterprise," from which, within ten years, he obtained a comfortable income for those dependent on it. This paper was published in the rear of the periodical store. In 1897 the paper died, simultaneously with the wife of the owner. The next day was their golden wedding anniversary, and the funeral service for Mr. Pearce's companion of life's journey was held within three hours of the time they were married fifty years before. He took the remains to Pawtucket, traversing the route they had followed on their wedding day.

Mr. Pearce was the author of many topical poems, which he composed in the same manner he did his editorials, setting them directly in type without any other medium of composition. When he was seventy years of age he began the custom of presenting a literary and musical entertainment each year, and these performances proved extremely popular and were well patronized. When well past three score years and ten he published a book, "Recollections of a Long and Busy Life," which had a large sale.

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Benjamin Wood Pearce married (first), August 2, 1841, Clarissa Gary Carpenter (see Carpenter VII). He married (second), September 6, 1847, Mary A. Bragg, who was born June 30, 1820. There was one child of his first marriage, Clarissa Phoebe, of whom further; and one child by his second wife, Eliza E., born April 3, 1857. After the death of the mother, Mr. Pearce's daughters attended him with increasing devotion, Mary Pearce, his adopted and unmarried daughter, remaining with him during the closing years of his life.

IX. *Clarissa Phoebe Pearce*, daughter of Benjamin Wood and Clarissa G. (Carpenter) Pearce, was born December 23, 1842, and married, September 1, 1861, Robert P. Boss (see Boss VI).

(The Carpenter Line).

Arms—Argent, a greyhound passant; a chief sable.

Crest—A greyhound's head, erased per fesse sable and argent.

Motto—*Celeritas, virtus, fidelitas.*

This is one of the most widely distributed names in the United States, as well as one of the oldest, and has been notable among the pioneers of many States. It is traced to an early period in England, and is conspicuous in the annals of the American Revolution, and also in civic life through many generations and representatives. It has carried service in many commonwealths. The Carpenters trace their ancestry to John Carpenter, born in 1303, and head of the ancient house in Herefordshire, parish of Dilwyne, England, to whom the Irish Tyrconnells also trace their descent. The Hereford family of Carpenters was prominent, taking an active part in all matters of interest to the crown, and probably no family in England has performed more deeds and received more favors. Among the most noted was John Carpenter, town clerk of London, who died in 1442. The line of Lord George Carpenter is the same as that of William Carpenter, of Rehoboth:

I. John Carpenter, born about 1303, was a member of Parliament in 1325. II. Richard Carpenter, born about 1335, was a goldsmith by trade and wealthy. III. John (2) Carpenter was a cousin of John Carpenter, town clerk of London. IV. John (3) Carpenter died about 1500. V. William Carpenter, born about 1440, died in 1520, was William of Homme. VI. James Carpenter, son of William Carpenter. VII. John (4) Carpenter, son of James Carpenter. VIII. William Carpenter, son of John Carpenter, was born about

1520, and died in 1550. IX. William (3) Carpenter, son of William (2) Carpenter, was born about 1540. X. William (4) Carpenter, son of William (3) Carpenter, was born in England about 1576, and was a resident of London. He sailed from Southampton for America in the ship "Bevis," landing in May, 1638, and returned to England in the same vessel, possibly having come to this country merely to help in the settlement here of his son and his family.

I. *William Carpenter*, pioneer ancestor of the American line, son of William (4) Carpenter, was born in England in 1605, died in Rehoboth, Massachusetts, February 7, 1659. He came to America on the ship "Bevis" in 1638, and was admitted a freeman of Weymouth, May 13, 1640; was representative from Weymouth, 1641-43, and from Rehoboth, June 30, 1644; was admitted an inhabitant of the town, March 28, 1645, and the following June was made freeman. It was through his influence that the grant of Seekonk, otherwise known as Rehoboth, was made by the General Court, then at Plymouth. This was the tract of land selected by Roger Williams for a settlement, when driven out of the Massachusetts Colony. In 1647 William Carpenter was made one of the directors of the town, and again in 1655. The legal business of the town and Colony was transacted principally by him. He paid eight pounds, seventeen shillings, and three pence toward defraying the expenses of King Philip's War, and was one of a committee to lay out a road from Rehoboth to Dedham. About 1642 he received a commission as captain from the Governor of Massachusetts, and was called upon to act for the protection and ownership of the Pawtuxet lands. The records show him to have been a yeoman, and his estate was valued at two hundred and fifty-four pounds and ten shillings. Governor Bradford, who married his cousin Alice, favored William Carpenter in all his measures in the Plymouth Court, and in all their dealings they were close friends. William Carpenter's wife Abigail, who died February 22, 1687, had been provided for in his will of April 21, 1659. Children: 1. John, born in England about 1628, died May 23, 1695. 2. William, of whom further. 3. Joseph, born in England about 1633, died in May, 1676. 4. Hannah, born in Weymouth, Massachusetts, April 3, 1640. 5. Abiah, born in Weymouth, April 9, 1643, died prior to 1702. 6. Abigail, twin of Abiah, died March 5, 1710. 7. Samuel, born at Rehoboth, Massachusetts, about 1644, died 1682-83.

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II. William (2) Carpenter, son of William (1) and Abigail Carpenter, was born in England about 1631-32, died in Rehoboth, Massachusetts, January 26, 1703. He came to America, was town clerk of Rehoboth, 1668-1703, deputy to the General Court in 1668, and served on many committees. He was surveyor of many new purchases, a deacon of the church, and was a man of superior ability, accurate and reliable in all of his business transactions, noted also for his superior penmanship. He married (first), October 5, 1651, Priscilla Bennett, who died October 20, 1663. He married (second), December 10, 1663, Miriam Searles. She died in 1722, aged ninety-three. Children: 1. John, born October 19, 1652. 2. William, born June 20, 1659, died March 10, 1718. 3. Priscilla, born July 24, 1661; married Richard Sweet. 4. Benjamin, born October 20, 1663, died April 18, 1738. 5. Josiah, born December 18, 1664, died February 28, 1727. 6. Nathaniel, born May 12, 1667, died 1740-41. 7. Daniel, born October 8, 1669, died after 1730. 8. Noah, born March 28, 1672, died in April, 1756. 9. Miriam, born October 16, 1674; married Jonathan Bliss. 10. Obadiah, of whom further. 11. Ephraim, born April 25, 1681, died in infancy. 12. Ephraim, born April 25, 1683, died April 20, 1743. 13. Hannah, born April 10, 1684; married Jonathan Chaffee. 14. Abigail, born April 15, 1687; married Daniel Perrin, 3rd.

III. Obadiah Carpenter, son of William (2) and Miriam (Searles) Carpenter, was born in Rehoboth, Massachusetts, in March, 1677-78, died there October 25, 1749. He lived in Rehoboth, Massachusetts, and was a farmer in occupation. He married, November 6, 1703, Deliverance Preston, who died June 12, 1767, age eighty-five, daughter of Deacon Daniel Preston, and granddaughter of Deacon Daniel Preston, Sr. Children: 1. Edward, born October 5, 1705, died February 24, 1771. 2. Obadiah, of whom further. 3. Nehemiah, born September 28, 1708, died March 19, 1711-12. 4. William, born June 26, 1711, died August 23, 1768. 5. Nehemiah, born June 24, 1714, died October 19, 1715. 6. Deliverance, born May 29, 1717; married John Wright. 7. Josiah, born October 8, 1719, died in 1746-47. 8. John, born March 7, 1726, died April 26, 1754.

IV. Obadiah (2) Carpenter, son of Obadiah (1) and Deliverance (Preston) Carpenter, was born in Rehoboth, Massachusetts, February 16, 1707, died in Attleboro, Massachusetts, January 6, 1764. He was deacon of the church at Attleboro where the family

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lived, and he and his wife are both buried in the old cemetery there. He married, December 12, 1728, Mrs. Bethiah (Carpenter) Lyon. She was the daughter of Daniel Carpenter (cousin of Obadiah, above), and was born September 23, 1706, died January 15, 1788. Children: 1. Bethia, born December 6, 1729, died January 17, 1793; married Rev. Peter Thatcher. 2. Nehemiah, born October 20, 1731, died May 14, 1799. 3. Sybil, born October 20, 1733; married Joseph French. 4. Huldah, born September 21, 1735; married Nathaniel Read. 5. Deliverance, born February 27, 1737-38; married (first) Samuel Read, Jr.; (second) Moses Walker. 6. Hannah, born June 10, 1740, died April 20, 1790; married Zachariah Carpenter. 7. Obadiah, born September 2, 1742, died in 1814. 8. Daniel, of whom further. 9. Lucy, born February 14, 1746; married Caleb Carpenter. 10. Ezra, born January 30, 1748-49, died May 30, 1750.

V. *Daniel Carpenter*, son of Obadiah (2) and Bethiah (Carpenter-Lyon) Carpenter, was born in Attleboro, Massachusetts, September 29, 1744, died there, April 14, 1803. He lived in Attleboro, Massachusetts, where he owned a farm. "Massachusetts Soldiers and Sailors of the Revolution" volume 3, page 116, states: "Daniel Carpenter served on 'alarm' caused by battle of Bunker Hill, 1776. There is an order of Town Treasurer of Attleboro for wages for this service. In 1776 and 1780 Daniel Carpenter, of Attleboro, served as corporal, two enlistments, one in Captain Alexander Foster's company, twenty-five days; one in Captain Moses Willmarth's company, ten days. He married (first), January 30, 1760, Elizabeth Tyler, daughter of John Tyler. She was born in 1748, and died November 17, 1821. She married (second) Thomas Sweet. Children: 1. John, born September 1, 1766, died March 2, 1838. 2. Daniel, born April 2, 1768, died September 3, 1835. 3. Ezra, born May 11, 1770, died February 27, 1821. 4. Betty, born March 28, 1772, died March 5, 1835; married Samuel Thacher. 5. Samuel, born May 20, 1774, died November 1, 1775. 6. Remember, born February 8, 1776, died December 1, 1845. 7. Ebenezer, of whom further. 8. Jesse, born September 20, 1785, died June 7, 1857. 9. Nancy, born August 11, 1786; married Spencer Blanding. 10. Samuel, born January 12, 1789, died March 3, 1861. 11. Elizabeth, born November 1, 1792, died March 12, 1825; married Benjamin Bowen.

VI. *Ebenezer Carpenter*, son of Daniel and Elizabeth (Tyler) Carpenter, was born in Attleboro, Massachusetts, October 25, 1781.

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He lived at Rehoboth, Massachusetts, and Pawtucket, Rhode Island, and was a farmer, as was his father. He married, August 17, 1806, Clarissa Kent, born in Rehoboth, January 27, 1786, died May 19, 1865. (See Kent V). Children: 1. Louisa, born February 3, 1807, died July 19, 1810. 2. Newton Kent, born February 3, 1812, died July 5, 1846. 3. Clarissa Gary, of whom further.

VII. *Clarissa Gary Carpenter*, daughter of Ebenezer and Clarissa (Kent) Carpenter, was born in Rehoboth, Massachusetts, September 3, 1818, died February 13, 1847. She married, August 2, 1841, Benjamin Wood Pearce. (See Pearce VIII).

(The Kent Line).

Arms—Azure, a lion passant guardant or, a chief ermine.
Crest—A lion's head erased ermineo, collared, lined, and ringed azure.

The antiquity of the name Kent is indicated by the fact that in 1295 Kents were resident in Sherbeck, England. The Registers of Ecclesfield Parish Church note a surrender of land to Robert Kent in 1389, and from that time on there are several entries.

I. *Joseph Kent* appears in Dedham, Massachusetts, in 1645, where he arrived from England in company with his brother, Joshua Kent, who had previously resided there. He married Susannah George, widow, whose maiden name was Austin, and who was born in 1643. He died in 1704. Issue: 1. Joseph, of whom further. 2. Samuel, born in 1668. 3. Joshua, born in 1672. 4. Susannah, born September 25, 1687, died August 10, 1774; married Deacon Benjamin Cary.

II. *Joseph (2) Kent*, son of Joseph (1) and Susannah (Austin-George) Kent, was born in 1665, and died at Rehoboth, Massachusetts, March 20, 1734-35. He was an ensign, and also representative to the General Court for many years. He married, in Swansea, Massachusetts, November 12, 1690, Dorothy Brown, daughter of James and Lydia (Howland) Brown, and granddaughter of John Howland, of the "Mayflower."

III. *John Kent*, son of Joseph (2) and Dorothy (Brown) Kent, was born in Rehoboth, Massachusetts, August 9, 1697, died there November 20, 1780. He married, intentions published at Rehoboth, November 20, 1725, Rachel Carpenter, born at Rehoboth, March 29, 1705.

IV. *Ezekiel Kent*, son of John and Rachel (Carpenter) Kent,

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was born at Rehoboth, Massachusetts, June 22, 1744, died there May 17, 1842. He married, intentions published at Rehoboth, March 19, 1768, Ruth Garnzey, born October 9, 1747, died at Rehoboth, December 8, 1818.

V. *Clarissa Kent*, daughter of Ezekiel and Ruth (Garnzey) Kent, was born in Rehoboth, Massachusetts, January 27, 1786, died May 19, 1865. He married, at Rehoboth, August 17, 1806, Ebenezer Carpenter. (See Carpenter VI).

(The Eager Line).

Eagar—Eager Arms—Azure, a lion rampant or, armed and langued gules gorged with an antique Irish crown of the last, a chief ermine.

Crest—On a wreath of the colors a demi-lion azure, gorged with an antique Irish crown, and charged on the shoulder with a mullet or.

Motto—*Facta non verba.*

The Eagar (Eager) Family, settled for two hundred years in the County of Kerry, Ireland, are without doubt sprung from the ancient family of Aucher, descended from Alcher, Ealcher or Aucher, first Earl of Kent, 836 to 865 A. D. Among the earlier settlers of that family were: Walter Fitz Auger; a noble Briton, who flourished at the time of the Conquest; Thomas Fitz Aunger, lord of the manor of Losenham, in Kent, time of King John; Henry Fitz Aucher, one of the Kentish gentlemen who accompanied Edward I to the siege of Carlaverock; and Henry Fitz Aucher (Auger), who between the years 1309 and 1324 had addressed to him seventy-five Parliamentary writs, and writs of military summons as Alcherus, Aucherus and Augerus.

About this period, and subsequently, although the original branch of the race retained the original spelling, later branches underwent considerable modification. Auger became Ager, Eger, and Eager, and also Agar; just as Echard or Achard, a Norman name, underwent similar transposition. The name of Joseph Ager appears in Caernarvon as early as the year 1308. In 1502 John Egyr is of Dublin; in 1532, the widow of Harry Agar, Esquire, was buried at Canterbury, by directions contained in her last will.

In 1548 Sir Anthony Ager filled the office of Kings Marshal under Edward VI, for the town of Calais; and in the Calendar of Pleadings in the reign of Elizabeth, 1570, Beatrice Eger, as administratrix of Robert Eger, had a suit in Chancery against Simon Eger, concerning certain lands in Flete, Lincolnshire, granted by the Crown to Anthony Eger, and also other property devised by

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the said Anthony Egar by Sir James Harrington. In 1649, Major Robert Eager and his son Alexander were in the service of Charles I. The latter was of Ireland; he died between the years 1696 and 1700, leaving a wife, Rose, and five sons, Robert, James, John, Alexander and Francis. David Eager, another officer in the service of Charles I, was adjudged pay in 1688. William Eager, of Dublin, who died in 1695, left four children: Catherine, married in 1687; James married in 1692; Thomas; and William.

I. William Eager, who died in Marlboro, Massachusetts, April 4, 1690. He was of Cambridge and Malden, and before 1682 of Marlboro, Massachusetts. He was one of the proprietors of the Ockoocangansett Plantation purchased from the Indians in 1684. He married (first), in 1659, Ruth Hill. She died January 6, 1680, aged thirty-nine years. He married (second), April 13, 1680, Lydia Cole, widow of Arthur Cole. Children of first wife. 1. Elizabeth, died young. 2. Esther. 3. Abraham. 4. Jacob. 5. Zachariah. 6. Zerubbabel, of whom further. 7. Martha, born November 26, 1674. 8. Ruth, born February 1, 1677. 9. Sarah, born June 25, 1679. Children of second wife. 10. Margaret, born May 25, 1681. 11. William, born October 20, 1684, 12. James, born September 21, 1686. 13. Lydia.

II. Zerubbabel Eager, son of William and Ruth (Hill) Eager, was born in Malden, Massachusetts, June 8, 1672, died in Marlboro, Massachusetts, January 9, 1747. He was of Marlboro, Massachusetts. He married, in 1698, Hannah Kerley, daughter of Henry and Elizabeth Kerley. Children: 1. Hannah, born March 14, 1699. 2. Uriah, of whom further. 3. Hepzibah, born May 4, 1702. 4. Jacob, born October 2, 1704. 5. Damaris, born September 11, 17— . 6. Moses, born August 30, 1712. 7. Miriam, twin of Moses. 8. John, born March 28, 1718.

III. Captain Uriah Eager, son of Zerubbabel and Hannah (Kerley) Eager, was born April 4, 1700, died in Marlboro, Massachusetts, December 30, 1780, aged eighty. He lived at Marlboro, Massachusetts, and marched as ensign to Cambridge on the Lexington Alarm of 1775, and later he was promoted to a captaincy. There is a Revolutionary Marker on his grave at Marlboro, Massachusetts. He married (first), March 14, 1727, Sarah Brigham, daughter of Nathan and Elizabeth Brigham. She died November 5, 1744. He married (second), December 16, 1746, Rebecca Rice. Children of

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first wife: 1. Nathan, born February 9, 1731. 2. Mary, born May 27, 1733. 3. Fortunatus, born July 6, 1735. 4. Elizabeth, born January 21, 1737. 5. Uriah (2), of whom further. 6. Hannah, born December 29, 1741.

IV. *Uriah (2) Eager*, son of Captain Uriah (1) and Sarah (Brigham) Eager, was born in Marlboro, Massachusetts, February 5, 1740, died there September 30, 1813. He lived at Marlboro, Massachusetts, served in the Revolution, and there is a Revolutionary Marker on his grave at Marlboro, Massachusetts. He married (first), March 29, 1764, Triphosa Bush, daughter of Joseph and Mary Bush. He married (second), January 9, 1804, Mary Newton. Children: 1. Rebecca, born December 29, 1764. 2. Mary, born October 26, 1766. 3. Triphena, born September 9, 1770. 4. Moses, of whom further. 5. Lydia, born October 29, 1774. 6. Hepzibah, born March 15, 1777.

V. *Moses Eager*, son of Uriah (2) and Triphosa (Bush) Eager, was born in Marlboro, Massachusetts, October 30, 1772. He lived in Marlboro, Massachusetts, and later in Weston, Massachusetts. He married, December 9, 1793, Sarah Stratton, daughter of Jonathan and Abigail (Barnes) Stratton, of Marlboro, Massachusetts. Children: 1. Mary, born June 26, 1795. 2. Uriah, born July 16, 1796. 3. Moses Edward, of whom further. 4. Winslow, born March 8, 1800. 5. Triphosa Bush, born December 8, 1802; married, in Weston, Massachusetts, Elmore Russell. 6. William, born December 4, 1804. 7. Penuel Bowen, baptized November 27, 1803.

VI. *Moses Edward Eager*, son of Moses and Sarah (Stratton) Eager, was baptized at Marlboro, Massachusetts, November 26, 1797. He was of Marlboro, Weston, Boston and Brookline, Massachusetts, and was a carriage-maker by trade. In 1857 he transferred land in Brookline, Massachusetts, to Franklin Turkey. There are several other records of the transactions of Moses E. Eager recorded in 1861. He married and it appears that among his children were: 1. Henry B., died in Maine, in January, 1907. 2. Edward R., of whom further.

VII. *Edward R. Eager*, son of Moses Edward Eager, was born in Boston, Massachusetts, in 1831. He was of Brookline and later of Canton, Massachusetts, where he was a partner of ex-Governor Ames in a rolling mill. He married (first), January 15, 1856, Sophia L. Jenkins, born in Calais, Maine, in 1828, died January 1, 1858. He

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married (second), in 1864, Mary H. Talbot. Child of first marriage: 1. Charles Henry, of whom further. Children of second marriage: 1. Jones T., a resident of Torquay, England. 2. Caroline, died in 1919 in Weston, Massachusetts.

VIII. Charles Henry Eager, son of Edward R. and Sophia L. (Jenkins) Eager, was born in Canton, Massachusetts, December 28, 1857, and died at his home in Inglewood, California, September 2, 1916. He had excellent educational advantages, and his active life was devoted to manufacturing and business enterprises, in which he was successful. While in the prime of life he retired to pursuits of scholarly and cultural interests which had always been a source of mental and spiritual refreshment for him. He was a brilliant musician and improvised with rare feeling and accuracy; his knowledge and love for the best in literature reflected countless hours in a library containing the best of the world's writings; his grasp and understanding of political and economic subjects disclosed the keen judgment of a practical mind;—these and many other attributes of basic worth won and held the affectionate admiration and esteem of those who were privileged to know him. He was a world traveler, and a habit of close observation and a retentive memory supplied him with a store of interesting anecdotes that, enlivened by a ready wit, gave indescribable charm to his conversation. There was no gathering of his fellows which he did not grace, and he would turn from a matter of serious importance, in whose settlement his counsel had been a deciding factor, to jovial banter and repartee as though his mood had been all for merriment throughout the day. He was a thorough and devoted student of Dickens and a lover of his work; his impersonations of Dickens' characters were unique and clever interpretations. He was a member of Inglewood Lodge, Free and Accepted Masons; a Knights Templar; and a Thirty-second Degree Scottish Rite Mason; member of the Shrine; the Gamut Club, the Dickens Fellowship, and was a vestryman and treasurer of the Church of the Holy Faith, Inglewood. He was deeply interested in the building of the new Gothic structure, said to be one of the finest architectural specimens in the State.

Mr. Eager was a writer of unusual ability, and as late as 1914 his contributions to various newspapers, including a weekly news letter to the Inglewood "News," while travelling in Japan, were widely read with exceptional interest.



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His death brought a general sense of loss throughout all classes of the community, for he possessed to a remarkable degree the common touch that bridges differences in estate and interests and brings men close through the possession of mutual virtues, aims, and desires. His funeral services were held in the beautiful Church of the Holy Faith, with Rev. S. L. Mitchell officiating. The edifice was crowded with those whose lives and interests he had shared, men and women from all walks of life, including not a few of those to whom he had extended a helping hand, a word of cheer, and the material aid necessary to carry them over life's difficult places. The simple, dignified, and matchless funeral service which the Episcopal church provides for all its people was read by the rector of the parish, who was a close friend of Mr. Eager. There was no sermon, no eulogy, no rhetorical display of any kind, but the few words of the rector found an echo in the hearts of all those who knew Charles H. Eager. They were as follows:

Mr. Eager was a loyal friend, a generous opponent, and a man of sterling integrity. He had learned that incomparable art of finding the best that lies in the heart of humanity, and he had learned it only because he had succeeded in finding the best in himself. As Mr. Eager learned to develop the best in himself, so he, with clarified vision, was enabled to find those good qualities which, though sometimes hidden, all men possess in some degree, and shutting his eyes to the faults and frailties of others, he strove to see only those better qualities which help forward to the uplift and redemption of humanity. In a word, he helped men by making them believe in themselves. He was a spreader of sunshine and a disperser of clouds. If he had burdens to bear, he said nothing about them. If he had worries or anxieties, he never showed them. He asked no sympathy, nor made any demands on any man's friendship, but at all times he gave most readily of his own store of sympathy, and cheer, and ready help to all those who needed it, irrespective of nationality, creed or merit. He had learned the meaning of human brotherhood, and he gave to its needs both time and hearty service.

Charles Henry Eager married, September 22, 1907, Caroline (Carrie) Burnett (Boss) Thompson, widow of Robert R. Thompson, and daughter of Robert Prior and Clarissa P. (Pearce) Boss (see Boss VI).

Mrs. Eager was born May 15, 1862, and attended Boston public and Girls' high schools until 1883. Her Grandfather Pearce was harbor master of Newport, Rhode Island, and as a girl she rowed him about the harbor in pursuit of his duties. She was also a friend and companion of Ida Lewis, the lighthouse keeper at Lime Rock, Rhode Island. This outdoor life and exercise in rowing gave her a splendid constitution and strong physique, and she became a most proficient oarsman, another evidence of her athletic skill being the winning of the ladies' tennis championship at Bethlehem, New

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Hampshire, in 1890. Her studies were continued under private tutors, and she specialized in literature and English. Her mother's literary talent had won her admission to the old Literary Coterie of Boston, which included Oliver Wendell Holmes, Henry W. Longfellow, Ralph Waldo Emerson, William Dean Howells, Julia Ward Howe, Louise M. Alcott, Frances Hodgson Burnett, Mrs. A. D. T. Whitney, Thomas Bailey Aldrich, Rose Terry Cook, Celia Thaxter, Mrs. Humphrey Ward, Henry James, John G. Whittier, Edward Everett Hale, Colonel Higginson, James Whitcomb Riley, Dr. Henry Van Dyke, Elbert Hubbard, Ella Wheeler Wilcox, and Bronson Alcott. As a child and young lady Mrs. Eager was reared in the atmosphere surrounding these gifted men and women of letters, in itself a valuable education and uplifting inspiration. She was a member of the All Round Dickens Club of Boston, whose membership was limited to one hundred and fifty by its charter, and her mother was also a member of this organization, preparing many interesting studies for its membership.

Mrs. Eager has been a student all of her life, and her scholarly interests have covered many fields. In 1871 she entered the New England Conservatory of Music and became a pianist and teacher of local repute, playing the church organ at the age of eighteen years, and training the church choir in 1883. While in Boston she was associated with four musical societies, the Handel and Haydn Society, the Boston Singing Club, the Schumann Club, and the Dorchester Choral Society, singing in several church choirs and conducting Sunday school music. She also conducted a mixed chorus and performed as a professional pianist, during this period introducing and supervising the music in schools in six towns immediately contiguous to Providence, Rhode Island, a concert at the end of the first year showing the remarkable results obtained in that brief period. She likewise gave instruction in dancing, and organized a large number of classes, following this work for three years until the physical strain became too great and she returned to Boston.

After resting for a time she continued her musical work, afterward becoming a specialist in voice culture, particularly in the training of boys' voices. In 1882 Miss Boss married Robert R. Thompson, who died in Aiken, South Carolina, in 1889. In April, 1907, she came to Los Angeles, California, in pursuit of her profession, music

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teaching, and here, September 22, 1907, she was married to Charles Henry Eager, of Boston, Massachusetts, a retired business man.

They established their home in Inglewood, California, and here Mrs. Eager was responsible for the inception of the Dickens Fellowship Club and was its first president, this club having since developed into the Inglewood Woman's Club. She also conducted on Saturday afternoons for one year, in her home, classes in sewing and music for pupils in the sixth, seventh, and eighth grades. Mrs. Eager has always been a pioneer and untiring worker in cultural movements, and on February 8, 1912, she inaugurated the Dickens Fellowship of Los Angeles, a branch of the London organization. Her labors in this connection were prodigious, vast public enthusiasm was aroused, and much was accomplished, there developing from this organization a charity for the care of blind babies, and they furnished a room in the Crittenden Home. In 1914, after Mrs. Eager's return from a journey to the South Sea Islands, the club became the Dickens section of the Wednesday Morning Club, and on March 9, 1922, with a part of the old club as a nucleus, Mrs. Eager formed a new Los Angeles Dickens Fellowship, a branch of the International Society of Dickens Lovers, with headquarters in London, Sir Henry Dickens being life president of the parent organization, and G. K. Chesterton president for 1922. Mrs. Eager's personal acquaintance with the founders and English members facilitated and simplified the organization of the Los Angeles branch. During a European tour several years ago Mrs. Eager first made the acquaintance of the Dickens family, and a cordial correspondence resulted, a firm friendship being cemented at the Christmas season, 1922, when she and her son, Theodore H., who were then in England, were invited as the only persons outside of the Dickens family to the Christmas festivities held at the delightful home, No. 8 Mulberry Walk, Chelsea, London. Preceding this, she was a guest at a family dinner to which all of Sir Henry Dickens' seven children and their wives and husbands were asked. The story of Mrs. Eager's visit and the work of the new Los Angeles Dickens Fellowship were described at length in the magazine section of the Los Angeles "Times," Sunday, August 27, 1922. Mrs. Eager has long been recognized as the leader in Dickensian affairs in Los Angeles, and in recognition of her deep and abiding interest in the work of this great English writer she was honored with the life presidency

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of the local society. They have the finest Dickens library on the Pacific coast, and now there is a private library at Hollywood, a branch of the Los Angeles Public Library. The purposes of the club have been defined as follows:

This is an organization for both men and women which will be affiliated with the Dickens Fellowship of London, an international society of Dickens' lovers who are banded together to spread the love of humanity which is the keynote of all of Dickens' work, to study his books and to produce his plays, and to support charitable work for children. Our work in this branch of the Dickens society will be to help the blind children, as this State does not provide for them when under the school age.

Numerous interesting social affairs, including an annual banquet, a Pickwick ride in June, and an annual play, the Yuletide celebration of the "Christmas Carol" for charity, and similar activities have marked the Fellowship's program, and public interest and support have been aroused and sustained in noteworthy degree.

Mrs. Eager's interests are bounded only by the limits of her strength and time, for she is a lecturer and globe-trotter of international reputation, and never refuses her co-operation and service when beneficial results are possible therefrom. Her lecture topics cover the wide range that might be expected from a woman in touch with so many phases of human thought and effort, one of her most sought for lectures entitled "Twenty-One Points of American Influence Around the World." Others are "Origin and Development of Oratorio and Opera," "The American Authors," "Originators of American Literature," "China," "Japan," "South Sea Islands," "Philippines," the four last named touching on political, social and economic conditions in these various regions. Her letters on her travels are featured by the press and in club programs, and are marked by the fresh interest of the observant traveler and the keen insight of the student of human nature and affairs. Mrs. Eager is a member of the board of directors of United Theatres, a national organization, and her other memberships are as follows: Inglewood Chapter, Order of the Eastern Star, of Inglewood; the Friday Morning Club; the Ebell Club; the Southern California Woman's Press Club; the League of American Pen Women; the Woman's National Party, Washington, D. C. (charter member); the Matinee Musical Club; the Wawwan Club, Los Angeles; the Woman's City Club; the Los Angeles Oratorio Society (active member); the Women's Lyric Club (associate member); the Manila (Philippine Islands) Woman's Club; the Saturday Morning Club,

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Kobe, Japan (organizer and honorary member); the American Woman's Club, Paris; the English Speaking Union; the Mayflower Society of Massachusetts; and the Los Angeles branch of the same society.

While the foregoing affiliations indicate how well filled are her days, she gives first claim to many charitable interests, not the least of which in past years has been unrewarded musical instruction where talent and aspiration existed under conditions of poverty. Mrs. Eager has an adopted son, Theodore Howland Eager, who has been educated in American schools in Japan and the Philippines, a Parisian academy, and the Auckenthaler School at Lausanne, Switzerland, and while a student in the latter institution he won the 1922 junior championship of Swiss colleges for rowing. Mrs. Eager carried into the work of the present and plans for the future the enthusiasm and energy that have always characterized her, laboring zealously and purposefully, with keen enjoyment in the effort, for causes of substantial worth and significance. Social relations, as such are pursued for pleasure only, could never hold her long, but when to these pleasures is added opportunities for and incentive to service, then the full force of her good will, enthusiasm and energy are eagerly enlisted. In her inherited natural gifts have been broadened and strengthened by contact with real life, by deep and constant study, and by participation in the affairs of the day, and that she is today nationally and internationally known is due to the fact that her work has been recognized as a permanent contribution to educational, cultural and civic advance.

Line of "Mayflower" descent of Mrs. Caroline B. Eager:

I. *John Howland*.

II. *Lydia Howland*, married James Brown.

III. *Dorothy Brown*, born at Swansea, August 29, 1666, died at Rehoboth, June 2, 1727; married, at Swansea, November 12, 1690, Joseph Kent, born in 1665, died at Rehoboth, March 20, 1734-35.

IV. *John Kent*, born at Rehoboth, August 9, 1697, died there November 20, 1780; married, (intentions published at Rehoboth, November 20, 1725), Rachel Carpenter, born at Rehoboth, March 29, 1705.

V. *Ezekiel Kent*, born at Rehoboth, June 22, 1744, died there May 17, 1842; married (intentions published at Rehoboth, March

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19, 1768), Ruth Garnzey, born October 9, 1747, died at Rehoboth, December 8, 1818.

VI. Clarissa Kent, born at Rehoboth, January 27, 1786, died May 19, 1865; married, at Rehoboth, August 17, 1806, Ebenezer Carpenter, born at Attleboro, October 25, 1781.

VII. Clarissa Gary Carpenter, born at Rehoboth, September 3, 1818, died at Pawtucket, Rhode Island, February 13, 1847; married, August 2, 1841, Benjamin Wood Pearce, born at Swansea, April 9, 1819, died at Newport, Rhode Island, April 15, 1904.

VIII. Clarissa Phoebe Pearce, born at Pawtucket, Rhode Island, December 23, 1842, died at Jacksonville, Florida, May 7, 1899; married, at Newport, Rhode Island, September 1, 1861, Robert Prior Boss, born at Newport, Rhode Island, January 11, 1840, died at Inglewood, California, June 12, 1911.

IX. Caroline (Carrie) Burnett Boss, born at Newport, Rhode Island, May 15, 1862, married, at Inglewood, California, September 22, 1907, Charles Henry Eager, born in Canton, Massachusetts, December 28, 1857, died at Inglewood, California, September 2, 1916.

References: Boss Genealogy. "Massachusetts Soldiers and Sailors in the Revolution." Pierce Genealogy. Carpenter Genealogy. "Matthews American Armory." Family Data.





J B McGonigal

John Benedict McGonegal

By GERALD J. KENT, EAST ORANGE, N. J.



THE passing of John B. McGonegal, of Rochester, New York, removed from the public life of Monroe county a man who had long been in the public eye as a county official, connected with the office of county superintendent of the poor for nearly forty years. He did not, however, introduce the name to that office, on the contrary he was introduced by his honored father who first appointed him. George E. McGonegal held the office of county superintendent of the poor for Monroe county for seven terms, ending with his death in 1885, therefore for more than half a century these two men, George E. and John B. McGonegal, father and son, were engaged in the blessed work of charity. John B. McGonegal was twenty-five years of age when first appointed deputy by his father, and for forty years he served most conscientiously and effectively, for his heart was in his work and his pride was in doing it well. How well he discharged his duty must be inferred from the fact that he served under five superintendents and each had the appointment of his own deputy. That he held the office until his sudden death places the stamp of approval upon his work and that verdict was just.

George E. McGonegal was the owner of a farm at Irondequoit, Monroe county, New York, and there resided until 1870. He was a son of John McGonegal, one of the first settlers of Irondequoit, and back in Indian days helped build the "Plank Road" and the floating bridge. In 1870 George E. McGonegal was elected superintendent of the poor for Monroe county, and later moved to Rochester, where he died in 1885. He married Louise Loder and they were the parents of John B. McGonegal, to whom this review is dedicated. George E. and Louise (Loder) McGonegal resided at the home in Vick Park "A," and there both died.

John B. McGonegal was born on the home farm in Irondequoit, Monroe county, New York, August 4, 1857, and died suddenly, December 28, 1922, while going from his office to his home. He is

JOHN BENEDICT MC GONEGAL

buried in Mt. Hope Cemetery, Rochester. He attended the Old "Cobble Stone" District School until the removal to Rochester in 1870 and there he attended the "Hickory School," going thence to the academy at Lima, New York. He left the academy before graduation on account of ill health, and later became a clerk in the drug store of Haskins & Smith, of Rochester. From the drug store he entered the service of Monroe county in the office of superintendent of the poor, an office then held by his father (1882). He served for about fifteen years in varied positions, then was appointed deputy superintendent, an office he held for twenty-five years under five superintendents, Superintendent Lodge first making him his deputy. During this period he was also State transfer agent of the State Board of Charities for the Rochester district, and upon his passing, the State Board of Charities at Albany passed a "minute" for their records, certifying to Mr. McGonegal's faithful, efficient service, that minute being appended together with a letter from the Superintendent of State and Alien Poor. A resolution from the Monroe County Association of Overseers of the Poor is also included in this record of a valuable, useful life.

Mr. McGonegal became one of the best known men of the county, and his friends were legion. He always was ready with the kindly, pleasant word of greeting, and no trouble was too great to take for a friend. He was a Republican in politics, and a member of the Masonic order, affiliated with Genesee Valley Lodge, Free and Accepted Masons; Chapter, Royal Arch Masons; Monroe Commandery, Knights Templar; and Damascus Temple, Ancient Arabic Order Nobles of the Mystic Shrine.

John B. McGonegal married, May 22, 1894, in Rochester, Frances B. Michelsen, born in Rochester, daughter of Paul and Magdalene (Oster) Michelsen, her parents born in Germany, but residents of the United States since childhood, her father a prosperous furniture dealer on Water, now High, street, Rochester. The McGonegal family home is at No. 46 Vick Park "A," Rochester, New York.

STATE BOARD OF CHARITIES.

Albany, New York.

January 9, 1923.

My Dear Mrs. McGonegal:

At the meeting of the State Board of Charities held in Albany, New York, January 9, 1923, the following Minute was adopted by

JOHN BENEDICT MC GONEGAL

unanimous vote of the Board, and the Secretary was directed to transmit a copy of the same to you.

MINUTE.

JOHN B. MCGONEGAL.

John B. McGonegal, who for nearly forty years was connected with the office of County Superintendent of the Poor in Monroe County, died suddenly in his sixty-fourth year, December 28, 1922, while going from his office to his home in Rochester, New York. For over twenty-five years he was deputy under the county superintendents of the poor who during the past quarter of a century have served Monroe county.

It is worthy of record that John B. McGonegal was the son of George E. McGonegal, who served Monroe County for six terms as its County Superintendent of the Poor. Upon the death of the father in 1885 the son, then being in the county employ, was retained by the elder McGonegal's successors. His fidelity and efficiency were recognized by his associates, and his genial manner and sympathetic ways gave comfort to a multitude of unfortunates and sorrowing families who received relief at his hands. He was in direct charge of Monroe County outdoor poor relief and was regarded by the women and children, who received supplies of food, clothing and other necessities, as a true friend. He acted for this Board when necessary as a removal agent of State poor persons from July, 1885, until his death, and thus since that date was in communication with the Superintendent of State and Alien Poor.

For nearly sixty years of continuous service the name of McGonegal has stood for efficiency in the relief of the poor and unfortunate, a record of which the county of Monroe may well be proud.

With my personal sympathy, I am,

Very sincerely yours,

CHARLES H. JOHNSON.

From the Monroe County Associated Overseers of the Poor:

At this meeting we take the first opportunity to announce the death of Mr. John B. McGonegal, Deputy Superintendent of the Poor, of Monroe County, which occurred in this city, December 28, 1922.

Mr. McGonegal held the office of Deputy Superintendent of the Poor for forty years. He was first appointed to the office by his father, Mr. George E. McGonegal, and served under the supervision of five superintendents during his term of office. During the period he also served as State Transfer Agent of the State Board of Charities in this district.

Mr. McGonegal was a man of unusual ability, a conscientious

JOHN BENEDICT MC GONEGAL

worker, and performed his duties in a most considerate and thoughtful manner, and great credit was due him for the work he made his life work. He was always congenial and made many friends among the associates who worked with him in connection with caring for the poor, and his presence will be sadly missed by them, by those he worked with in the office and by members of this Association at their quarterly meetings. We wish to attest our respect to his memory, therefore be it:

Resolved: That we, members of and representing the Monroe County Association of Overseers of the Poor, extend to Mrs. McGonegal our sincere sympathy in her sad bereavement, and that the above tribute to his memory be recorded upon the minutes of this meeting and a copy be sent to Mrs. McGonegal.

THOMAS A. CROUCH,
JOHN S. WRIGHT,
IRA E. FORD.

The following letter is self-explanatory:

STATE BOARD OF CHARITIES.

Albany, New York.

My Dear Mrs. McGonegal:

As an old friend of your husband, and with deep sympathy in your bereavement, I am sending to you a copy of the Minute adopted by the State Board of Charities of the State of New York at its meeting in Albany today.

For many years I have taken pleasure in meeting your husband, not only officially but as a personal friend, and when through Superintendent William E. Porter I learned over the telephone of John's sudden death I was greatly shocked, as only a short time ago I was at his office in the Court House and we talked over many matters of common interest.

I am glad now that my recollection of this last interview with him is so pleasant, for we both enjoyed it and looked forward to other visits for a renewal of the pleasure. Now that he is gone I appreciate what a competent, faithful man we have lost, and shall always cherish his memory as that of a sincere friend and a pleasant associate.

Both to you and his sister I tender my sympathy, but know that both have the Christian consolation and look forward to a reunion in "The Mansions not made by hands, Eternal in the Heavens."

Very sincerely yours,

ROBERT W. HILL,
Superintendent State and Alien Poor.



G. A. Goff

Gustavus Adolphus Goff

BY GERALD J. KENT, EAST ORANGE, N. J.



EW men of Elmira, New York, have attained wider prominence in the business world than Gustavus Adolphus Goff, who throughout his active lifetime was identified with the leaf tobacco business, during the greater part of the time as the head of a great and far-reaching wholesale enterprise. Gifted with that breadth of vision which surveys at once conditions and possibilities, Mr. Goff attained a very high position in his chosen field of endeavor, and in many ways he was a pioneer, marking out new lines of advance for the trade, and leading on paths along which others have been glad to follow. His life was one of broad usefulness and lofty achievement, and his loss is one of the most regrettable instances of a career closed by the hand of death, although he had very nearly lived out the allotted span of man's life.

Coming of a long line of worthy antecedents, Mr. Goff was a grandson of James B. Goff, an early settler of Chemung county, New York, and a son of Gustavus A. Goff, Sr., who was a prominent farmer and land owner of Southport. He made farming his life-work, and his home was on Maple street in the village of Southport, where he died. His remains lie buried in Woodlawn Cemetery, Elmira. Gustavus A. Goff, Sr., married Mary Hammond Stull, a granddaughter of Captain Stull, a soldier of the Revolutionary War. She is also now deceased, and buried in Woodlawn Cemetery.

Gustavus Adolphus Goff, son of Gustavus A. and Mary Hammond (Stull) Goff, was born at Southport, Chemung county, New York, June 29, 1858. His education was begun in the private schools of this section, and he later attended Elmira Free Academy, then became associated with his father on the farm. Meantime he had assisted with the work of the farm from early boyhood, bearing such part as he could of the multitudinous duties which agricultural activities entail. Upon attaining his majority Mr. Goff struck out for himself, accepting a position as a buyer of leaf tobacco with the

GUSTAVUS ADOLPHUS GOFF

New York Leaf Tobacco Company. In this connection he travelled through Connecticut and Massachusetts, among the extensive tobacco growing regions of those States, also in other parts of the country, buying for this company. Remaining with the same concern until the year 1884, he then accepted a similar position with John Brand & Company, then one of the foremost wholesale tobacco dealers of Chemung county, located at Elmira. During his association with this concern Mr. Goff's headquarters were at Portage, Wisconsin, but he remained with the company for only a comparatively short period, returning to Elmira in the year 1888 and entering the same line of business for himself. He opened a warehouse on Madison avenue, in this city, and went forward independently until the year 1890, when he received into partnership Charles S. Mather. This enterprise, under Mr. Goff's judicious, but fearless, management, became one of the most important in its field in the Southern Tier of counties in New York State. The firm name was known as the Goff & Mather Company until the retirement of Mr. Mather, when Charles G. Brand and Herbert C. Way became Mr. Goff's partners. This change of personnel occasioned a corresponding change of name, but Mr. Goff continued at the head of Goff, Way, Brand & Company until his death, determining the policies of the concern and leading the organization ever forward and upward. His sound business judgment, the keen foresight with which he met every problem, and above all the sterling integrity which was the dominant characteristic of the man, and which ever upheld the highest standards in the company—these were the factors upon which was built a spectacular and permanent success.

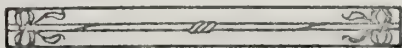
In the public life of the city of Elmira Mr. Goff was a figure of no slight importance, and here also these qualities, which made for individual success, counted far for public advance. A leading spirit in the progress of the Republican party, he was an eloquent and convincing advocate of its principles, and a loyal servant of the people in the few offices which he accepted. He served as a member of the Common Council for several years, also as a member of the Board of Aldermen. Deeply interested in the progress of education in general, he did much for the local schools, and served as a member of the Board of Education from the year 1916 until his death. Prominent in fraternal circles, Mr. Goff was a member of

GUSTAVUS ADOLPHUS GOFF

Ivy Lodge, Free and Accepted Masons; St. Omar Commandery, Knights Templar; and Cashmeer Grotto. He was also a member of the Masonic Club, the Rotary Club and the Centerville Club, of which last-named organization he was president. He was a member of the Park Congregational Church, which he served for many years as trustee.

Mr. Goff married, at Elmira, New York, Josephine Hoffman, who was born in the house which was built by Colonel John Hendy, one of the pioneers of Elmira in a day now long gone by. Mrs. Goff is a daughter of Joseph and Phoebe (Higgins) Hoffman, and a granddaughter of William Hoffman, the pioneer of this family in Elmira, the Hoffman family being represented elsewhere in this work. Mr. and Mrs. Goff's only child, Madaline, is the wife of Professor C. Tracy Stagg, and they have a son, Norman Goff Stagg; they reside in Albany, New York.

The death of Gustavus Adolphus Goff, which occurred May 13, 1920, removed from the city of Elmira and from the wholesale tobacco trade a man of rare spirit, of great ability, a man whose life had exemplified the highest type of citizenship, and whose activities had contributed in a large degree to the general prosperity. His splendid success marked him as a man of great achievements, yet he was a home-lover, a loyal friend, and the author of many unheralded benefactions which made life happier for the poor and unfortunate. Well known in many States, and influential in his chosen field of commercial effort, his modest, congenial personality was an inspiration to all who knew him, and he was mourned in every circle in which he was known when the news of his death was spread abroad. It is eminently fitting that the record of his achievements should be perpetuated in these pages, but an even finer tribute to his memory is preserved in the hearts of his many friends.



Lucius Lewellyn Culver

BY HERBERT A. HULL, ST. LOUIS, MO.



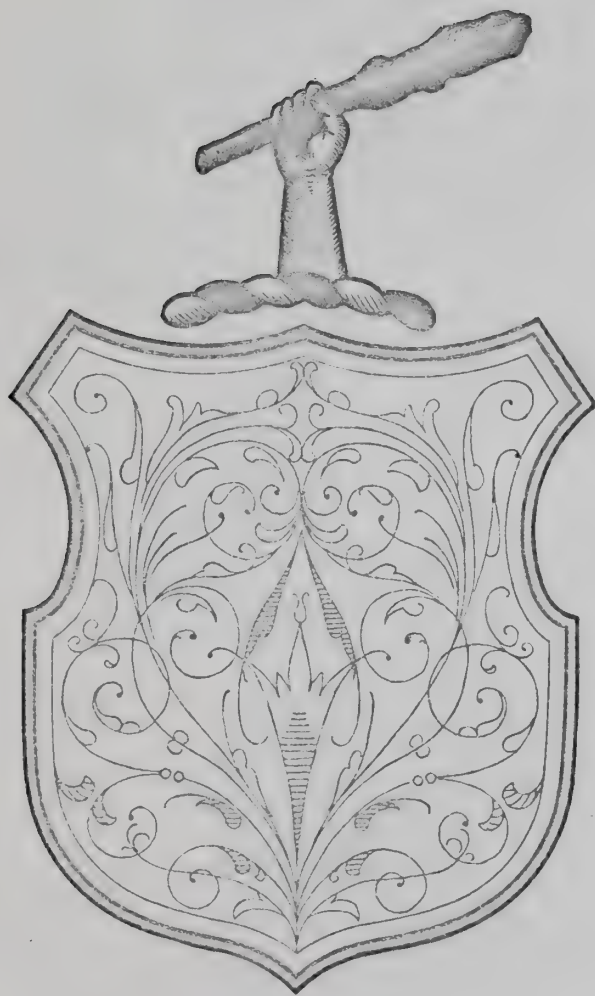
ALTHOUGH at no time a very numerous family, the Culvers or Colvers are readily traced in many of the English shires. The name is found in various forms of spelling, such as Colver, Collver, Coluer, Culver, and Cullver. Several excellent authorities state that the family originated in Saxony and the descendants in England and later in America were of Saxon ancestry. In America the various branches have invariably used one or the other of the two forms, Culver and Colver, both of which are found in the old records applying to the same person. The name is the application as a patronymic of the word "culver," meaning a pigeon or dove.

The name of Culver is inseparably connected with the city of St. Louis, Missouri, through the career of Lucius Lewellyn Culver in industrial and commercial relations, and through the interested and generous activity of Mr. and Mrs. Culver in civic, philanthropic, and charitable enterprises. In the two decades that have passed since his death, Mrs. Culver has continued alone the works that were formerly their joint interests, and with steadfast devotion she has made the alleviation of suffering and the aid of the unfortunate her guiding aim of life.

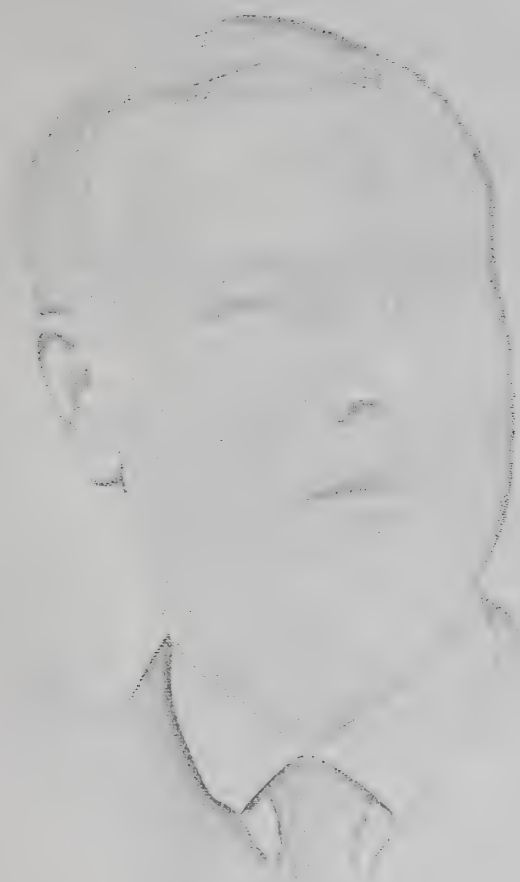
Edward Culver, the founder of the family in America, came from one of the southeastern countries of England to America in 1635 with John Winthrop, the younger, son of John Winthrop, Governor of Massachusetts. An American branch of the family bears the following crest:

Crest—A dexter cubit arm holding in the hand a club proper, underneath the crest an empty shield argent.

Lucius Lewellyn Culver was born in Champaign county, Ohio, March 18, 1839. His early youth and young manhood were uneventful, his education one of fair proportions, and for a few years after his marriage he resided in Illinois, moving to St. Louis about

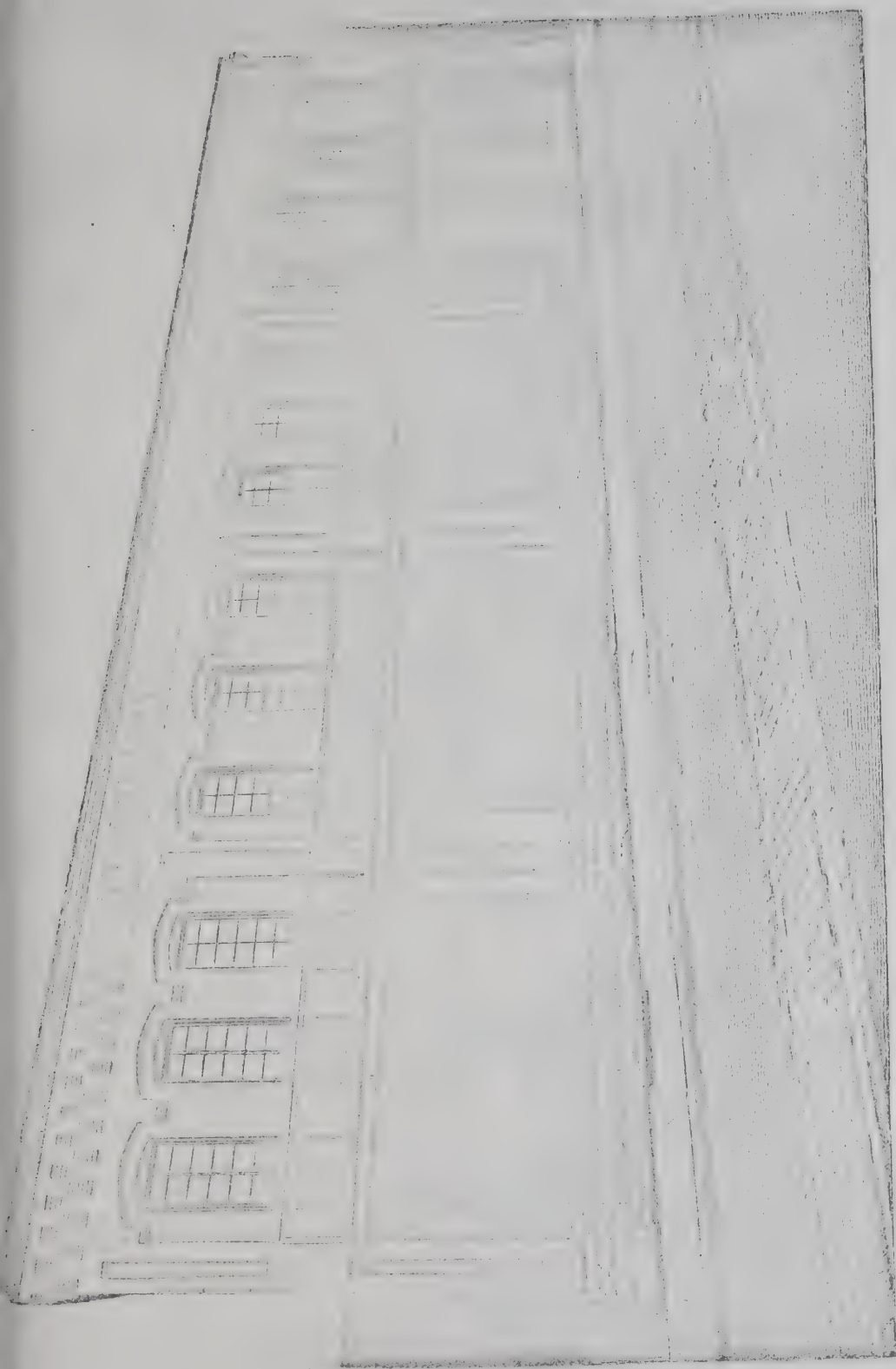


Culver



Lucius L. Culver

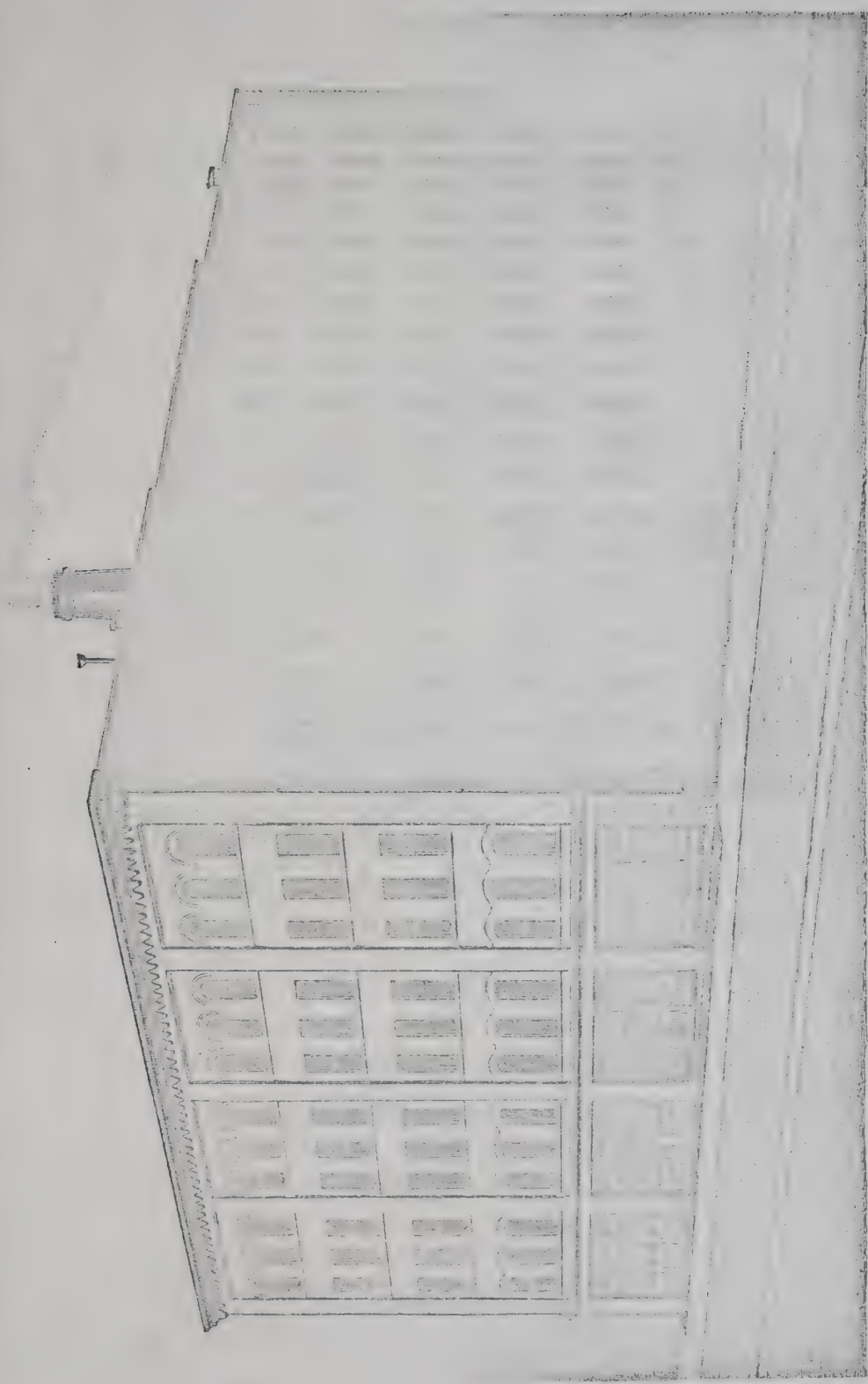
Mary L. Culver



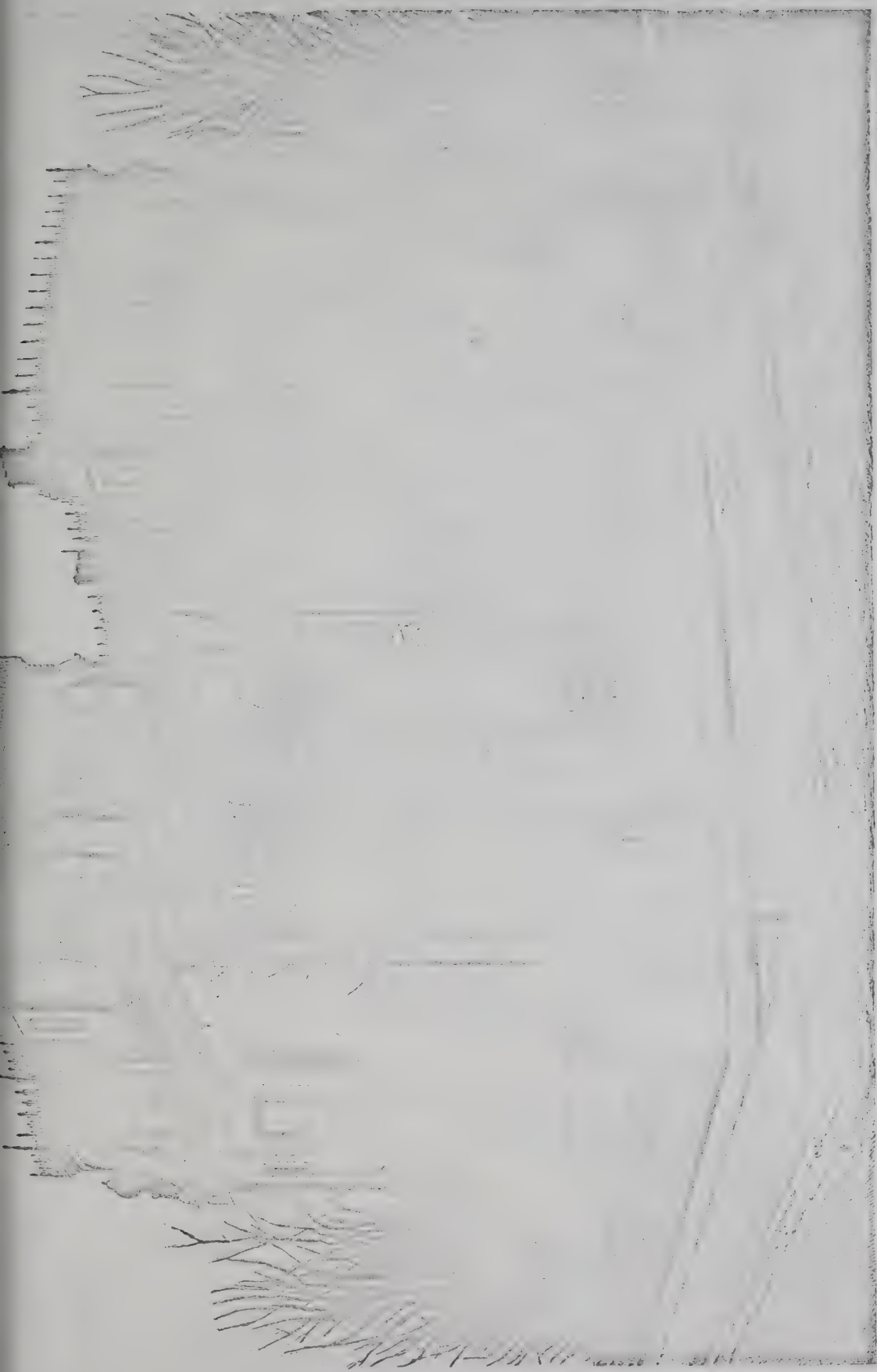
MAJESTIC MANUFACTURING CO.

ST. LOUIS, MO.

ORIGINAL HOME



MAJESTIC MANUFACTURING CO.
ST. LOUIS, MO.
ONE OF PRESENT BUILDINGS



LUCIUS LEWELLYN CULVER

1876. His business career in this city covered less than a quarter of a century, but into that period he put an almost unbelievable amount of energetic labor in industrial connection. About 1881 Mr. Culver became a founder of the Wrought Iron Range Company, of St. Louis, and for a number of years was officially identified with this organization, its prosperity and successful continuance largely due to his clarity of judgment, determination in the attainment of desired ends, and close personal touch with all branches of the concern. After severing his relations with the Wrought Iron Range Company, Mr. Culver did not immediately re-enter the manufacturing field, but in 1890 organized the L. L. Culver Manufacturing Company for the manufacture of furnaces for hot water heating systems. In 1891 the business was reorganized on a larger scale as the Majestic Manufacturing Company, and Mr. Culver became president of this organization, associating with him, in 1892, Messrs. John Fowler and R. H. Stockton. Mr. Stockton was vice-president and Mr. Fowler secretary and treasurer of the company, and the manufacture of Majestic Malleable Iron Ranges was begun. This range embodied original ideas of Mr. Culver and met every domestic requirement.

Mr. Culver was president of the L. L. Culver Manufacturing Company at the time of his death, and in addition to leadership in the determination of the policy of the company, made the active charge of the factory his especial province. In the course of his work he came to the conclusion that he had designed a range immeasurably superior to any then on the market. Notwithstanding the fact that the market for cooking stoves was at that particular time overstocked, and that prudence and conservatism would have dictated delay in introducing this new model, he formulated plans for its manufacture and sale, giving to the stove trade and to the purchasing public the first steel and malleable iron range manufactured. Its outstanding merit won general favor, and a judicious and widespread advertising campaign placed the new range in the lead in national demand. The result was a flood of orders that taxed the capacity of their foundry to the limit. Mr. Culver's associates attributed to his courage and proved judgment, as well as to his inventive genius, this splendid achievement, and credited to him the prosperity that attended the enterprise. He combined the qualities of the capable, industrial manager with those of the far-

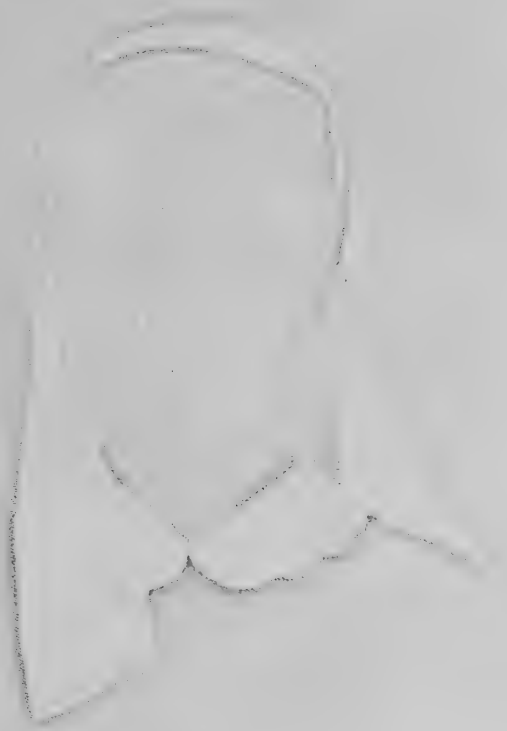
LUCIUS LEWELLYN CULVER

seeing, constructive executive, and in paths of unquestioned honor he led the way to commercial influence and material fortune.

Mr. Culver, close as was his application to the large interests that claimed so much of his time and attention, was ever ready to aid any movements for civic improvement or in any undertaking of progress. He was a dependable factor in the support of any project appealing to the high citizenship of St. Louis residents, and charitable enterprises and philanthropic works knew his generous friendship. One of these was his identification with the founding of the Culver Military Academy. Mr. Culver died in St. Louis, Missouri, February 11, 1899.

Lucius Lewellyn Culver married, in Danville, Illinois, in 1860, Mary E. Comegys, born in Champaign county, Ohio, March 19, 1841, daughter of Cornelius and Ann Bell (Dunlap) Comegys.

Mrs. Culver has continued her residence in St. Louis, where she has long been prominent socially, and where her kindly spirit and sympathetic nature have found expression in the most helpful charitable work of the city. Her life is a long record of constant devotion to her husband during his lifetime, and of watchfulness for opportunities to do good. Most of her kindly acts have been unheralded, performed solely to meet an insistent need and to fulfil the deep convictions of stewardship she so keenly feels. For a long period of years Mrs. Culver has been the loyal friend of the L. L. Culver Union Hospital Association, which is located at Whitlock Place, Crawfordsville, Indiana. The hospital building was dedicated on Thanksgiving Day, November 28, 1892, having been erected at a cost of \$12,000. It was the outgrowth of the work of the Women's Union, an organization performing systematic social service in Crawfordsville, but whose endeavors had been handicapped by lack of finances to support the hearty enthusiasm and self-sacrifice of its members. Mrs. Culver became interested in their work, joined the association as a life member, and, impressed with the vision of their work, made an initial gift of \$10,000 for the building of the hospital, and later added to the fund until her gift totalled \$13,200. The hospital which had previously been known as the Union Hospital, its incorporated title, was renamed the L. L. Culver Union Hospital, in recognition of its benefactress, and as a memorial to her husband. The Blind Girls' Home, of St. Louis, is another of Mrs. Culver's especial interests and the recipient of her

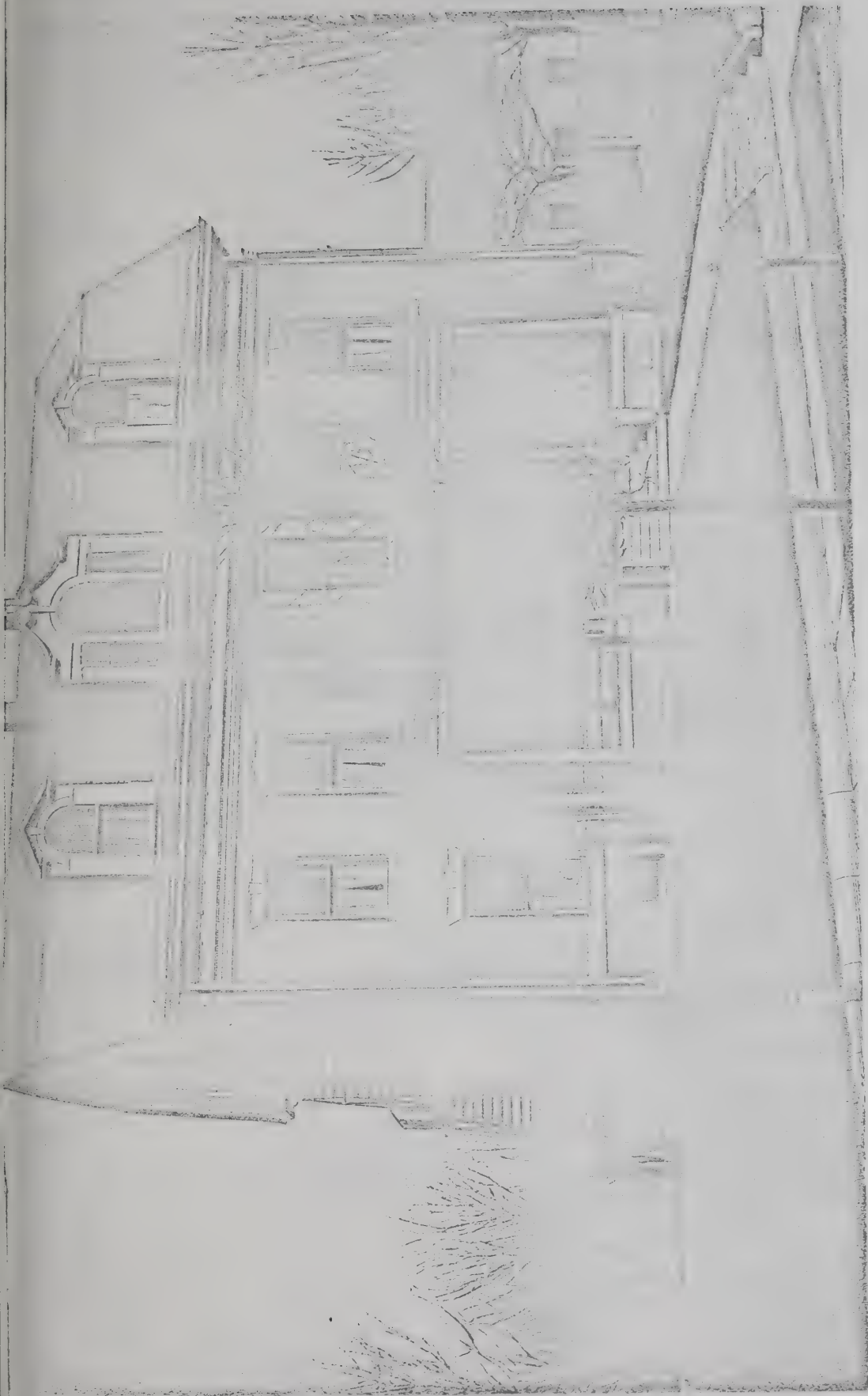


Anna Bell (Dunlap) Comegys



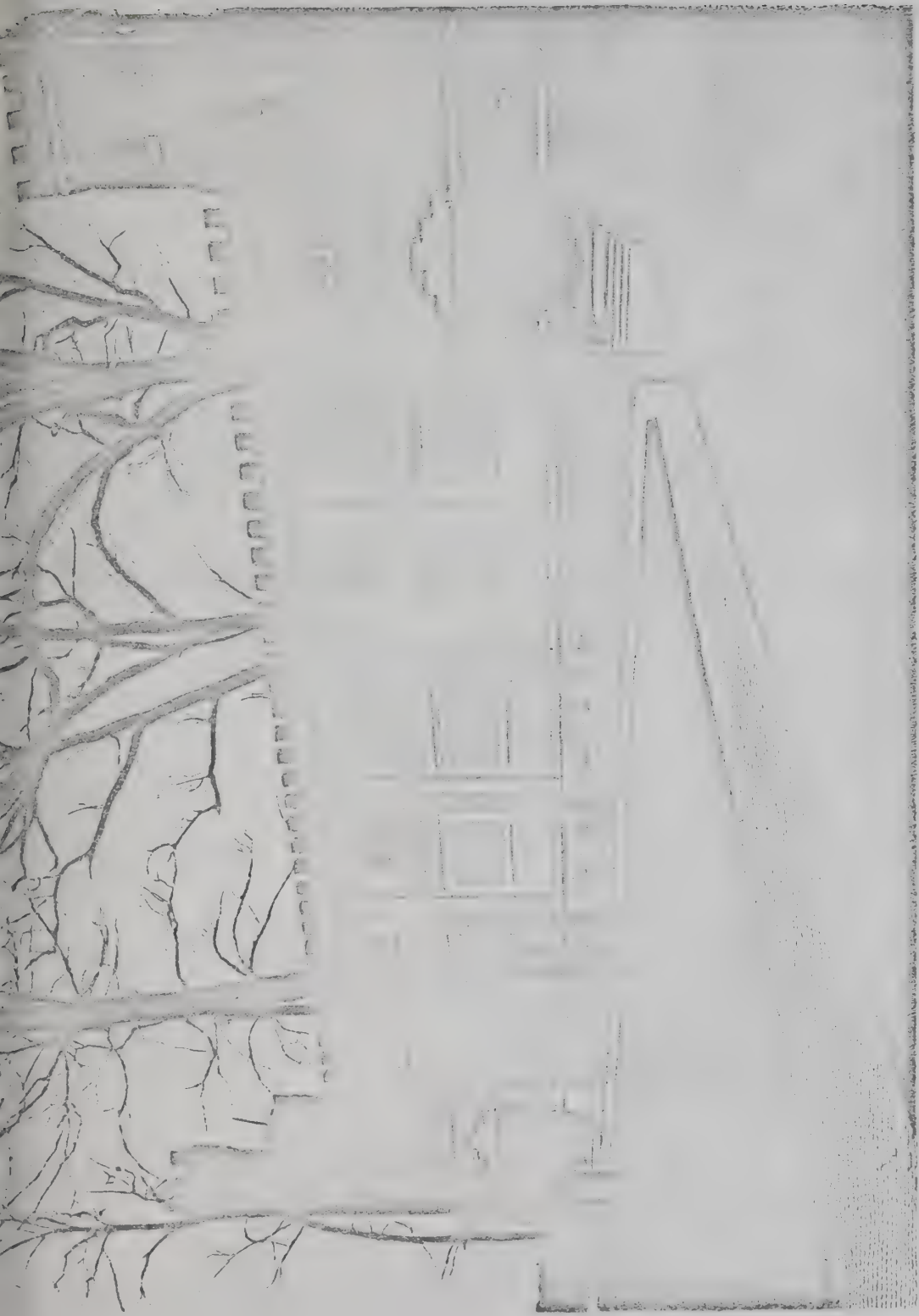
THE BLIND GIRLS' HOME

ST. LOUIS, MO.



CULVER UNION HOSPITAL

CRAWFORDSVILLE, INDIANA



CULVER MILITARY ACADEMY

MESS HALL.

This building is believed to be the most beautiful and complete building of its kind in this country. A magnificent vaulted ceiling covers a clear floor space of 90x150 feet. The walls are wainscotted with green and white marble. The woodwork is of mahogany inlaid with ebony and holly. The floor is laid in small green and white tiles. A large tile-lined kitchen with the most modern equipment, a bakery, preserving room and \$15,000 cold storage plant are included in this building.

LUCIUS LEWELLYN CULVER

liberal aid, while no opportunity to lighten the burden of her fellows, to smooth their paths, or to help them along life's journey is neglected by her. The distinguished service of her husband and the large measure of good she has accomplished with her means and influence have made the name of Culver a blessing to St. Louis. To the St. Louis Children's Hospital at King's Highway, St. Louis, Mrs. Culver has made the gift of a building, known by her name, which has been of great value to the institution, enabling it to extend its work to meet needs and demands that have long been felt.

The Culver Military Academy was founded in 1894 in an endeavor to establish an institution that would be to America what the great English secondary schools are to England. Since the death of the founder, Henry Harrison Culver, the members of the family have invested a great deal of capital in the Culver Military Academy, not for financial profit, but in order that they might build a monument to the founder, in which his dreams would be realized. So generously have they contributed to the needs of the institution that within a comparatively few years there has been erected at Culver a plant unexcelled by any other private school in America, and approximating in completeness the equipment of the national academies. The faculty, in harmony with the spirit of the school, have not been content to follow the beaten paths, but have devoted their earnest efforts to securing the highest degree of class-room efficiency by original study and experiment. They have been aided in this by the wise provision of the trustees, under which eminent university authorities on education are invited to the institution to present to the faculty and to discuss with them advanced methods in teaching.

Culver-Stockton College, founded as a Christian University, owes its existence to a movement in the late forties and fifties of the last century to give a larger place to the Bible and religion in the education of the youth of the Nation. This movement was led by James Shannon, then president of the State University at Columbia, D. Pat Henderson, and others. The location was chosen both because of its natural beauty and suitability for the purposes of an institution of learning, and because of its geographical advantages, as enabling it to serve effectively the educational needs of three states. A charter was granted by the State Legislature in 1853, under which the school has operated in the past and under

LUCIUS LEWELLYN CULVER

which, as amended in 1917, it continues to operate. The corporation suffered severe reverses during the Civil War, when the school was closed for a number of years and the building occupied by the Federal troops. At this time also its endowment was completely swept away.

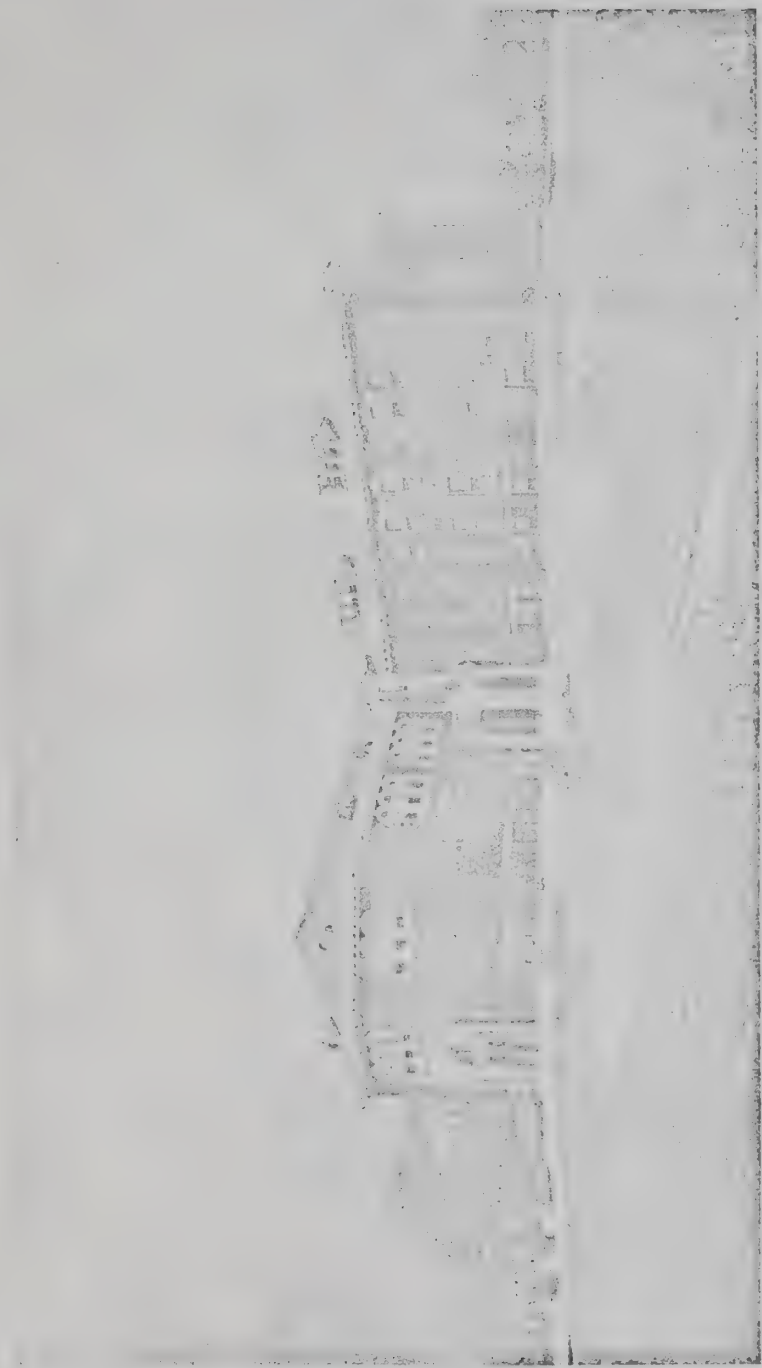
Culver-Stockton College passed through the most trying experience in its history when in 1903 the main building was burned to the ground, and all of its papers and records were completely destroyed. The school at this time would have ceased to be but for the courage and devotion and sacrifice of Dr. Carl Johann, then president of the college. Dr. Johann, in spite of the lukewarmness of many and the opposition of some, raised the money for a new building, and the present main building was erected.

The college building stands in the midst of a Campus of thirty-four acres which occupies the top of a hill west of the town of Canton, more than a hundred feet above the Mississippi river, and commands superb views in all directions—to the North and South and East—the Mississippi valley spread out like a map; to the West, are a series of beautiful well-treed hills across which the sunsets are the most wonderful that are to be seen anywhere on land.

In 1912, under the impetus of the generous benefactions of Mrs. L. L. Culver and Mr. R. H. Stockton, of St. Louis, the school took another great step forward. It was in this year that Mary Culver and Stockton halls, the college residences, and the L. L. Culver gymnasium were erected. These buildings are among the most beautiful and best equipped of their kind in the Middle West.

In 1914 the trustees and faculty of the college began to pay special attention to educational standards. During the summer and autumn of 1915 the educational forces of the school were completely reorganized. Important structural alterations were made in the main building in order to provide room for the new science departments, and thousands of dollars were raised for the equipment of the laboratories. The library was created at this time and thousands of volumes were purchased, and the new reading room with its dignified furnishings and its splendid reference library came into being. Important changes in the faculty and the curriculum were also made. President John H. Wood took office in June, 1917.

At the December, 1914, meeting of the board of trustees of



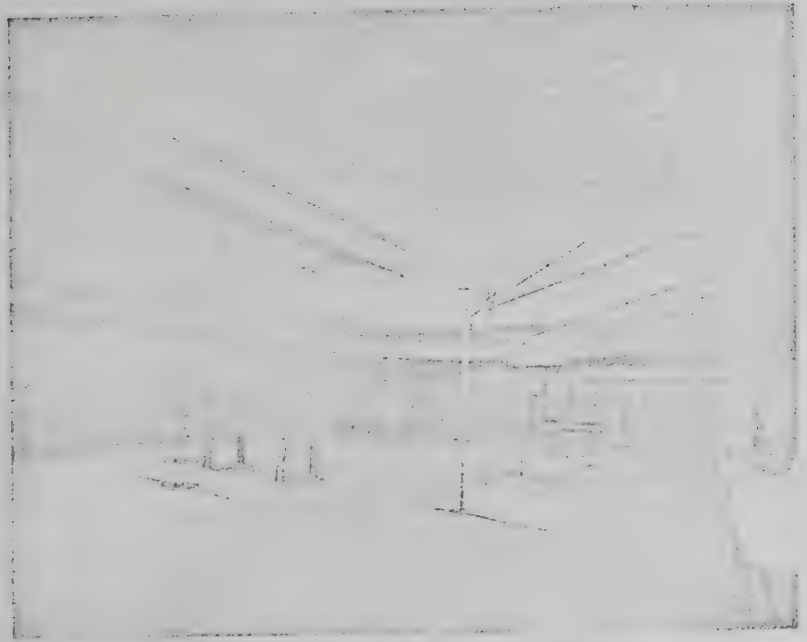
CULVER HALL

L. L. CULVER GYMNASIUM

STOCKTON HALL

These buildings were completed and occupied in October, 1912.

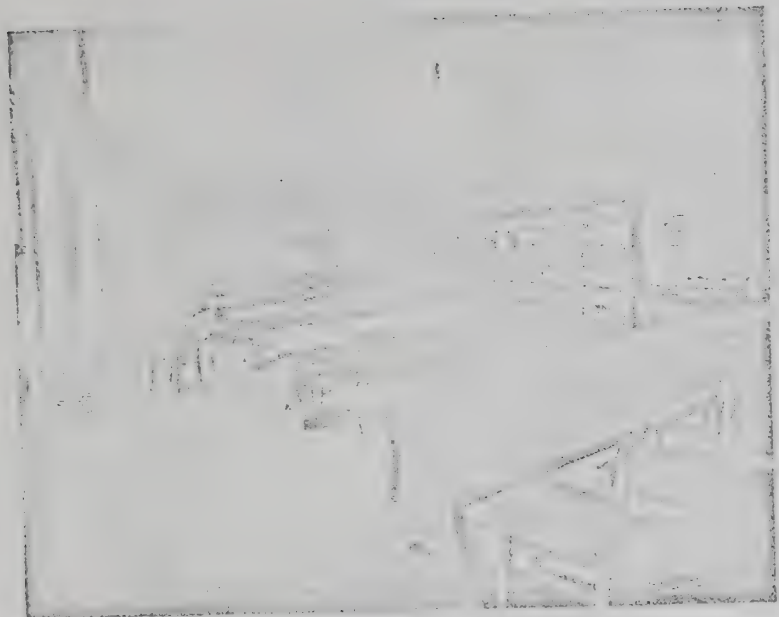




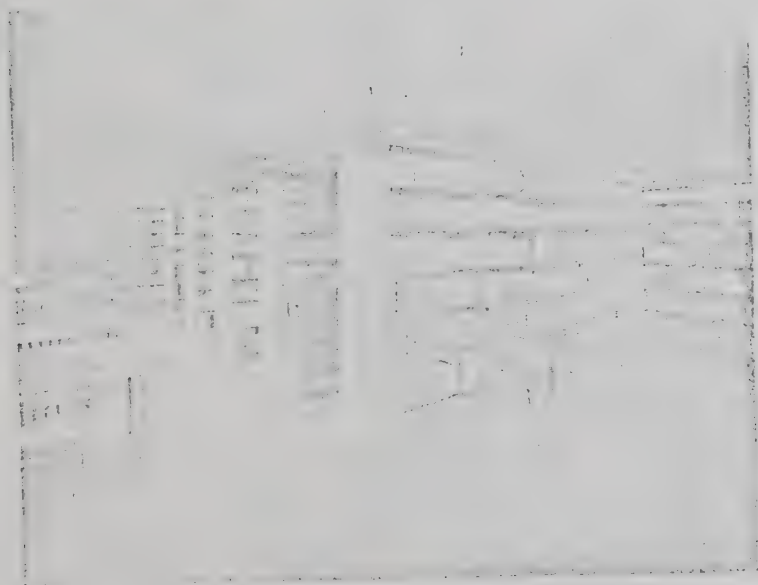
GYMNASIUM



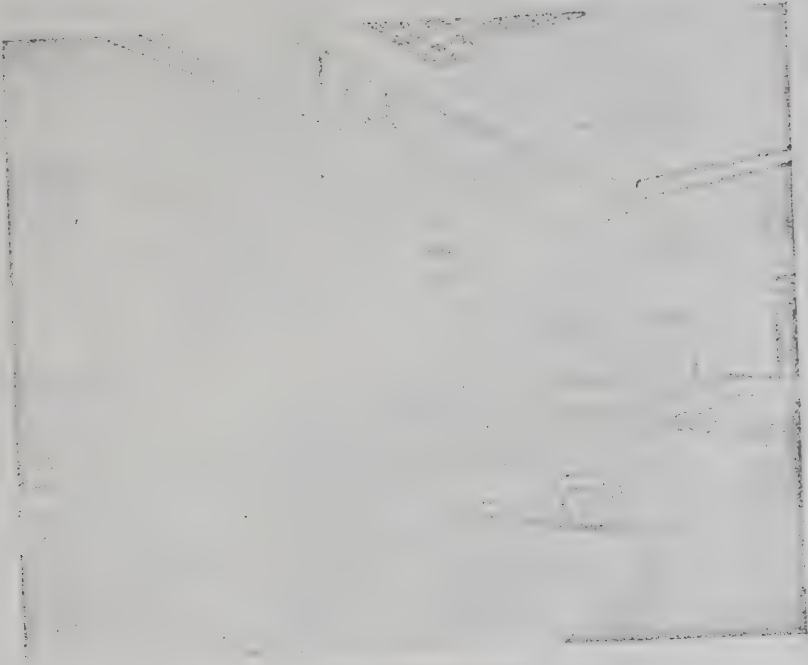
SWIMMING POOL



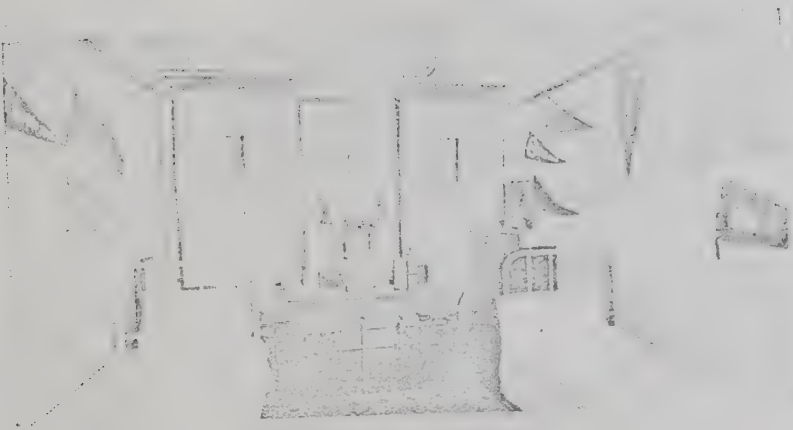
READING ROOM



LIBRARY STACK ROOM



COLLEGE DINING HALL



BEDROOM IN CULVER HALL

LUCIUS LEWELLYN CULVER

Christian University, a resolution was unanimously adopted expressing the sense of the meeting that the names of Mr. R. H. Stockton and Mrs. Mary E. Culver, of St. Louis, should be united in the new name which it was desired to give the institution, as a perpetual memorial of their benefactions to the college, and authorizing the president to confer with Mr. Stockton and Mrs. Culver with a view to securing their consent. Shortly thereafter, a copy of this resolution was conveyed personally to Mr. Stockton and Mrs. Culver by President Todd and President Emeritus Johann.

At a meeting of the executive committee, held February 15, 1917, a resolution was adopted approving the title, "Culver-Stockton College," as the new name of the corporation, and authorizing the president of the board to promote a bill in the State Legislature to amend the charter of the institution, giving effect to this change. On February 19, 1917, a bill entitled "An act to amend an act entitled 'An act to incorporate Christian University,' approved January 28, 1853, by changing the name from 'Christian University' to 'Culver-Stockton College'" was introduced in the House by Mr. Caldwell. On March 13, 1917, this bill was passed by the House, and four days later, on March 17, was ratified by the Senate and became law. The new name came into use on and after June 16, 1917.



Editorial

Rarely are the communications and contributions received by this magazine from abroad of such nature that they can appear in its pages without doing violence to the purposes for which it was founded or without wide deviation from the policy that long has governed it—the preservation of significant historical writings and records and the dissemination of the results of the historical labors of individuals and institutions. In this number appears one of the pleasing exceptions to this general statement, the article, “The Missing Howe Order Books, 1776-1777,” by Major M. V. Hay, of Seaton, Aberdeen, Scotland, who has dealt with a subject of absorbing interest to students of American history in a manner and from a viewpoint that constitute a decided departure from the usual style of “Americana’s” pages. The numbers of the magazine as a rule bear the results of the research, study, and literary talent of specialists in the various phases of American history, but this number welcomes a friend from beyond the sea, a friend who was an ally in military service during the World War. His article will be read with interest for its content and engaging manner of presentation, and if his lack of familiarity with the Van Cortlandts’ stand in the Revolutionary crisis seems to be cause for question of his eligibility for participation in such a historical discussion, it will be instructive to attempt to classify from memory the leading houses of one of the European countries in the political upheavals that resulted in the present systems of government.

There is a circumstance of decided human interest in the concern of a veteran of one war with the side-lights bearing upon another conflict of a century and a half before, and in order to define this circumstance as clearly as possible Major Hay was addressed with a request for biographical information with which to preface his work. The following is quoted from his reply, and in its closing sentences knits even closer the ties of military experience which, so far as this magazine is concerned, have their source in the missing Howe Order Books:

"My life was uneventful, and would not be of interest to anyone, until 1914. When war was declared I, being on list of Special Reserve of Officers (having served in Militia), was attached at once to the First Battalion, The Gordon Highlanders, and went to France with the Battalion as part of the Expeditionary Force, the first part, which sailed from Portsmouth on the 13th of August, 1914. My subsequent adventures are detailed in the book which I am sending you, published by Blackwoods, with the title 'Wounded and a Prisoner of War.' As set forth in this book I was knocked out during the retreat, recovered by a miracle from a machine gun bullet through the head, was prisoner of the enemy, and was sent home direct to England in February, 1915, as a case with only a month's life. In 1915, December, I had so far recovered as to get a job at the War Office where I was in charge of the Cryptographic Section of the Intelligence Department. In the course of my work I met several American officers and twice visited American G. H. Q. in France, where I was treated with a kindness I cannot forget. I am especially grateful to my 'opposite number' at Chaumont, Major Moorman, who, realizing the physical difficulties from which I suffered, did everything he could to make my work easy. . . .

"From the windows of a Club in Piccadilly I saw the first American contingent marching through the streets of London in 1917. Shortly afterwards I motored through France on my first visit to Chaumont and heard the little French boys by the roadside shout as we passed 'Americain! Americain!' and from my position in the Intelligence Department I knew more than most how badly American help was wanted. In Paris a highly placed French Intelligence Officer told me that it was impossible for an American army of any size to get across the Atlantic in time. I said that the Americans liked big contracts and would see the thing through. . . .

"It is strange how one war is linked with another. My grandfather, Lieutenant Lord James Hay, served with Wellington through the Peninsula War and was A D C to Wellington at Waterloo. He retired victoriously on Paris along the same route as we retreated in 1914. I have letters addressed to him at Cambrai, where he was Colonel of the 1st Grenadier Guards, the town where I spent many months in 1914 as a hospital prisoner."

It is the intention of the editor to review, in an approaching number of "Americana," Major Hay's book, referred to in his letter, which was forwarded with an inscription couched in phrase of courteous *camaraderie* to "a comrade of the War 1914-1918." For the present, these paragraphs must serve as an introduction to our readers.

The eventual disposition of the Howe Order Books is a matter

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concerning which we have no information. It is probable that Major Hay would entertain proposals from American institutions or individuals whose collections would make a suitable setting for his interesting and important find. However they may be preserved, the outstanding fact is that they have been recovered and that the past has yielded up another of its closely guarded secrets.

ANNUAL INDEX

"An index is the bag and baggage of a book. . . ."
—FULLER.

The preparation of the index for binding with the four numbers of "Americana" for 1923 has just been completed and will doubtless have reached subscribers before this number comes to hand. It covers completely the text and illustrations of Volume XVII and provides a key to much information that could otherwise be located only by a number-to-number search. A most cordial welcome has been accorded previous annual indexes to "Americana" and we have no doubt but that the present guide will be generously approved.

IN MEMORIAM

Six years ago, when "Americana" came under its present ownership, the name of John P. Downs first appeared as a member of its staff. In this number, for the first time, it is absent from the place it has occupied since 1918, even as for the past few weeks he has been away from the chair and desk where he was a familiar and beloved figure. This is not to be a formal obituary; it is the voicing, in a few words of heartfelt appreciation, of an affection that grew and strengthened as the experiences of every day life revealed the beauty of his spirit, the breadth of his sympathy, the genuineness of his friendship. Life as lived by John P. Downs in his home and in his work takes on a new significance and becomes a veritable preparation for a higher life beyond. We seize joyfully upon the words of James Whitcomb Riley,

"Think of him still as the same, I say:
He is not dead—he is just away."

EDITORIAL

For the third time within two months death visited the official staff of this magazine, and this time it was to call Frank R. Holmes from his duties as circulation manager. The last of what might well have been considered the "Old Guard" of the staff,—Captain F. Y. Hedley and John P. Downs, the other members—he had been shocked by their passing, and his attitude reflected his conviction that one would not long carry on where three had labored. Until a few months before his death, age (he was seventy) had dealt kindly with him, and a large frame and strong physique had enabled him to continue in a course of remarkable activity. His only apparent ailment was deafness and this he regretted exceedingly, while it caused him, unconsciously, to withdraw to the shelter of a gruffness which repelled advances he often misunderstood. The appeal of his personality was not generally felt, but the testimony of a relative is that he was the soul of generosity and consideration, a veritable prince among good men, who performed his kindly deeds without thought of recompense or the personal sacrifices involved.





MAJOR GENERAL GOUVERNEUR KEMBLE WARREN
(From the Chartran portrait in Cullum Hall, U. S. Military Academy,
West Point)

AMERICANA

JULY, 1924

A Great American General and His Unjustifiable Humiliation

CHARLES A. INGRAHAM, CAMBRIDGE, NEW YORK



HE object in bringing forward the biography of General Gouverneur Kemble Warren is not alone for the purpose of displaying his merits, but of vindicating him from what his friends believe to have been a gross and unwarranted injury to his military reputation. His record as an engineer and soldier needs no encomium, but to intelligently exhibit his defense, it is necessary to briefly review his life. The excellent paper by Mr. Aurestus S. Perham, which appeared in the July, 1923, issue of "The Quarterly Journal," of the New York State Historical Association, is a complete justification of General Warren; this present article is supplemental, viewing the subject from different standpoints, but arriving at the same conclusion. The writer acknowledges the aid which the paper referred to has afforded him.

Fifty-nine years have elapsed since was fought the battle of Five Forks, the last real engagement of the Civil War, when, having led the final desperate charge which put the enemy to flight, General Gouverneur K. Warren received an order summarily removing him from his command of the 5th Corps. He had fought with the Army of the Potomac throughout the war and had risen without political aid and by sheer merit of ability and bravery from the position of Lieutenant-Colonel to the command of a corps. His record is that of the most distinguished corps commander of that army, one of the greatest military geniuses the country has produced; yet, in the closing days of the war, when he, more than any other, had contributed to the making of the honor and fame of the commanding general, he was degraded on the field of the battle which he, at the head of his corps, had been chiefly instrumental in winning. This

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unmerited and cruel treatment was never forgotten—the memory of it remained and rankled as a poisoned arrow in the proud and sensitive heart of Warren, and is believed to have hastened his death. It is the main purpose of this paper to call wider attention to a terrible wrong which was perpetrated upon the fair fame of a great and chivalrous officer, trusting that after the lapse of many years the reader will be ready to vindicate his memory.

At the beginning of the Civil War, Warren was assistant professor of mathematics at the United States Military Academy of West Point, from which institution he had been graduated in 1850 with high honor. His birth-place and home was Cold Spring, New York, a village located a few miles north of West Point, and on the opposite or east side of the Hudson; from childhood he had been a visitor to the historic and romantic grounds of the Academy, had witnessed the marvelous drills of the cadets, and all his life had listened to the thunder of the guns as it reverberated through the highlands each dawn and eventide. He was not of a physical frame or stamp of mind generally considered desirable for a soldier, for he was somewhat diminutive in size and given to scholarly pursuits. Following his graduation, however, he developed bodily strength and activity in the capacity of a government engineer, employed on the Mississippi, and in the West, in which rude life he received preparation for the arduous experience of exposure and danger which he endured throughout the war with the Army of the Potomac. During a period of nine years he was engaged in this occupation, much of the time being spent in the lands of hostile Indians. He surveyed the delta of the Mississippi, made the first exploration of the Black Hills, and through his able scientific reports and accurate maps performed a much-needed public service in facilitating the opening of the West to settlement and the routing of transcontinental railroads.

Two incidents of these frontier experiences will exhibit the ability, courage, and character of General Warren: While serving in 1855 as engineer under General Harney, while that officer was leading an expedition against the Sioux, he had been detailed to visit Fort Pierre, on the Missouri River. Finding that he had not sufficient time to return by water to the army before the date fixed for the beginning of the march, he collected a few hardy men and boldly struck out overland direct, and through the enemy's

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unexplored country, reaching his destination in safety. Attempts to dissuade him had failed; characteristically, he had carefully considered the chances that the Indians would be at that season of the year in their villages securing the harvest of sweet corn, and that by observing proper caution the trip of three hundred miles, occupying fourteen days, could be successfully made. Midst the haste and anxiety of the journey, Warren found time to chart a map of the route and country traversed. During the Civil War, Henry B. Whipple, D. D., Bishop of Minnesota, visited Washington for the purpose of securing for the Sioux a more desirable reservation, but met with no encouragement from the government. Learning that General Warren had explored the lands, he sought him at his headquarters and inquired as to his opinion of the location in question, where Dr. Whipple claimed the Indians were disadvantageously located. The Bishop informed the General that his reply might be of a kind which would involve him in illfavor with certain Washington politicians, but he was assured that that would have no influence on what he would say. He then made in writing a truthful statement concerning the lands, confirming the description of the Bishop, and this influential assistance enabled Dr. Whipple to carry his plan to success, though General Warren brought upon himself the enmity of which he had been warned. The excellent record made by him during his service as an engineer in the West, together with his high standing as a student at the Military Academy, led in 1859 to his being ordered to that institution to serve as assistant professor of mathematics.

At the beginning of the Civil War in 1861, Warren secured his release from professional duties at West Point and went into active service as lieutenant-colonel of the 5th New York Volunteers. He participated with his regiment in the battle of Big Bethel, June 10, 1861, and here at the outset of his experience in the war he manifested the loyalty and courage that characterized his service throughout. After the Union troops had been driven back, he returned to the battlefield and carried the body of Lieutenant John T. Greble into our lines. This brave and worthy act was performed in sight of the Confederates and at imminent danger. Lieutenant Greble in this unfortunate engagement had commanded with skill and bravery a small battery of three guns. He was a graduate of West Point, and, having been a citizen of Philadelphia, his body

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was honored by lying in state in Independence Hall. In this action also fell Major Theodore Winthrop, a young man of considerable literary ability, of whom his biographer says: "In the flush of his manhood he fell with his face to the enemy, a beautiful young leader." Altogether this Union defeat, though of small numerical importance, intensified the bitterness and excitement prevalent in the North since the fall, a few weeks earlier, of Fort Sumter. In the month of August following, Warren was promoted to the colonelcy of his regiment, which was ordered to Baltimore, and here the command was employed for several months in constructing fortifications on Federal Hill. At the beginning of the Peninsula Campaign Colonel Warren was given the command of the 3rd Brigade, Syke's Division, 5th Corps, and in September, 1862, was appointed Brigadier General of Volunteers, in recognition of his brilliant service at the battle of Gaines's Mill. On June 8, 1863, he received the appointment of Chief of Topographical Engineers on the staff of General Hooker, and served in such capacity in the Chancellorsville campaign.

These, and General Warren's future promotions, were all absolutely earned and had in them no taint of political favoritism, which so degraded and hampered the Union military service during the war. He had shown himself not only technically of rare efficiency, but had exhibited unexampled quickness of perception in emergencies under fire, and a splendid courage and gallantry in personally leading his men in battle. He seemed indifferent to danger. He was admired, beloved and trusted by the officers and men associated with him; all had confidence in his military sagacity and judgment, his fearless spirit to lead where shot and shell flew thickest. His experience had been wide though brief; he had served with brilliancy in all the terrible battles of the Peninsula Campaign, and in the engagements of Manassas, Antietam, Fredericksburg and Chancellorsville.

But General Warren was not, as might easily be imagined, a man of strife, glorying in all these rude and sanguinary scenes, but one whose fine culture and humanitarian instincts revolted against the noise, confusion and tragedy of war. For he was a kindly man, of scholarly tastes,—one who fought as a patriot for noble and ideal purposes on the side of high truth; he exemplified the loftiest traditions of the Medieval knight. And now, following the battle of

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Chancellorsville and in the lull of the storm of war preceding the Gettysburg campaign, our soldier, turning from the armed camp and shot-torn battlefields, delights himself for a brief season in the fragrant bowers of love. Obtaining a few days leave of absence, he proceeded to Baltimore, and on June 17, 1863, was married to Emily F. Chase, of that city. On the 20th he again assumed his duties with the army. This union, consummated in so strenuous a manner and under such unpropitious circumstances, proved a most happy one, and to this good wife he resorted as to a booth of peace and citadel of strength through the years of grief and humiliation which he unjustly was called upon to experience. She is still living (1924), and it is pleasant to reflect that though her valiant husband is not here to observe the efforts of those who would praise his service and vindicate his memory, that she who was nearest and dearest to him may know that his star is rising.

At Gettysburg, serving on the staff of General Mead as Chief Engineer, Warren at his own request was sent during the second day's battle, July 2, 1863, to the extreme Union left to observe the conditions which existed in that part of the field. Little Round Top, a rocky hill at the left extremity of our line, he found to be unoccupied except as a signal station; ascending it he saw in the fields to the southwest that the Confederates were moving on our flank with the evident purpose of taking this vantage point. General Warren realized at a glance the design of the enemy, which was to gain this hill, plant batteries there and enfilade the main front of our army. Rushing down he requisitioned, with his authority as a staff officer, a portion of the troops which were hurrying to the support of General Sickles. This force, together with a battery which with horses and men was quickly hauled up the steep ascent, met the enemy swarming up from the south, and after a desperate fight were able to hold the ground. It was Warren's vigilance and promptness alone which saved this important position. A fine bronze statue of the hero of this famous hill stands on Little Round Top, where Warren is depicted gazing to the southwest, as when he detected the approach of the enemy. Set in the native rock beneath the figure and on the west front is a bronze tablet with the following inscription:

Led to this spot by his military sagacity on July 2, 1863, General Gouverneur Kemble Warren, the Chief Engineer of the Army of the

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Potomac, detected General Hood's flanking movement, and by promptly assuming the responsibility of ordering troops to this place, saved the key of the Union position.

Promoted for gallant services from the command of a regiment in 1861, through successive grades to the Command of the 2d Army Corps in 1863, and permanently to that of the 5th Army Corps in 1864.

Major General Warren needs no eulogy. His name is enshrined in the hearts of his countrymen.

This statue is erected under the auspices of the veteran organization of his old regiment, the 5th New York Vols., Duryee Zouaves, in memory of their beloved commander.

Dedicated August 8, 1888.

Promotions seem ever to have been waiting to honor Warren; on the 8th of August, 1863, following but a few weeks the battle of Gettysburg, he was appointed Major General of Volunteers, as an acknowledgment of his services under General Sedgwick in charging Marye's Heights and in the battle of Salem Church. These engagements occurred on May 3d of the same year, in an attempt of Sedgwick to reinforce Hooker at Chancellorsville. Three days after this promotion he was placed in temporary command of the 2d Corps, being but thirty-three years of age. On the 15th of October, Warren again distinguished himself at Bristow Station when, being separated from the main army, he with his corps defeated a larger body of troops under General Hill, eluded a still more formidable force commanded by General Ewell and captured six guns and 450 prisoners. During the twenty-four hours in which these operations occurred, his troops marched more than twenty-five miles, yet General Grant in his "Memoirs" says that Warren was not qualified to direct other than "a small command." His magnificent record as commander of the 5th Corps, together with his previous efficient handling of the 2d Corps, renders this statement untenable. Unmindful of personal danger, courageous to a fault, he yet would not expose his troops to unnecessary loss or send them on a hopeless attack. Thus, at Mine Run, on November 29, 1863, with 26,000 men under him, he was directed by General Mead to charge Lee's position on the following morning; but with the coming of the dawn, Warren, observing that the enemy had been reinforced and his works strengthened during the night, did not order his command to advance to what he considered inevitable repulse

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and slaughter. General Mead, when he had again viewed the ground, approved of the decision, but Warren had risked removal for trusting in the validity of his own judgment.

On the 19th of March, 1864, General Grant was commissioned Lieutenant-General and given command of all the armies of the United States. The Army of the Potomac was now reorganized into four corps, Hancock commanding the 2d; Warren, the 5th; Sedgwick, the 6th; and Burnside, the 9th. Grant made his headquarters with the Army of the Potomac, Mead being nominally in command, but taking all important orders from his superior. With a force of 140,000 men, the movement against Richmond began in May, Grant hurling his troops with terrible losses upon the fortified positions of the Confederates as they slowly retired towards their capital. Petersburg, twenty-five miles south of Richmond, was reached about the middle of June, and after the loss there of about 10,000 men, the Federal army secured and fortified the strategic positions south of the town. Here the railroads and turnpikes centered, the control of which would greatly embarrass the capital. Throughout the operations and battles of this campaign Warren was highly efficient, and at Petersburg he particularly distinguished himself in his seizure and holding of the Weldon Railroad. In the capacity of an engineer he laid out a considerable part of the fortifications at Petersburg.

With the resumption in the spring of 1865 of active operations in the field, General Warren's corps was a part of the troops which moved to the attack of the Confederate line west of Petersburg, and on the 1st of April played the most prominent part in the Union victory at Five Forks. Here his corps flanked and rolled up the Confederate line and in person General Warren, carrying aloft his headquarters colors, led the troops successfully against the last desperate stand of the enemy. This magnificent charge really ended the Civil War; the Confederates fled from the field, their works at Petersburg were taken with little difficulty, Richmond was quickly evacuated and the war was practically over. But Warren, who had ably and heroically fought through the Rebellion, was degraded from his command on the very field of the battle which, more than any other man, he had helped to win!

The principal charge preferred against him was that he had been lacking in promptitude in bringing his corps into action, a

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criticism which was refuted by the Court of Inquiry which, after many years, General Warren succeeded in having instituted. On this day the 5th Corps, by order of General Grant, had been temporarily under the control of General Sheridan, who had been told by the former to remove General Warren, if he considered such a course desirable. This campaign, aimed at the Confederate right wing, had been anything but complimentary to Grant and Sheridan—there was a lamentable lack of plan and coördination in the movements and engagements against Five Forks, and they had been outgeneraled and driven back by Lee with an inferior force. Warren, having been removed, naturally became a scapegoat for the bungling generalship of his superiors; the war being near its end, he could no longer contribute to their fame, and the injustice of his humiliation would be swallowed up and forgotten in the victorious rush of future events. When General Warren, at the close of the battle first learned of his removal, he went to Sheridan and expressed a hope that he would reconsider his action, and was told with an oath, "I don't reconsider my determination!" He then reported to Grant, who remarked, "I expected this." He discouraged Warren in his attempts to get his case before a Court of Inquiry, and it is significant that while he was serving his two terms as President these efforts were foiled. But in 1879, two years after Grant's last term expired, the long-sought privilege of a fair inquiry was granted, and Warren was vindicated. Grant, however, held his prejudice against him to the last, in proof of which we read in Nicolay and Hay: "Grant was always implacable towards him. Even on his death bed when he forgave all his enemies and sent forth that touching appeal for human kindness, not only to his friends but to those who had not hitherto been his friends, he kept his feeling of keen dislike for Warren, then sleeping in his honored grave, and wrote it down for future ages in his 'Memoirs.' "

It is interesting to consider whether General Sheridan, when in 1867 he was removed by President Johnson from his command in Louisiana and Texas, and General Hancock appointed in his place, remembered the part he had played in the unwarranted humiliation of Warren; and we wonder if General Grant, when many years later he had been duped by a Wall street adventurer and brought down to the disgrace of bankruptcy, reverted to Warren, the splendid soldier whom he had so ungenerously treated.



STATUE OF GENERAL WARREN AT GETTYSBURG

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At the time of General Warren's removal, he was the most popular officer in the Army of the Potomac, universally admired and trusted; not only the leading commanders of his own corps disapproved of the high-handed act—General Griffin, one of Warren's division staffs, and by whom he was superseded, was of this number—but other officers who were in the battle of Five Forks, together with all who have made a careful study of it, are unanimous in their opinion that the treatment of Warren was wholly unjustifiable. Says General A. S. Webb, Chief of Staff of the Army of the Potomac: "It is not an error to claim for General Warren the saving of General Sheridan's reputation at Five Forks. To me at the hour of its occurrence it was astounding and unmerited, this summary degradation of Warren." Many similar citations from prominent officers might be introduced, and as testimonials of the honor in which the memory of Warren is held by those in a position to know his worth, it is recorded that when his Gettysburg statue was being made ready, that Cold Spring, his birth-place, petitioned for it, that West Point, where he received his military education, coveted the honor, and that Newport, his burial-city, claimed the distinction for itself.

In private life General Warren, though by nature a soldier, was a man of studious habits and scholarly tastes; whatever he had in hand he applied himself to with enthusiasm and diligence. The rude experiences of war had not deadened his sensibilities, but chastened them, so that he was ever manifesting tender sentiments of love and sympathy. He was of a nervous, high-strung, sensitive disposition, upon whom reproach brought agony of soul and a wound that refused to heal. He brooded on the manner in which he had been maligned, and though for many years after the war, till his death in 1882, he ably performed his duties as a government engineer, engaged in prominent works, this mental cancer was ever eating into his soul, and finally brought him to the grave. The bitterness of his grief may be appreciated from his dying request that no martial ceremonies should be observed at his funeral—that he should be buried without uniform or any of the emblems of the soldier. He felt that a stigma had been branded upon him as a military man, and he would not exhibit his insignia except they were without spot or blemish.

The Whisky Insurrection

BY CHARLES A. SHRINER, PATERSON, NEW JERSEY



SHOULD an attempt be made to suppress these people, I am afraid the question will not be whether you will march to Pittsburg but whether they will march to Philadelphia, accumulating in their course and swelling over the banks of the Susquehanna like a torrent, irresistible and devouring in its progress.—HUGH H. BRACKENRIDGE.

The insurrection in the western counties of this State will be represented differently, according to the wishes of some and the prejudices of others, who may exhibit it as an evidence of what has been predicted, "that we are unable to govern ourselves." Under this view of the subject I am happy in giving it to you as the general opinion, that this event, having happened at the time it did, was fortunate, although it will be attended with considerable expense.—WASHINGTON.

If prohibition had been made a part of the constitution of the United States in 1787, instead of becoming a patch in 1918, a great deal of trouble would have been averted. But the idea of throttling the liquor trade, or even attempting to reduce the consumption of intoxicants, found no place in the thoughts of the people in the early days of the republic. What they wanted was free whisky and plenty of it. And so it came to pass, when lawmakers had looked to the still for revenue, that Washington saw himself induced to change his role from an inciter to rebellion to a suppressor of it.

When lawmakers, in 1756, provided that a duty should be paid on imported spirits, they deemed it prudent to feel their way by an amendment to the effect that the law should be operative only for a limited time. That the people approved of the liberal spirit of the amendment is evident from the fact that they rendered the whole law practically null and void immediately upon its enactment. In 1772 this tax was revived and extended to home products, but it was distinctly provided that the law should not apply to distilled spirits intended for consumption by the owner and his family. When a farmer was seen leaving his barn with a wagon loaded with bags

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it was not known to a casual observer whether these bags were intended for the grist mill or the still. In March, 1779, a law, then considered drastic in its provisions, was enacted, limiting the exemption of taxes to rum distilled from molasses. That the clamor of the people bore weight is evident from the fact that in October of the same year the law was changed so that liquor distilled from rye or barley was placed in the exempt class. Congress in 1780 agreed to make an allowance to the soldiers of the Revolution for the depreciation in the currency they had received for their services and distributed this burden among the States. Pennsylvania disposed of a large part of the real estate owned by the State, property confiscated during and after the Revolution, but the supply of cash from this source did not prove sufficient for the purpose. The officers of the military, not finding any other means available, insisted upon an excise on liquor. There was no opposition to the enactment of the law, but when it came to an enforcement of its provisions, a different story was told. Some collections were made for a short time in some of the western counties of the State, but after this the enforcement of the law in all parts of the State was like the enforcement of a similar law in New Jersey, that is, all theory and no practice. There were loud voices against the law and, if any of these voices were louder than the others, they came from the Scotch-Irish who had unpleasant recollections of the excise in their former homes.

As a matter of fact, the people seemed to think that the liberty they had fought for and secured was sufficiently broad to include liberty to make and drink whisky without any interference. A man who suggested that an excise might be collected, even as an emergency measure, was looked upon as imbued with heterodox and Tory principles. In April, 1789, Madison said in Congress:

An excise would be received with indignation in some parts of the Union and it is not for the government to disgust any of its citizens if it can be avoided.

The first project for an excise was defeated following angry remonstrances from Pennsylvania and other States.

A person searching through the archives of the day would with difficulty find localities where the excise principle was popular, or even tolerated. When it comes to the opposite, there is indeed wealth of material, and nowhere is the wealth greater than in the

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western counties of Pennsylvania. In 1780 salt sold for five dollars a bushel, and iron and steel brought fifteen to twenty cents a pound. The principal immediate consumption of grain was when it had been ground and served as feed for cattle. A horse which would have staggered under a load of four bushels of grain along the roads over the mountains, would have found traveling less arduous if its load consisted of the equivalent in whisky of twenty-four bushels of grain. There was always a market for whisky in Philadelphia and Baltimore and in the settlements along the Ohio River. It is true that currency was almost as scarce there as it was at home, but the markets which could be reached were always ready to barter salt, sugar, iron, and other necessities of life for the product of the still. The people of Pennsylvania had come to regard the tax on whisky pretty much as some other liberty-loving people had regarded the tax on tea some years previous, and they were equally ready to give more than a voice to their opinion.

Even during the temporary attempt to collect an excise for the benefit of the currency in the wallets of the soldiers, Pennsylvania had not only spoken; it had acted. In 1783 a man named Graham had been appointed collector-general for the western counties; he found the road to duty about as pleasant as an automobilist of the present day would find progress in the primeval forests of Brazil. His conception of duty, if he ever had any, changed to a desire to accumulate lucre for his own personal use, and so he went from still to still, taking whatever he could get without making any attempt at an accounting. Those who had been mulcted stood the imposition for a time and then came reprisals. Graham was annoyed in many ways, but as the hints thus given him were not sufficient to induce him to desist from his course, he was seized one day, his head was shaved and he was told in strong language that at his next appearance amputation would be substituted for shaving. Prosecution of his assailants followed, but the fines paid by those who were convicted were considered an excellent investment, for Graham kept away. Craig, a justice of the peace, was next appointed, but did nothing. He was followed by Hunter, who in 1790 instituted some seventy suits in the courts at Pittsburg; as these were all discontinued for irregularity, Hunter left the country.

But the time had come when taxes on distilled spirits were to become a material source of revenue for the national treasury. The

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Federal government had assumed the debts incurred by the various States in the prosecution of the Revolutionary War, and Alexander Hamilton, Secretary of the Treasury, had prepared a plan by which the annual charge of \$826,000, necessary for the payment of the interest and the gradual reduction of the principal, should be derived from a tax on distilled spirits. For the carrying out of this plan the excise laws of 1791-2 were enacted. Imported spirits were subject to a tariff of from twelve to forty cents a gallon. The quality of the spirits distilled at home regulated the tax to some extent; where the basis of the spirit was grain, the tax was from nine to twenty-five cents a gallon; where the basis was molasses or other imported product, the tax was from seven to thirty cents a gallon. In each State a Federal supervisor was to attend to the collection of the tax, being assisted by such number of inspectors as were deemed necessary. Every distiller was required to lodge at the inspection office nearest to him a complete description of the buildings and other property to be used for the purpose of distillation. The inspectors were directed to go the rounds of the stills as often as necessary for the purpose of gauging and branding each cask. All containers not bearing the marks of an inspector were liable to forfeiture. As there were numerous small stills located in out-of-the-way places and in private homes, the law provided that these should be subject to an annual tax of sixty cents per gallon of capacity.

Pennsylvania was prompt to take action. The protest passed by the Legislature on June 22, 1791, is believed to be the first legislative paper from the pen of Albert Gallatin. It read as follows:

Resolved, That any proceeding on the part of the United States tending to the collection of revenue by means of excise, established on principles subversive of peace, liberty and the rights of citizens, ought to attract the attention of this house.

Resolved, That no public urgency, within the knowledge or contemplation of this house, can, in their opinion, warrant the adoption of any species of taxation which shall violate those rights which are the basis of our government, and which would exhibit the singular spectacle of a nation resolutely oppressing the oppressed of others in order to enslave itself.

The only opposition to the adoption of the protest came from those who believed that other measures could be found better tend-

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ing to the attainment of the object in view; the protest was adopted by a vote of forty to sixteen.

Virginia, Maryland and North Carolina promptly voiced opposition to the excise.

As might have been expected, the noise of the protest came with the greatest resonance from the four western counties of Pennsylvania: Westmoreland, Fayette, Washington, and Allegheny. The farmers and other landowners talked the matter over among themselves and determined to hold a public meeting for the purpose of taking counsel as to any measures of relief that might be suggested. This meeting was held at Redstone Old Fort—now Brownsville—on July 27, 1791. Albert Gallatin was chosen secretary. The law was explained in full and the power of Congress to enact it was not only questioned, but strongly asserted. A resolution was adopted declaring the law to be “unequal in its operation, immoral in its effects, dangerous to liberty, and especially oppressive to the inhabitants of the western country.” Steps were then determined upon to make the protest more effective and widespread. It was agreed that the voters should elect not more than three delegates from each township and that those elected should meet on the fourth Tuesday and appoint a committee of three. It was made the duty of this committee to meet in Pittsburgh on September 7, for the purpose of passing resolutions expressive of the popular sentiment and, if deemed advisable, to send a memorial to Congress in accordance with such sentiment. The committee was also directed to send an address to the neighboring counties in Pennsylvania, Virginia and Kentucky, asking the residents there to join in the movement for a repeal of the law.

The Washington County committee apparently considered the proceedings as too moderate, and on August 23—Albert Gallatin acting as secretary—passed the following preamble and resolution:

Whereas, Some men may be found among us so far lost to every sense of virtue and feeling for the distresses of this country as to accept offices for the collection of duty;

Resolved, Therefore, that in future we will consider such persons as unworthy of our friendship, have no intercourse or dealings with them, withdraw from them every assistance and withhold all the comforts of life which depend upon those duties that as men and fellow-citizens we owe to each other, and upon all occasions

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treat them with that contempt they deserve, and that it be and it is hereby most earnestly recommended to the people at large to follow the same line of conduct towards them.

The violence of the opposition to the law gathered in intensity and soon stories were told of outbreaks of popular fury. On September 6th Robert Johnson, Collector for Washington and Allegheny counties, was tarred and feathered; his horse was taken away, compelling him amid great hardships to walk a long distance to a place of succor. Three of those who took part in this demonstration were complained of in a criminal action, but the officer who undertook to execute the warrant was tarred and feathered and tied to a tree, where he was fortunately discovered before life was extinct. The bitter feeling engendered ran so high as to exclude all discrimination, for an insane person named Wilson, who imagined himself to be a collector of revenue, was taken to a smithy, stripped, burned in several places on his body and then tarred and feathered. The law had become a dead letter, for, as a writer of the day penned it:

“People had been in the habit of thinking it no inconsistency with the reputation of a good citizen to insult and abuse an excise officer.”

The popular uprising had attained its end, at least temporarily, and all awaited the action of Congress.

Congress adopted a policy of temporizing. An act was passed on May 2, 1792, calling out the militia to “suppress insurrections and repel invasions,” no reference, however, excepting in the debates, being made to the Pennsylvania affair. Six days later Congress reduced the duties and provided that payments might be made monthly.

After several meetings, at which the proceedings were of a desultory character, the delegates from the four counties met in Pittsburgh on August 21, 1791—Albert Gallatin, clerk—and, after reiterating the Washington County resolution of the preceding year, declared that “in a very short time hasty strides had been made to all that is unjust and oppressive—the exorbitant salaries of officers,” and a number of other complaints against alleged governmental mismanagement being mentioned as if to conceal the main object of the convention. This, however, blossomed forth in a pa-

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paragraph declaring that the acts of Congress "bear testimony to what is a base offspring of the funding system, the excise law," which "tended to introduce the excise laws of Great Britain and of countries where the liberty, property, and even the morals of the people are sported with to gratify particular men in their ambitious and interested measures."

The petition to Congress from "the inhabitants of the western counties of Pennsylvania" set forth that the excise law "appears unequal in its operation and immoral in its effects—unequal in its operation as a duty laid on the common drink of the nation," and that the remonstrants were "apprehensive that this excise will by degrees be extended to other articles of consumption, until everything we eat, drink, or wear, will be, as in England and other European countries, subjected to heavy duties and the obnoxious inspection of a host of officers." The concluding paragraph of the document declared:

Our peculiar situation renders this duty still more unequal and oppressive to us. Distant from a permanent market and separated from the eastern coast by mountains, which render the communications difficult and almost impracticable, we have no means of bringing the product of our lands to sale either in grain or meal. We are, therefore, distillers through necessity, not choice, that we may comprehend the greatest value in the smallest size and weight. The inhabitants of the eastern side of the mountains can dispose of their grain without the additional labor of distillation at a higher price than we can after we have bestowed that labor upon it. Yet with this additional labor we must also pay a high duty, from which they are exempted, because we have no means of selling our surplus produce but in a distilled state.

Another circumstance which renders the duty ruinous to us is our scarcity of cash. Our commerce is not, as on the eastern coast, carried on so much by absolute sale as by barter, and we believe it to be a fact that there is not among us a quantity of circulating cash sufficient for the payment of this duty alone. We are not accustomed to complain without reason; we have punctually and cheerfully paid former taxes on our estates and possessions because they were proportioned to our real wealth. We believe this to be founded on no such equitable principles, and are persuaded that your honorable house will find upon investigation that its amount, if duly collected, will be four times as large as any taxes which we have hitherto paid on the whole of our lands and other property.

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President Washington, on September 15, 1792, issued a proclamation asking that order be restored, and calling on all officers of the law to enforce the acts of Congress.

RESISTANCE—In 1793 there were indications that the policy of forbearance would bear the expected fruit. As Gallatin subsequently wrote, the law was nearer to enforcement than it had been. There had been a number of riots. In Fayette County a mob broke into the collector's house and took away his books, giving him an opportunity to resign his office within two weeks under pain of having his house destroyed by fire. James Kiddoe and William Coughran had entered their stills, as required by law; the stills and other property were destroyed, and Coughran, in order that others might take warning, was required to publish an account in the "Pittsburgh Gazette" of all that had taken place. These and other minor ebullitions of public wrath were unconnected and there was evidently no concerted action.

But the fire of rebellion was only smouldering; it burst forth into lurid flames in 1794.

Humor, which intrudes into the most serious affairs of life, was injected into the rebellious doings by "Tom the Tinker." When a still was destroyed, because it had become obnoxious by having been entered according to law, the destruction was facetiously referred to as "mending," and persons whose conduct did not meet with popular approval were threatened with being "mended," either physically or in their goods and buildings. The transition from "mending" to "tinkering" was easy; alliteration brought about the popularity of "Tom the Tinker." The question whether a man was a Whig or Tory was of little importance and his fellows cared little what country he had come from or what church he attended; but a great deal of his peace depended upon what answer he gave when he was asked whether he was a Tinker. All insurgents and those in sympathy with them were referred to as Tinkers.

The mysterious personage, "Tom the Tinker," whose original identity has never been satisfactorily established, perhaps because it was so numerous, was frequently heard from. In chirography, generally described as something awful, he blazoned forth his opinions and orders by means of notices fastened to trees in the forest. Frequently he assured his readers that "his iron was hot,

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his hammer was up and he would not travel the country for nothing," but threats were generally deemed superfluous to secure obedience to his commands. An excise collector was directed to leave the country or a distiller to cease paying his tax; both as a rule promptly recognized the fact that "Tom the Tinker" was both virile and plural and that failure to obey his commands was fraught with more serious and immediate consequences than an infraction of the commands promulgated by Moses. Frequently "Tom the Tinker" required the persons to whom his commands were addressed to publish their submission in a card to appear on a certain day in the "Pittsburgh Gazette;" he knew that the editor and printer were thoroughly subservient to him and to what he considered the general welfare. His wrath was excited to explosive vituperation when a number of distillers combined to obey the law, and these recalcitrants quickly ascertained that the law of the country was a mere trifle when it ran afoul of orders signed by "Tom the Tinker."

Liberty poles were recognized as evidence of loyalty to the popular cause, and when streamers floating therefrom or boards fastened to them contained such legends as "An equal tax and no excise," or, "No asylum for traitors and cowards," all who saw them knew that the owner of the property where the pole stood was an enthusiastic Tinker. Custom required, and "Tom the Tinker" frequently demanded, that these poles should be ornamented with six painted stripes representing the six counties in rebellion; a larger number of stripes was suggestive either of ignorance or a desire to hedge; if the number of stripes equalled the number of States then in the Union it meant open defiance and called for prompt action from "Tom the Tinker." No house was so insignificant or territory so circumscribed that it could lay claim to an exemption from the presence of a properly equipped liberty pole; settlements vied with each other in exhibiting their loyalty by the size of these emblems of rebellion. Even in Pittsburgh a liberty pole was erected; an attempt to provide it with six stripes was abandoned, for the guns from the Federal fort looked rather threateningly suggestive, but the fear thus created did not go far enough to provide the pole with fifteen stripes as had been proposed by some; so Pittsburgh had its liberty pole unembellished and its presence spoke no more than did thousands of others throughout the Union, no mat-

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ter what particular interpretation might be placed upon its erection just at that time.

The first outbreak of lawlessness in 1794 was when the barn and the contents thereof belonging to William Richmond were burned; the man who thus lost his property had given information in reference to the brutal treatment of Wilson, the half-demented individual who labored under the delusion that he was an inspector of excise. This called forth several meetings at which the doings of the law-breakers were more or less approved of.

Then followed, on February 28, the organization of what was known as the Mingo Creek Society, an organization consisting principally of Hamilton's battalion, but the membership of which was soon increased to over three hundred. The ostensible object of the society was the avoidance of litigation by settling all disputes arising between its members, the recommendation of good men for office and such other aims and objects as may be found in the constitution and by-laws of many modern reform clubs. The real object of the society did not appear in its printed prospectus, but it was well understood not only by its members but by the general public. In April a similar society was organized in Allegheny County and the example was followed in other localities, so that when any motion was made in the popular movement of the day there was no lack of organized support.

One of the popular subjects of clamor was the distance from the homes of persons charged with violating the excise law to a Federal court with jurisdiction to try offenders. To remedy this, Congress on June 5 gave State courts concurrent jurisdiction in all such matters with the Federal courts. This, however, served only to increase the fury of the Tinkers, for the interpretation placed on the law was that it only afforded more opportunities for prosecution; what was wanted was not a multiplicity of courts but their abandonment for all purposes connected with the excise.

In July a number of the distillers of Fayette County met with Albert Gallatin and, after thoroughly discussing the situation, agreed either to enter their stills or abandon the making of whisky; they agreed that all who had been summoned to appear for violations of the law were to enter appearances, employ counsel and get out of the difficulty in the easiest way permissible by law. In pursuance of this agreement, Major Lenox, a United States mar-

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shal, on July 14, 1794, served without molestation all but one of forty writs, the exception being in the case of a farmer named Miller. Lenox passed Miller's house; why he refrained from then making service does not appear, but he apparently concluded that he would first make a report to General John Neville, the United States inspector, who had a residence in Pittsburgh as well as his country home some distance therefrom. In company with General Neville he then returned and served Miller; on the way he was shot at from ambush, but the bullet went wide of its intended mark.

The appointment of General Neville as United States inspector had provoked a great deal of excitement and had been severely commented upon in many places. General Neville had always enjoyed the widest popularity and well-deserved fame as a patriot. He had risked all his great wealth in the Revolution, for he had at his own expense raised and equipped a company of soldiers and marched them to Boston where he turned them over to Washington. He was a brother-in-law of General Morgan, and father-in-law to Majors Craig and Kirkpatrick. In 1791 in the Pennsylvania Legislature he had voted for the resolution denouncing the excise, and he was credited even with having approved of some of the attacks on representatives of the Federal government. Why such a man should have accepted the office of inspector with its paltry salary of six hundred dollars a year was difficult to understand at that time; even at the present day it can be accounted for only as the result of a firm conviction that he was doing his duty to his country.

On the morning of the day after he had been seen in company with Marshal Lenox his house was surrounded by a mob of about one hundred, of whom sixty were armed with guns. A demand was made upon him for the surrender of the Federal processes in his possession and, when this was refused, an attack was made on the house. After a number of shots had been exchanged, some twenty-five coming from the beleaguered inhabitants, the attack was abandoned.

General Neville, however, knew that this was only the prelude to hostilities on a larger scale and so he applied to the sheriff and magistrates of the county for protection. He was told that "owing to the too general combination of the people to oppose the revenue system, the laws could not be enforced so as to afford him protection; that should the posse be ordered out to support the civil

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authority they would favor the party of the rioters." He then called on Major Butler, commandant of the fort at Pittsburgh, who sent him twelve men under the command of Major Kirkpatrick. He also called on his friends for aid, but most of those who responded did not arrive until the occasion for their help had passed.

On the morning of the 16th a mob of some five hundred renewed the attack on the house. Major Kirkpatrick was first called upon to surrender and deliver the United States processes in the possession of the inspector. When this was refused, firing began but was soon interrupted by a message sent by Macfarlane, who had assumed command of the rioters, asking that the women and children withdraw from the house. When his wishes in that respect had been complied with, firing was resumed. It continued for some time when Macfarlane, thinking for some reason or other that a parley was desired, stepped from behind the tree which had protected him; as he did so he was shot and killed. Infuriated at the loss of their leader, the assailants set fire to some of the outbuildings and from these the flames communicated to the house, the upper part of which was in flames when Kirkpatrick surrendered.

Kirkpatrick seems to have been a man of unusual intrepidity, for when he was informed that he was to be taken to the Mingo Creek meeting house for the purpose of being hanged, he replied, "Well, where is the horse? I can't walk there." He saw one of the rioters taking aim at him, when he remarked, "What a fool you are to shoot me; don't you know that I am going to be hanged?" whereupon the would-be executioner lowered his rifle. He was placed in charge of Captain Coulter and a guard, but on the way to the Mingo Creek rendezvous he was permitted to escape.

The result of the musket fire from the house and from the quarters of the negroes was that six of the rioters were wounded, but only one, Macfarlane, fatally. Property to the extent of some fifteen thousand dollars was destroyed, including a number of horses belonging to men who had come to the general's assistance or had sent ammunition. Only one building was saved and this was done at the request of the negroes, for it contained the bacon which had been set aside for their use. Before the main building was destroyed by the flames, it was looted, and the wine taken from the cellars was divided among the rioters. No revenge was threatened by the mob,

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excepting in the case of Kirkpatrick who was suspected of having fired the shot that killed Macfarlane.

A son of General Neville, Colonel Pressly Neville, and the United States marshal were detained until two o'clock the following morning, when, after some desultory talk about meting out severe punishment to them and a solemn promise on the part of the marshal to serve no more processes on the western part of the Alleghany mountains, they were liberated.

General Neville had escaped from the building unnoticed and hastened to Pittsburgh, where he was subsequently joined by the marshal. The insurgents sent a committee, one of whom was a justice of the peace, to call on General Neville and the marshal and demand their resignations under threat of attacking the general's Pittsburgh residence. It was evident that there was no safety for the United States officers, even near the guns of the fort, and so they descended the Ohio to Marietta, from which place, by a round-about way, they found their way to the seat of government at Philadelphia.

The leaders of the insurgents now concluded that the time for compromise had passed, for they had openly defied the authority of the United States by an act of rebellion. On July 23 a public meeting was called at the Mingo Creek meeting house. Among those who responded to the call were some who favored taking up arms and defying the government, but cooler judgment prevailed and it was determined to call a convention consisting of delegates to be elected from all the counties west of the mountains and from the adjoining counties in Maryland and Virginia. It was agreed that this convention was to meet at Parkinson's Ferry, on the Monongehela River, in three weeks' time.

The two most prominent figures at the Mingo Creek meeting were David Bradford and Hugh H. Brackenridge. Bradford represented those who favored more and prompt violence; Brackenridge counselled delay. When Bradford saw his object of declaring war on the United States defeated he determined to assume command of the more turbulent element. Presuming that the authorities at Pittsburgh were sending word to the Federal government of the attack on the house of General Neville, Bradford ordered the mail to be seized. This having been accomplished to his satisfaction, he issued the following order:

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CANONSBURG, July 28, 1794.

Sir: Having had suspicion that the Pittsburgh post would carry with him the sentiments of some of the people in the county respecting our present alarming situation; and the letters of the post being now in our possession, by which certain secrets are discovered, hostile to our interests, it is therefore now come to that crisis, that every citizen must express his sentiments, not by his words but by his actions. You are then called upon, as a citizen of the western country, to render your personal service, with as many volunteers as you can raise, to rendezvous at your usual place of meeting, on Wednesday next; and from there you will march to your usual place of rendezvous at Braddock's Field, on the Monongehela, on Friday, the first day of August next; to be there at two o'clock in the afternoon, with arms and accoutrements in good order. If any volunteers should want arms and ammunition, bring them forward and they shall be supplied as well as possible. Here, sir, is an expedition proposed, in which you will have an opportunity of displaying your military talents and of rendering service to your country. Four days provisions will be wanted; let the men be thus supplied.

This document, signed by Bradford and six other leaders, was sent to all the military officers in the disaffected counties. That such an order, signed by a number of civilians, should have been obeyed with as great promptitude as an order issued by the regular military authorities, may cause surprise at the present day, but in 1794 in the western part of Pennsylvania the authority issuing an order was not carefully scrutinized, especially by officers who knew the sentiments of the men under them; in this instance these sentiments were strongly in favor of the insurgents. Besides this, a meeting at Braddock's Field was not necessarily of revolutionary tendency, for whenever danger of any nature threatened Pittsburgh and its adjacent territory, all hastened to Braddock's Field for consultation and, if necessary, for action. The order was little more than a call for a mass meeting and the rank and file of the military would have responded even without the intermediate order of their officers. Nor was it the first time in the history of that part of the country that those who were to assemble were called upon to bring arms and provisions, for such had been necessary on more than one occasion when the red men threatened to become troublesome.

Bradford and his associates in the government of the insurgents apparently realized too late what they had done. They would

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have on their hands at least several thousand armed men who might ask what was wanted of them and other questions inconvenient to answer. That it had been understood, by some at least, that an attack was in contemplation on the garrison at the fort is apparent from a circular issued by Bradford, giving assurances that any intentions of seizing the ammunition had disappeared when it was learned that the ammunition was intended for General Scott in his warfare against the Indians. Bradford showed signs of weakening, but it was now too late to call off the meeting.

Just how many assembled at Braddock's Field on the memorable 1st of August, 1794, is not known. Estimates are as low as five thousand and as high as double that number; probably the truth lies between the two extremes. Bradford assumed the office of major-general and reviewed the troops; Colonel Cook, one of the judges of the Fayette County courts, was chosen to preside, and Albert Gallatin occupied his usual post as secretary. Bradford evidently intended to excite those present to further violence; he was anxious to march on Pittsburgh, seize the fort and the ammunition and then declare the independence of the western country. Brackenridge followed in an impassioned speech in which he declared:

We must have the arms and ammunition in the fort at all hazards. Butler is a soldier who will be fool enough to fight; but it will not cost us more than two thousand men at the outside. What of that? Cost what it may, we must have it.

Brackenridge's friends subsequently declared that these words were uttered for the purpose of producing precisely the effect that followed: that it brought reason to minds unduly excited and fear to men who were rash, yet possessed of common sense. Gallatin voiced the views of many of the military commanders who were ready to lead their men to battle, but not in the cause of treason. When Bradford saw that his ambitious design had been frustrated, he suggested that all present march to Pittsburgh if for no other reason than to show what strength Pennsylvania had developed against excise. There had been picnics before on the common at Pittsburgh and the crowd at Braddock's Field saw no reason why there should not be another. So all were agreed on a jolly march to Pittsburgh.

In the meantime the people in Pittsburgh were not in the most complaisant frame of mind. At a town meeting, held on July 31, a

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delegation of four arrived from the insurgents; the information they brought was to the effect that the leaders of the insurgents had experienced great difficulty in restraining their followers from destroying Pittsburgh and that the only terms that could possibly be accepted were the banishment at once of Majors Butler and Kirkpatrick and of a Mr. Day and a Mr. Bryson, for these four had made themselves very obnoxious to the exponents of the cause of the people; the augmentation of the Braddock's Field congregation by the addition to it of the population of Pittsburgh was also made necessary to secure a guarantee of safety to the city. Bryson, Kirkpatrick, and Day, announced their readiness for immediate departure, if such a course could save any trouble. After some deliberation the people of Pittsburgh kept their printers busy all night producing circulars containing arguments against so violent a rape of geography as would result from the obliteration of Pittsburgh from the map. It was proposed that a committee of twenty-one should carry these circulars to Braddock's Field on the following day. When the committee neared the camp of the insurgents they were at first rather apprehensive of consequences, for there was a discharge of musketry which very much resembled a battle. But when they arrived and saw that the men were merely firing off their muskets in order to make a noise and smell powder, the feeling of apprehension changed to one of comfort, for the more powder burned then the less there would be to use in mischievous designs on Pittsburgh. The committee apparently did not have a very unpleasant time of it, for the first duty they were called upon to perform was to journey back to Pittsburgh on the following morning with the information that the army intended to pay a friendly visit, that the visitors requested that all taverns should be closed, but that they would have no objections to partaking of such refreshments as the liberality of the people of Pittsburgh might deliver at the commons. The people of Westmoreland County had tired of the doings at Braddock's Field and went home; all the others joined in the march to Pittsburgh.

No resistance was offered to the triumphant entry of Bradford's army into Pittsburgh. The taverns were closed and so were some of the stores. A few of the inhabitants sought safety in distance and others concealed themselves in their homes. The leaders, apparently anxious to make some kind of a demonstration, sent

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a deputation to the fort, demanding its surrender. Colonel Butler, still suffering from the wounds sustained in St. Clair's defeat, ordered the deputation off the premises and his order was obeyed with alacrity. Perhaps the large number of loaded muskets within arms length of each of the numerous loopholes assisted the deputation in making a report to the leaders; at any rate the fort dropped out of the history of the occasion. It was then determined to burn down General Neville's house in Pittsburgh, but before this design could be carried into execution more pacific counsel prevailed and it was agreed that the general had suffered enough of that particular kind of punishment. But the army had been brought to Pittsburgh and something ought to be done. The mountains had been in labor, but not even a *ridiculous mus* had put in an appearance. After serious deliberations on the ponderous proposition that presented itself, it was agreed to compromise the whole matter by crossing the river and burning a barn belonging to Major Kirkpatrick. The unflinching sternness with which this was accomplished evoked the plaudits of the multitude and the errand of the army was at an end. Sunday followed the burning of the barn, and on Monday the army dissolved.

The reign of lawlessness now spread to western Virginia and western Maryland and bands of a few individuals did more mischief in the course of a few hours than had been done by Bradford's thousands in several days. Defiance of the government, assaults on its officers and the destruction of their property had become a popular cult. It became more evident every day that it would require the intervention of the Federal authorities to restore order.

The seat of the government was in Philadelphia and little attention had apparently been paid there to riotous demonstrations so many miles away. But as affairs grew worse, letters were sent to Philadelphia and these indicated that the word riot was hardly strong enough to describe the doings in western Pennsylvania. Some counselled moderation; others declared in favor of prompt action. Among the letter writers, the most prominent was Hugh H. Brackenridge; he had been a Revolutionary soldier, a member of the Pennsylvania Legislature and had taken a more or less prominent—sometimes equivocal—part in the insurrectionary movement. One letter he wrote to Philadelphia which, as he evidently presumed it would, found its way to the president's cabinet; in this letter he

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declared that the western counties were well able to defend themselves and that the midland counties would not be disposed to permit National soldiers to cross sacred soil on their way to the West; if coercion were attempted there was every indication that the insurgents would make application to Great Britain for aid and that Philadelphia would soon be placed in a state of siege. To Tench Coxe, under date of August 8, 1794, he wrote:

The excise is a branch of the funding system, detested and opposed by all philosophic men and the yeomanry of America, those who hold certificates excepted. There is a growing, lurking discontent at this system that is ready to burst out and discover itself everywhere. I candidly and decidedly tell you that the chariot of government has been driven Jehu-like as to finances; like that of Phaeton, it has descended from the middle path and is likely to burn up the American earth. . . . It will be said that the insurrection can be easily suppressed—it is but that of a part of four counties. Be assured that it is that of a greater part and I am inclined to believe that the three Virginia counties on this side of the mountains will fall in. The first measure there will be the organization of a new government, comprehending the three Virginia counties and those of Pennsylvania to the westward to what extent I know not. This event, which I contemplate with great pain, will be the result of the necessity of self-defence. For this reason I earnestly and anxiously wish that delay on the part of the government may give time to bring about, if practicable, good order and subordination.

Just where Brackenridge's sympathies lay is a disputed point in Pennsylvania history. Hamilton marked him out for arrest but was induced to withhold the warrant at the solicitation of Senator James Ross who convinced the Secretary of the Treasury that Brackenridge's treasonable utterances were easily explained as consistent with a desire to assist the government.

When proclamations issued by the President of the United States and the Governor of Pennsylvania did not have the desired effect of quelling the insurrectionary movement, the matter was made a subject for consideration by Washington's cabinet. The president determined to restore order, peaceably, if possible, by force of arms, if necessary. On August 7 he appointed a commission consisting of United States Senator James Ross, of Pennsylvania, Attorney-General William Bradford and Judge Jasper

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Yeates of the Pennsylvania Supreme Court; this commission was directed to proceed to the scene of the insurrection and endeavor to bring about peace. On the same date the president issued a call for troops to the governors of Pennsylvania, Maryland, Virginia, and New Jersey. There were some sixteen thousand men capable of bearing arms in the insurgent territory, but it was not presumed that more than seven thousand of these would enroll under the standard of rebellion. The troops called for by Washington numbered 5,200 from Pennsylvania, 2,100 from New Jersey, 2,350 from Maryland, and 3,300 from Virginia, a total of 12,950. By the terms of the presidential proclamation the mobilization of the troops was to be completed by September 14. This it was believed would afford the commissioners abundant time in which to effect a peaceful settlement of the troubles, if indeed there remained any possibility of such a course. Governor Mifflin, of Pennsylvania, whose voice had hitherto been raised in opposition to Federal coercion, called a meeting of the State Legislature and issued a proclamation calling upon the insurgents to submit to the law and declaring it as his intention to obey the Federal call for troops. As coadjutors to the Federal commissioners he appointed General Irving and Chief Justice McKean. Alexander Hamilton, who had postponed his contemplated resignation as Secretary of the Treasury in order to complete some financial arrangements, found another reason for postponement in the insurrectionary troubles; he joined the army under Washington and marched with it into the disaffected country.

SUBMISSION—The stand taken by the Federal authorities did not fail to have its effect on the deliberations of the insurgents. A disposition was made manifest on the part of some to withdraw from further participation in the insurrectionary movement; the principal difficulty that presented itself was the measure of condonation that would be required for past offences. At a meeting held in Mingo Creek meeting house on July 23, a resolution endorsing the burning of General Neville's house failed to pass, the spirit of the meeting being evidently in favor of temporizing. A resolution was finally adopted providing for the calling of another convention to "take into consideration the situation in the western country." This convention was to consist of delegates from the four Pennsylvania counties of Westmoreland, Fayette, Allegheny and Washington, that part of Bedford County lying west of the mountains

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and the county of Ohio in Virginia. Each township was to elect not more than five nor less than two delegates and these were to meet on August 14 at Parkinson's Ferry—now Monongehela. Advertisements to this effect were published in the "Pittsburgh Gazette" on July 24.

The convention at Parkinson's Ferry was attended by between two hundred and fifteen and two hundred and sixty delegates. A resolution objecting to the removal of citizens out of the vicinity for trial was passed. A second resolution provided that "a standing committee be appointed from each county, to be designated a Committee on Public Safety, whose duty it shall be to call forth the resources of the western country, to repel any hostile attempts that may be made against the rights of the citizens and the body of the people." Gallatin moved to refer this resolution to a select committee. The delegates were in a quandary. Many present were ready to follow the lead of Gallatin or any other person who would show them a way out of the difficulty, but fear of the more turbulent element among the delegates restrained them. Although it was apparent that the majority of those present were opposed to the resolution, none had the courage to second the motion made by Gallatin. A substitute was offered for the resolution by which a committee of sixty was to be appointed with power to call another meeting and this readily passed, as also did another resolution providing for the appointment of a committee of fifteen to meet with the Federal State commissioners. As the resolutions had been amended in various ways without proper regard for a sequence of ideas and grammatical construction, they were referred to a committee for the purpose of having them put in proper shape. This committee consisted of Bradford, Gallatin, Brackenridge, and Herman Husbands, the last-named well known on account of the leading part he had taken in former years with the Regulators of North Carolina, an organization which had made life almost unendurable for the British Governor, William Tryon. On motion of Gallatin, an expression in one of the resolutions declaring strenuous opposition to the excise law was stricken out and a phrase substituted pledging support to the laws of the State, no mention being made of the laws of Congress. The resolutions were then passed and the convention adjourned, the committee of sixty having announced that it would meet on September 2.

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The committee of fifteen met with the Federal and State commissioners in Pittsburgh on August 20, for the purpose of discussing terms. There was little talk or delay, for the terms offered showed the insurgents a wide path back to the law-abiding citizenship. The commissioners demanded an immediate cessation of all hostilities against excise officers and distillers complying with the law and an open declaration in favor of the enforcement of the laws. In order to test the sense of the inhabitants it was suggested that primary meetings be held previous to September 14, the limit of time fixed for submission by Washington in his proclamation. If the decisions rendered at these meetings should favor abiding by the law, the commissioners promised a suspension of all prosecutions until July of the following year and a complete pardon then for all concerned should the decision expressed at the polls be carried into effect by a compliance with the law. These terms were milder than had been anticipated and the committee of fifteen promptly agreed to recommend their acceptance, declaring they would call together the committee of sixty four days before the time agreed upon, in order that there might be no delay in the progress of the negotiations. "Tom the Tinker" in the next day's "Pittsburgh Gazette" plainly expressed his opinion as to the proceedings; he characterized them as an abandonment of the cause of liberty and declared that the committee of fifteen had been corrupted by the use of money. But Tom's influence had waned.

Fifty-seven of the committee of sixty met at Redstone Old Fort on August 28. Bradford delivered an intemperate speech advocating resistance to the authorities; that his speech might have a proper setting, an armed body of men with flags flying and drums beating paraded during the delivery. But the rebellion was moribund and Bradford and his adventitious aids had not the power of infusing it with vitality. Gallatin made a plea in favor of law and order and the majority of those present agreed with him in opinion. But in the presence of a turbulent and forceful element, no matter how small the proportion, a free expression of opinion is frequently difficult of attainment. The question was whether the report of the committee of fifteen should be approved. Gallatin wrote Yes and No on a number of slips of paper and gave one of each to each delegate. This provided a means for a secret and untrammelled expression of opinion. When the votes were counted

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there were thirty-four in the affirmative and twenty-three in the negative; a number of the delegates were seen chewing the ballots they had not voted, the surest way to keep secret the character of their votes. But when a party is victorious its hitherto silent friends frequently come forward to join in the exultation; at Redstone Old Fort six of the delegates declared that they had voted in the negative on account of a misapprehension and that consequently the dominant party had a right to forty votes out of the fifty-seven. Those who had been outspoken in favor of law and order had gone as far as they dared; they did not think it prudent to force the issue of whether all should submit, or even to make arrangements for the holding of the elections suggested by the commissioners. The meeting adjourned after another committee on conference had been appointed.

The new committee believed that it would require some extensive missionary efforts to obtain from the people an expression of opinion satisfactory to the authorities. For the purpose of gaining time for this an application was made for a delay until October 10. This the commissioners declined on the ground that granting the delay would be in excess of their authority. Preparations were then made for holding the elections on September 11, a justice of the peace or a member of the committee of sixty to be in charge at each polling place. The ballots read: "Will the people submit to the laws of the United States upon terms proposed by the commissioners of the United States?" The result of the election fully justified the apprehensions of the new committee. In a number of places no attempt was made to hold an election; in others the voting was interfered with and the ballots destroyed. According to arrangements made by the committee all election officers were to meet in their respective court houses on the third day after election for the purpose of canvassing the votes cast and also to commit to writing their opinions as to whether excise offices could be safely established. The returns and certificates were to be forwarded to the Federal and State commissioners at Union Town by September 16. No returns were received from Allegheny County; the certificates from Westmoreland County declared plainly that no excise inspection offices could be safely established in that county. The judges from the other two counties failed to express an opinion, apparently presuming that the authorities could arrive at a safe conclusion when they remembered that disturbances had been

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more numerous and violent in these two counties than in other parts of the disaffected district.

Sentiment in favor of obeying the law, however, gained ground, and associations were formed for the purpose of assuring the Federal authorities that it was only a small minority whose opinions had found expression in tumultuous assemblages and disturbances. Another meeting was called at Parkinson's Ferry and when the delegates assembled on October 2 it was evident that all were in favor of submission and that the only question to be considered was as to how quickly it could be brought about. It was finally agreed to send two commissioners, William Findley and David Redick, to President Washington for the purpose of explaining "more circumstantially the state of the country, in order to enable him to judge whether an armed force would now be necessary to support the civil authority."

Washington and his army in the meantime were marching to western Pennsylvania. The president left Philadelphia on September 30, arrived at Harrisburg on October 3, and on the following day established his headquarters at Carlisle. On the 10th, Findley and Redick arrived; they were received by Washington and informed that peace could follow only on submission; he advised them to summon another convention and to give full assurances of a determination to obey the law.

Resolutions in conformity with the desires of the president were passed at a convention held on October 24 and Findley hastened back to the army. Washington, however, had returned to Philadelphia. As the troops advanced all evidence of rebellion disappeared. The residents seemed only interested in their peaceful pursuits and even the tell-tale liberty poles had been removed. General Lee reached Parkinson's Ferry and on November 8 issued a proclamation in accordance with directions formulated by Hamilton.

General Neville gave notices for the entering of stills; justices of the peace were supplied with books to "receive the tests of allegiance of all good citizens." The test required, read as follows:

I do solemnly promise henceforth to submit to the laws of the United States and that I will not directly or indirectly oppose the execution of the act for raising a revenue on distilled spirits and stills, and that I will support as far as the law requires the civil

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authority in affording protection due to all officers and other citizens.

Meetings were held in order that arguments might be listened to in favor of submission to the authorities, but such missionary efforts were superfluous almost everywhere. A change from defiance to obedience, almost to humility, was in evidence and those who had hurried into the ranks of the insurgents made even greater speed in getting out of them. The only exception was in Ohio County, Virginia, and there the rebellious sentiment remained as dominant as during the height of the excitement. But the inhabitants there were not numerous enough to constitute any serious danger to national security and so they were left to the fate of the weak which follows attrition with the strong. General Morgan with a portion of the Virginia troops remained in the disaffected region "for winter defence," but there was no call for their services.

Some of the ringleaders were arrested and taken to Pittsburgh, and some to Philadelphia; a few were convicted of treason and were still behind prison bars when Washington, on July 10, 1795, issued a "full, free, and entire pardon to all who had given assurance of submission to the laws of the United States." The publication of the proclamation, on August 6 following, was the last act in the Whisky Insurrection of Pennsylvania.

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The American Slave Trade

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HERE is no stain deeper engraved, more unsightly, more irradicable upon the national honor of the American people, than that of their trade in human lives, for decades worse than the most hideous imaginings of a morbid mind. Our fathers—Christians, professing the brotherhood of mankind, products of the highest civilization of the time—overlooked for two hundred and fifty years the moral side of the issue, looking only to the pecuniary gains,—small enough in the beginning, and surely of infinitesimal value in the light of human souls! Humane methods of killing cattle were introduced, the “cat” and impressment on the high seas given up, yet the slave trade increased in its horrible practices. Americans continued to treat these poor, helpless creatures with less regard than any Southerner would show for his horseflesh. The men engaged in the trade became sordid, unfeeling, inhuman brutes. The American gentleman, with admirable foresight, discovered that it was cheaper to kill his slave by hard work than to support him in useless old age. Such was the life, that in the sugar mills of Georgia and Louisiana the average life of a slave was seven years. The shameful trade was for a century and a half a bold, open and daring enterprise, and was unfrowned upon by the United States Government which, in the words of Roger B. Taney, shortly before the Civil War “recognized no right of the negro, free men were bound to respect.” There is irony indeed in the fact that two notorious slavers were named for Presidents of the “Land of the Free!”

In August, 1619, the first vessel to touch the coast of what is now the United States with a cargo of human beings, put into the port of Jamestown, Virginia. In the same year the “Treasurer,” a ship fitted out in American waters, belonging to Captain Argall, royal governor of the Virginia Colony, landed on our coast a cargo of slaves secured in a raid on the West Indies. This was the beginning, and, like all evils, the trade grew amazingly. Kings, nobles,

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sea captains, and marauders, engaged without the least qualms of conscience, and missionaries unwittingly furthered it by their work among the heathen. No actual record can be found of the total importations of those first years, but surmise puts it at a few hundreds—less than formed one cargo when the trade was at its height. Slavers in those days exposed themselves to the greatest perils, and the work of securing their cargoes was not without the most serious drawbacks. Tropical diseases, fevers, worked havoc among the crews. There was difficulty on the coast while the ships were loading, a tedious process sometimes covering six months. Provisions ran low, and there were unsuccessful attempts to substitute coconuts and oranges for water. Mutiny was an everpresent danger. The Underwriters assumed the risk and agreed to pay damages for all conceivable dangers. As may be judged from their willingness to assume responsibility, the number of favorable voyages, despite all these drawbacks, greatly overbalanced those which were disastrous. The ships used in the trade were for the most part small and without accommodations for slaves, who were carried as a part of the cargo, “ ’tween decks.” Upon their invention, steamers were used in the trade, and gradually, with the increase in demand for slaves, ships were built and fitted out for the avowed purpose of slaving. Old whalers were used also, because of the conveniences which their try-pots and barrels offered in cooking yams and rice for the cargo and in carrying water.

The gathering of slaves on the coast presented by far the greatest difficulty the traders had to cope with. The sections of Africa which supplied America with her largest number of slaves reaches from Cape Verde to Cape Martha. Many rivers and streams pour through this vast area into the great gulf between these two points. The beach land at the coast is low and flat, and, in fact, nature seemed to have supplied all aid to successful slave trading. On reaching the coast, the slavers left their large ships and sent deputations of men inland to secure slaves. Negotiations were carried on with the chiefs of tribes, who had at hand, as personal and salable property, a number of slaves. These were usually free men enslaved through sundry causes. Prisoners of war became slaves of the victor. Debt was worked off by temporary enslavement of the debtor. Slaves were made through superstition—the violation of a fetish, though accidental. And then, too, every man had the right to

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sell his wives and children. These native customs made the number of slaves in each chief's possession comparatively large. The mediums of exchange were rum, guns, coins, and sometimes brightly colored clothes. But the demand for slaves in America was too great to be satisfied by this fair and honorable system of barter. Pressed by this demand, the system gradually but surely degenerated into a gruesome enterprise of land piracy, ravaging and murder. The traders became utterly degraded, and their methods fell in like degree. On reaching port, they invited men and chiefs, as many as they could accommodate, to their ships to get drunk. They then seized and enslaved them. They incited tribes to war, and kidnapped the prisoners, and suggested to chiefs that men suspected of mutiny be enslaved. They made friends, through their agents, with the medicine men—always the craftiest and most powerful of the tribes—whom they bribed to accuse innocent and promising natives. Finally, they enlisted the aid of powerful Africans in their work, and made contract with them for a quota of slaves, who were secured by the most brutal and heartless pillage of homes and villages. These negro agents, savage and fiendish in their cruelty, devastated whole settlements in their efforts to obtain slaves. The supply was thus so increased that it was impossible to keep the negroes on ship awaiting the Atlantic voyage, and barracoons (a type of corral or concentration camp) were established on the coast, in which slaves were kept in most frightful conditions. The United States was kept fully apprised of incidents on the coast of Africa, and still continued to give tacit consent under cover of sham restriction.

The entire journey from the home coast to the American slave-owner was divided into three distinct periods—the gathering on the coast, the journey from coast to coast, and the ultimate destiny in America. By far the most awful of the three periods was the second, or so-called Middle Passage. The slaves, in an ordinary slaver of the days when the traffic was lawful and respected, were kept in the hold, a place usually the length and width of the ship, but only three feet, ten inches in height on an average. Economy of space was carefully studied, and in ships of greater “ ’tween decks ” space, a gallery, in most cases hastily improvised, was slung. Men were ironed together two by two, and chained to the deck, where they were compelled to lie on their backs; women and children were left

unchained. After the outlawing of the trade, at least a semblance of non-slaving had to be kept up, and ships in the guise of small oilers and merchants did away with slave decks, stowing negroes as cargo, and forcing them to lie "spoon fashion" on the deck. Whole cargoes of slaves were thrown to the sharks to rid the ship of incriminating evidence when overhauled by a government cruiser. In fact, the horrors increased in direct proportion to hostile legislation. The suffering in the hold was unspeakable. The negro who could commit suicide was envied. Lack of food, water and the merest necessities of life and decency, increased the tortures. Plague, malaria, native diseases and fever, spread like wild-fire in the stricken hold, and, in order that the captain might sustain no loss, "jettison" became a regular occurrence. The Underwriters pledged themselves in their policies to pay for all cargo lost at sea, and rather than lose money on his load of negroes, the captain would throw sick and dying slaves into the sea. Mutiny, which was greatly feared, was severely punished. Death under flogging was common.

The slave trade at no time in its infancy received actual disapproval in America. The Colonies levied taxes on negroes, but these were very rarely prohibitive and were actuated only by pecuniary considerations and the ever-present fear of negro insurrections. There was no attempt made by Great Britain to force slavery on the Colonies, as history proves. Early in the years of our Independence, slave trading and smuggling along our coast became a recognized fact. A ferry was run from Havana to Florida by which almost as many slaves were imported as would have been if coast-wise trade had been legal. By the Declaration of Independence we pledged ourselves not to engage in the trade in blacks, which fact was discreetly overlooked. The compromises of the American Constitution gave protection to the slave industry, especially the promise of non-interference for twenty years. We constantly and consistently refused to do the honorable and upright thing in this matter. After twenty years of constant effort, the British Abolitionists had succeeded in outlawing the trade—by far the most profitable in the United Kingdom. With this began a series of wholly inadequate sham legislation in America, against a pursuit which seems more and more to be wrapped up in the vital life of the people.

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By act of Congress, March 2, 1807, no one had any right to negroes captured on the high seas by cruisers of the United States; negroes so taken were not free, but subject to the laws of the State in which they were landed. In Georgia, they were sold at public auction, or sent back to Africa if the society for their protection would pay the expense of the voyage. No ship of less than forty tons might engage in coastwise traffic in the United States. The penalty was forfeiture and fine. In 1808 another law more stringent than this was passed, making slavers pirates, and awarding one-half of the value of seized ships to the informer. This law was skillfully evaded, as is shown in the case of Bowie (inventor of the famous knife) and Lafitte. These two partners informed on each other and divided the spoils. They were supported by the populace, who needed slaves. At length a comprehensive and just measure was provided in the bill of May 5, 1820, providing death for participation in the trade. This was really caused by acts of piracy of the Latin-American states in the West Indies, and by the fact that slaves of all nations were flocking to the protection of our flag. This bill also provided that the President negotiate with foreign powers for the abolition of the trade.

Through the influence of England on behalf of humanity, the following results came about: In 1815, Napoleon abolished the trade in France; Russia, Austria, and Portugal followed. By the Treaty of Ghent we agreed to do our best for the overthrow of the slave trade. Great Britain gave Spain \$2,000,000 for her promise to give it up, which promise Spain violated for fifty years. We alone refused to take further steps for suppression, and although by the Ashburton Treaty we agreed to send war vessels to Africa to interfere on the coast, the work of the navy was half-hearted and futile.

Around this period came the institution of colonies for freed negroes in Africa. England established the first of these as a home for negroes deported from America during the Revolution. War, fever, and drunkenness almost wiped out this colony at Sierra Leone, which was saved by the timely arrival of run-away negroes from Jamaica. Strangely enough, this colony was a great boon to America—to those humanitarian slaveholders who freed their slaves, to tyrannical owners who feared negro insurrection; and to philanthropists who were willing to help in the new cause. The

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United States established its first colony at Cape Mesurado. This was followed by Liberia, which flourished for a short time, but finally failed because of hampering restrictions placed on its legislation by the home committee which established it.

Strings were now gradually tightened everywhere, and all sham efforts to suppress the trade came to an end. Earnest, determined effort to stamp out the evil took its place. The moral issue now took precedent of the former unseeing love of gold, and the work of extirpation grew apace. A movement to legally reopen the trade was killed in its very beginning. At length, with the death on the gallows on February 21, 1862, of Captain Gordon, of the slaver "Erie," came the death knell of the trade which for almost three centuries had been the most gruesome, heartrending, and deplorable in the world's history.



A Study in American Sectionalism

BY CHARLES W. SUPER, ATHENS, OHIO



It has often and truthfully been said that we have no guide for the future except the past; that the only lamp by which we can direct our steps as members of the community is the lamp of experience. Unfortunately, most men in their capacity as citizens profit little by experience. The individual who makes a mistake in early life seldom repeats it, for the reason that his memory will not permit him to do so. The lamp of experience at best sheds but a dim light, and is not always reliable so far as the community is concerned. But we can not help that. For our collective guidance it affords the best light we can get. When we employ any one to guide us into a region where we have never been, we will accept the services of only such a person as has visited it aforetime. No such guide exists for a nation or for a community, yet, if we are wise, we will profit by the services of the best man or men we can find, and we will take special pains in our search. Since history, the record of human affairs and experience, is a somewhat untrustworthy guide, it will certainly mislead us if the record on which we rely has been falsified, either by design or through ignorance, by omissions or false entries. False entries or omissions are due in most cases to prejudice, to possession, to interest, real or imaginary.

Every generation makes use of such political information as it possesses. As this information is lodged in the memories of the few, if these few use it to their own advantage rather than to that of the body politic, they can not, or, at least, ought not, to be trusted. In matters political, a man's character or his creed are of small consequence. Hence, there is nothing more absurd than the oft-repeated assertion that Abraham Lincoln was a Christian, Tom Paine an infidel, and much more of the same sort. Paine may have been a Christian in early life, and Lincoln a scoffer; yet both may have changed their views in later years. What folly it is to reckon it

greatly to a man's credit that he "always voted the straight party ticket!"

A radical fallacy, or at least a serious oversight in most political discussions, is the taking it for granted that when a man talks about rights, everybody knows exactly what he means. Edmund Burke once said in a speech in Parliament: "I am not here going into a distinction of rights, nor attempting to mark their boundaries. I hate the very sound of them." The Greek Sophists were not far astray when they tried to prove that man is the measure of all things, albeit, their conception of the term "man" was too narrow; it did not even include their countrywomen. The militarists of the German Empire and their abettors made the serious mistake of claiming the prerogative of doing the political thinking, or at least of directing it, of the rising generation, instead of providing them with the necessary equipment for doing their own thinking. The habit of thinking parochially or regionally has, from time immemorial, been a great curse to the world. Christianity has been trying for nearly two thousand years to overcome this evil, but its success has been slight; in matters political it has been virtually *nil*. The habit of thinking parochially was the great error into which Southern statesmen led the people when they endeavored to convince them that a war for slavery could win in the middle of the nineteenth century. The vehement denials of some of their writers count for little in the presence of much contemporary evidence. Slavery was doomed from the day on which Chief Justice Mansfield decided that it could not exist on English soil. This decision was rendered four years prior to the war for secession, usually called the War of the American Revolution.

Let us examine one of the most elusive words in the English dictionary, and yet one of the most frequently used in the discussion of political problems—the term, "rights." Burke, in the passage above cited, simply took the generally accepted meaning and let it go at that. A political right is nothing more than a privilege or a prerogative claimed by or granted to the individual by the State. When Abraham Lincoln declared that he had no right to free the slaves, he meant that the Constitution prohibited such a step. As he issued the Emancipation Proclamation before the Constitution had been amended, where did he get "the right" meanwhile? Or did he issue the proclamation without having the right to do so, as

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many persons claimed? As showing the fluctuating signification of the term *right*, let us consider for a moment its use in the Declaration of Independence. It asserts that men are created with certain inalienable rights, among them being life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness; yet at the time these lines were written these so-called rights were continually alienated, as they still are. For example, men are under a disability if they find their happiness in the practice of a religion that is penalized by the authorities, that is penalized to a certain extent. There is perhaps no country on the face of the globe the citizens of which are permitted to believe and practice any creed they may choose. Jefferson also enunciated the doctrine that all men are created free, and all the signers of the document endorsed the dictum. Yet every one of those men knew that no human being is created free. If he were, what benefit would it be to him if he could not exercise that freedom? Montesquieu says: "Liberty is the right to do what one ought to do, not what one ought not to do." Here everything depends on the meaning one gives to *ought*. Saint Paul said to Agrippa: "I verily thought with myself that I ought to do many things contrary to the name of Jesus of Nazareth." Yet at the time he was speaking, he was just as thoroughly convinced that he ought not to have done them. Aristotle maintained that "one ought not to believe that it is slavery to conform one's life to the constitution; one ought to believe that it is salvation." As the constitution to which Aristotle refers recognized slavery, it would have suited the Southern people before the sectional war. In fact, one cannot prove by any abstract reasoning that slavery is wrong; one can prove that cruelty to a slave is wrong.

The Bill of Rights passed by Parliament in 1689, would have amounted to nothing if King James had returned, or, rather, had continued to occupy the throne. How differently men of the same race and living virtually under the same conditions interpret the term *rights* is strikingly shown in the case of Canada. When the southern colonies had decided to throw off the "British yoke," as they called it, they took it for granted that their northern neighbors would join heartily in the enterprise. But not only did they refuse to aid, but actually joined in the work of repelling their liberators. Even the French, who had been bearing the yoke only a few years, showed no disposition to get out from under it, nor do their

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descendants to this day seem to have regretted the aloofness of their ancestors. For more than half a century there was much bickering between Canada and Great Britain, but the thought of separation was not seriously entertained by any responsible Canadian. It was never mentioned as a cure for the evils complained of.

Keeping in mind that our sectional war was waged by both sides to maintain their rights, can we reach any other conclusion except that political rights are always or at least nearly always determined by force?

One of the indictments brought against the Union troops by the southern people is that they often destroyed private property merely to gratify a wanton lust for destruction, and not to serve the public interest or the cause they were supposed to serve. The truth of these charges is not denied by the perpetrators. As we read their testimony, many of us are prone to repeat the question prompted by the German invasion of Belgium in 1914: "Can these things be?" Let us first examine some of the testimony put on record by northern writers; then some of that which has been written for the southern side. The reader can strike a balance for himself. It will hardly be denied that the South has on the whole the best of the argument, nor can it be truthfully affirmed that comparative mildness was not always due to a lack of opportunity or ability.

The Earl of Cromer wrote in the "National Review" for November, 1915, that the doctrine for which Bismarck was so fiercely denounced and even execrated, namely that it is right and proper to "cause the enemy inhabitants so much suffering that they might long for peace and even force the government to demand it," was a policy by General Sheridan. Those who are familiar with this officer's career and his method of carrying on war in the Shenandoah Valley will not be surprised at the utterance. The most heartless part of the doctrine was expressed in the words that "the people must be left nothing but their eyes to weep with over the destruction wrought by the war." Dr. Busch, one of Bismarck's biographers, considers this remark "somewhat heartless," but adds that the course proposed was "perhaps worthy of consideration." General Grant's orders were that "nothing should be left to invite the enemy to return." That the order was as literally carried out as possible, is evident from Sheridan's report to the commander-in-chief: "I have destroyed over two thousand barns filled with

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wheat, hay and farming implements; over seventy mills filled with wheat and flour; have driven in front of the army over four thousand head of stock; and have killed and issued to the troops not less than three thousand sheep." However, this was not the worst. If General Sheridan was thorough, he was not cruel or needlessly destructive according to the usages of war. Of General Hunter, who also operated in this region, General Sorrel writes in his "Recollections of a Staff Officer," published in 1905: "He had no military distinction, but had served against the Indians with the same cruelties which it was now his delight to apply to non-combatants in southwest Virginia and the head of the Shenandoah Valley. No property within the reach of his destroying hand seemed safe from him. His fame lay, not in the soldier's hard-fought battles, but in burning farmers' houses and barns. The extensive schools at Lexington aroused his hate and were laid in ashes." "General Crook, fine soldier that he was, then serving with him said: 'He would have burned the Natural Bridge could he have compassed it. The marvel is that he did not try to blow it up.'" To this ruthless officer, the designation *rebel* connoted everything that was vile in human nature. Those to whom it was applied had no claim to be regarded as sentient beings, but as the scum of the earth who were to be plundered and harassed in every way. Hunter seems to have been acting under the authority of Grant, albeit in this valley were living many members of those religious bodies who are opposed to all war and took no part on either side. It is characteristic of the bitterness that perdured even after the close of the war that General Hunter was put in charge of the trial of Mrs. Surratt and her "fellow-conspirators." Another case of wanton destruction was the burning of the library of Timothy Flint, Jr., by the Union troops at Alexandria, Louisiana. Here was a private collection of books and manuscripts, perhaps not equalled, certainly not surpassed in value in the entire South. It contained not only the greater part of the elder Flint's books, but also some of the written materials that he had left at his death. That conflagration was a typical exhibition of what is popularly known as vandalism—the gratification of the lust for destruction without regard to whether the thing destroyed will benefit the destroyer, or inflict irreparable loss upon posterity.

The burning of the library in Alexandria was somewhat like that

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of Louvain which aroused the sympathy of the entire civilized world, the justification in both cases being military necessity. But even military necessity has its limits. The German Emperor at once saw that a mistake had been made or he would not have publicly declared that "my heart bleeds for Louvain." That the "rebels" would have done the same thing under like circumstances should not be taken for granted so long as they had given no proof. They had possession, for some time, of the college buildings at Carlisle without inflicting any material damage. The same statement holds good of the college at Gettysburg. We need not call upon the enemy for evidence of the awful treatment visited upon his territory. The Union commanders not only made no secret of what their forces had done—they gloried in it. General Grant writes to Sheridan: "We want the Shenandoah Valley to remain a barren waste." In his "Memoirs" General Sherman reports that "one hundred million dollars of damage has been done to Georgia, twenty millions of this went to our benefit, the remainder was simply waste and destruction." In his "Story of the Great March," Major Nichols writes that "History will in vain be searched for a parallel to the scathing and destructive effect of the invasion of the Carolinas." On the other hand General Gordon told the women of York, Pennsylvania: "If a torch is applied to a single dwelling or an insult offered to a woman by a soldier under my command, point him out to me and you shall have his life." Charles Francis Adams expressed the opinion that it can be doubted if a hostile foe ever advanced in an enemy's country or fell back from it in retreat leaving behind it less cause for hate and bitterness than did the Army of Northern Virginia."

Northern indignation burned with exceptional fierceness against South Carolina for three reasons. One was because she took the lead in the secession movement. Another was that the firing on Fort Sumter took place within her borders. But the strongest reason was the Brooks-Sumner episode, in 1856. There was absolutely no justification or palliation for the cowardly act of the assailant. Under ordinary circumstances Brooks might have been regarded as acting under the diabolical inspiration of ardent spirits. But when, upon his resignation, his State at once reelected him and sent him back to Washington in triumph it made itself *particeps criminis* in the outrage. Yet South Carolina had long boasted of the chivalry

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of her sons! Let us, however, examine the other side of the shield. There is some evidence available to prove that if the southern troops did less damage and wrought less destruction in the North than their enemies did in the South, it was not always for lack of will but for lack of time.

One of the last trains that left Washington for the North before Early's raid, was plundered by a detachment of Johnson's cavalry. A number of prominent persons was on the train. Their trunks were rifled and everything of value taken or destroyed. About the same time the small city of Frederick, Maryland, was compelled by Early to pay him two hundred thousand dollars in good money under threat of the torch. He also brought off more than a thousand horses. The citizens of Chambersburg were less complaisant than their neighbors in the adjoining State and a great conflagration was the penalty. In the late fall of 1865 a widow living on a farm near Gettysburg told the writer that shortly before the battle, a brigade of southern troops invaded her premises and ordered her to bake into bread all her flour. She had no alternative but to obey. It happened a short time before that she had received five barrels of flour which proved to be of inferior grade and it was a problem what to do with it. When the Confederates left, the problem had been solved.

One of the most graphic and at the same time one of the most heartrending descriptions of the terrible fate of Lawrence, Kansas, in August, 1863, is given in a recent volume published at Memphis, Tennessee, entitled "Under the Black Flag," by Captain Kit Dalton, one of the participants in the massacre. Although this account was written many years after the events described, the author not only makes no apology for the deed but glories in it in language of which the following quotation is a sample: "No punishment could have been too severe for a community whose sympathies these rapacious renegades enjoyed or whose cowardice prevented a vigorous protest against their infamous machinations." The men to whom he refers were these: "What greater blight could wither the hopes of a community than the presence of John Brown, Jennison and Jim Lane? What greater curse could afflict a people than the presence of this triumvirate which recognized no law but greed, no authority but bestial lust? It was not my privilege to meet up with the redoubtable Brown, for 'Jim Brown's body lay

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mouldering in the clay' several years before I donned my war regiments. But my personal acquaintance with Jim Lane and Jennison, his bloody satraps, and my knowledge of the devastation and suffering caused by these heartless villains justifies me in expressing myself in language that would bar this book from the mails." Although the butchery can not be condemned in language stronger than the heinousness of the crime justifies, no small share of the blame rests on the Union troops for their lack of vigilance when stationed at a post of danger. The thrifty little city was guarded, or at least supposed to be guarded, by about two thousand Federal soldiers while the attacking party was composed of less than one-twentieth of this number of men. The fort occupied by the soldiers was located on the banks of the sluggish stream that wends its way through the outskirts of the place, while the commanding officers lived in the city "enjoying all the luxuries that could be obtained of the intimidated people." "General Collamore, overcome with the fear of falling into the hands of the enemy, jumped into a well to save himself, but forgot to jump out again and so perished like the cellar toad that he was—with water on the brain, it is thought." After making due allowance for extenuating circumstances, there is no doubt that the inefficiency of the officer in command justifies, to some extent, the sneering tone of the narrator in expressing his opinion of the man. "In a short time the whole city was one seething, writhing mass of flames, a pandemonium of crashing houses and heavy explosions, a jargon of shrieks and wails and pleadings, a bedlam of tragic confusion and a holocaust of damnation," Amid the confusion the work of indiscriminate looting was carried on. "When we marched out of town we must have looked like a dry goods caravan crossing the desert." "One ridiculous fellow had his horse laden with tin buckets, tin cans, pie plates and coffee pots, till he looked like a perambulating tin mine. Another had up before him a live hog which was lustily protesting against the indignity in fierce and piercing screams."

As soon as we had entered the place "our charge turned into an indiscriminate fight, each soldier selecting his own method and going his own way undisputed by any authority. It was a battle no longer, but a slaughter of men too terror stricken to surrender and too wild with fright that possessed them to offer any resistance." The slaughter continued for three hours and the victims

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probably exceeded the assailants. The leader of the band, the notorious Charles William Quantrell, was a native of Maryland. When the war broke out he was about thirty years old and was teaching school in Missouri. Having caught the Western fever, he and one of his brothers set out in a covered wagon for Colorado. However, before they had got beyond the boundary of Kansas they were attacked one night by highwaymen; the brother was instantly killed and the man, who afterwards gained such a terrible reputation for cruelty, was so badly wounded that he was left for dead and the entire outfit carried or driven away. The wounded man lay on the wet ground for some days when he was found by a friendly Indian, who, like the Good Samaritan of the Scriptures, nursed him back to health. Later, the surviving Quantrell found out who the plunderers and murderers were, there being about thirty in the gang, and swore vengeance upon them. Quantrell claimed that before he met his own fate he had killed at least twenty-seven of the murderers. Private grudges had much to do with making the war, where the two parties were nearly equal, particularly sanguinary.

The fierce thirst for vengeance on a certain Captain Blaylock, that could be quenched only with blood, was the chief motive that led young Dalton to join the Confederates. Blaylock had shot one of his uncles whom he was escorting to a place of detention, leaving his wife a widow with eight children, all girls, one of them only a few months old. These events took place in Logan County, Kentucky. When a few hours later young Dalton learned of the cold-blooded murder of his unarmed kinsman, he swore vengeance on the perpetrator. Not long after, having found a friend who was not only willing but eager to share the danger, the two young fellows set out on their errand of vengeance. "The following evening we were enroute to Blaylock's headquarters, which was also his double log cabin home where he and his gang of assassins were met to discuss the most heinous methods of disposing of the rebels and, with the aid of the devil, hatched up excuses for murdering inoffensive men and women and robbing helpless widows in the name of the Stars and Stripes." Providing themselves with a horse each, the two boys hitched them in a patch of woodland back of the barn and with "our double-barreled guns slipped up noiselessly behind a big wood-pile and there awaited developments. * * * As we lay

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there waiting for developments and the opportunity we sought, I could distinctly hear Blaylock as he opened up a tirade against me for the little part I played in the escapade where all my companions were so foully butchered. (This refers to several young men who had surrendered to Blaylock's troops on the assurance that their lives would be spared. All were forthwith shot). He was telling how he 'lowed' to ketch Curly Dalton and subject him to a torturing death, and as he suggested plans and methods, his cowardly followers would cheer him on by their loud haw-haws, now and then adding some feature of barbarity to the scheme which their leader had overlooked." * * * "We were getting impatient for action, but still we waited, and in a few minutes a woman came out from a doorway leading to a passage where the rascals were assembled. In her hand she carried a candle, unconsciously lighting the captain's way through the dim shadows where a tallow candle would endure but a short time. The light fell on the malignant face, revealing a pair of devil eyes that shone with malicious hate. * * * Slipping our guns noiselessly through a crack in the fence, I aimed at the dark shadow in the passage-way and pulled both triggers. At the first explosion there was a furious commotion in that vestibule, but before the counsellors of the blackbearded imp could determine what to do, we opened fire with our pistols and when the battle ended, thirteen of the twenty assassins had paid the price of their heartless crime against my old uncle. Blaylock was the first to pay the penalty of his awful crime."

Many and terrible were the tragedies staged in the middle region of the Union during those parlous days beginning with about the year 1855 and continuing with interruptions for more than a score of years. In many localities there was no law but that of the stronger and most astute, as there was no one to enforce the laws that were on the statute books. Many of the people who were kindly and sympathetic by nature became veritable fiends under the sting of what they considered private wrongs. Comparatively few of those terrible deeds are matters of record and now live only in the memories of the small number of persons who still survive or in the memories of their children and grandchildren to whom they were told. Some of the southern writers who have dealt with the conflict that broke out between the States in 1861 insist that it was not a civil war but a sectional war or a war between sovereign

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states. Admitting the truth of their contention, so far as much of the South is concerned, it cannot be maintained when applied to the region here under consideration.

General Sorrel from whose "Recollections" quotations have been given elsewhere, writing of conditions in East Tennessee reports that "The people of these valleys made an interesting study. They doubtless went through much during the Civil War and part of their disposition at the period of our occupation may be accounted for. The general run of the people had an extremely hard time, and they soon became equally hard. Apparently they were without pity or compassion—generosity and sympathy were strangers to them, but hatred and revenge made their homes in the breasts of these farmers. When the Confederates came on the ground, then was the time for acts of brutality against their Union neighbors, the political feeling in the valleys being about equally divided. Burnings, hangings and whippings were common—all acts of private vengeance and retaliation. When their turn came and the Unionists were in authority, Confederate sympathizers were made to suffer in the same way; and so it went through the long and bloody strife." The more fully these conditions are understood the better it will be for posterity as showing what enormities men will commit when all legal restraints are removed. What is called civilization is hardly more than a thin veneer spread over most of us that cracks and drops off under the strain of real or fancied wrongs.

Only a few years ago Europe was the horrified witness of what extremes of frightfulness a people who are by nature kindly will resort to when in their opinion conditions justify their acts. Many similar tragedies were enacted during the Revolutionary War, although it should be said, to the credit of the American people, they were probably not very numerous. Every guilty deed is its own avenger. Unfortunately the innocent are often swept away in the cataclysm and for them there is no redress.

Probably the most extensive and certainly the most useless raid carried out in the interest of the confederacy was the plundering expedition through southern Indiana and Ohio which ended near the Pennsylvania line. It was under the command of General J. H. Morgan, and was undertaken a short time before the massacre at Lawrence, Kansas. The purpose of this raid is still a mystery. Morgan's men did not pillage with any system, but seized what-

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ever came to hand. General Duke, the second in command and the historian of the expedition, relates that "one man carried a bird cage with three canaries for three days." Another had seven pairs of skates slung about his neck, although the weather was intensely hot. General Duke relates that he saw very little of value carried off. "Our men pillaged like boys robbing an orchard. I would not have believed that such a passion could have developed so ludicrously among any body of civilized men. With exceptions, the men threw away their plunder after a while like children tired of their toys." Although General Duke may not have seen many articles of value carried off, a great deal of property was destroyed by fire and by other means. The commission later appointed to audit the claims for losses of property allowed nearly six hundred thousand dollars; of this amount about one-fourth was for losses caused by the Union troops engaged in the pursuit of Morgan. The leader of the expedition was finally captured in Columbiana County, Ohio, and with him most of his command. The cost of the raid to the people of Ohio alone was more than a million dollars. The claims were not all adjusted until many years after. That a considerable number of excessive or fraudulent claims were allowed was generally admitted at the time of the award, but the distributors of the awards preferred to give the claimants the benefit of the doubt where doubt existed.

Less than a year ago Mildred Lewis Rutherford, of Athens, Georgia, issued a volume of about one hundred and twenty-five pages entitled "Truths of History," the avowed purpose of which is to give the reader "a fair, unbiased, impartial, unprejudiced and conscientious study of history." The book does not appear to have been published but only printed. In any case it is well worth reading for the reason that it contains hundreds of citations which those who consult the book can verify for themselves. While it is true that there are some important omissions, they were unavoidable, as it was impossible to touch upon every point at issue within the space prescribed. Miss Rutherford makes it fairly clear that if the question of secession had been decided by arguments, the South would have won.

Two years ago Henry W. Nevins, a correspondent of the "Manchester Guardian" and a staunch friend of America wrote an article for his newspaper in which he said, among other things:

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"Perhaps it is this fear of unknown change that keeps the American patient also under his Constitution. To the Americans it is the Ark of the Covenant, the law of the Medes and Persians. Foreigners perceive it to be obviously obsolete—a form of government to be fairly well designed by predecessors of the French Revolution, but as much out of date as Washington's gilded sword. Yet if I suggest the advantage of the melting-pot, or the smallest change in the creaking old machine, I hear a gasp go round the circle as though I had committed the sin against the Holy Ghost." It is especially instructive to observe how our Presidents have avoided coming into conflict with that clause of the Constitution which empowers Congress to make war. When President Polk declared that war exists between the United States and Mexico, he threw the whole blame on the latter country. His words are: "War exists and notwithstanding all our efforts to avoid it, exists by the act of Mexico herself." These words remind us unpleasantly, if not painfully, of the words of the last German Emperor: "The sword has been forced into our hands." While it has nothing to do with the merits of the case, the feeble resistance offered by the Mexicans may be taken as evidence that her people were little interested in the conflict. The refusal of the then government is proof positive that those who constituted it either knew nothing of the danger they were incurring by engaging in a struggle with so formidable a power as the United States, or precipitated it for domestic reasons just as the German Emperor did several decades later. If ever the words of the Psalmist: "Surely the wrath of man shall praise thee," could be fittingly applied to human affairs, they were appropriate to the Mexican War. The truth of this dictum was plain to the Mexicans themselves, at least to those in the annexed territory, before it had been a part of the United States a decade. There are said to be four millions of Mexicans north of the Rio Grande at the present time. Of this number not ten per cent are in favor of returning to their former allegiance. When President Polk wrote that "war exists" he subjected the English language to a violent strain. One party can not make a war. It can invade another's territory, but until there is resistance there is no war. Lincoln and Wilson had a better case, but they did not wait for Congress to declare war.

For about sixty years after the adoption of the first twelve amendments, the people of the United States seem to have con-

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sidered their Federal Constitution a finality. Since then several amendments have been adopted and several hundreds proposed or suggested from time to time. The fact has been generally ignored or overlooked that the Dred Scott decision, whether right or wrong, wise or unwise was strictly legal and valid. It was rendered by a majority of seven judges to two while many others upon which the vote of the judges stood five to four have been accepted without question. The legality of the decision as reported by Justice Taney was not questioned by anybody. Those who denounced it directed their condemnation against the document itself. Henry Cabot Lodge, whom nobody will charge with friendliness toward the South is credited with writing: "The weak place in Webster's armor in the Hayne-Webster debate was historical—the facts were against him. And Chief Justice Story in that controversy never once mentioned secession; he was stressing nullification." Judge Story also said: "If the Constitution is a compact, the States have a right to secede." This argument is weak; a compact entered into by a number of units can not be dissolved except by a majority. On the other hand, it is hardly a matter for doubt that the original Colonies entered the Union as separate entities that could withdraw if and when they chose. Although we are firmly attached to our Constitution, our Presidents have found means to circumvent it under certain contingencies. Theodore Roosevelt took the ground that the President may do anything not forbidden by the Constitution and acted on that assumption when he "took" Panama. President Jefferson was in doubt whether he had the authority, under the Constitution, to purchase Louisiana; but the enormous advantage of the deal swept away his scruples. The clause of the Constitution which enumerates among the prerogatives of Congress the power to declare war, certainly means that Congress alone shall have that power. Technically, there is a difference between nullification and secession; practically, there is not or at least very little. If a State can nullify or disregard a law enacted by all of the other States, it is virtually independent. There is no limit to its authority except that which it imposes upon itself.

The doctrine of States Rights has frequently involved its uncompromising advocates in irreconcilable contradictions. A most instructive example is the decision of the Supreme Court in the matter of the so-called Jim Crow cars, etc. A part of the four-

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teenth article declares that "No State shall make or enforce any law which shall abridge the privileges or immunities of citizens of the United States." If this does not mean that everywhere and under all circumstances no negro shall be discriminated against in any way, what does it mean? Yet there is hardly a State in the Union in which a colored man, no matter how intelligent or how nearly white or how wealthy he may be, is not discriminated against. The discrimination goes farther in some of the Southern States than in others, and in the North, but it exists everywhere. Even that vigorous champion of the doctrine, Jefferson Davis, came into conflict with an official who was determined to put the doctrine into effect, Governor Brown of Georgia. The President of the Confederacy wanted all the troops he could assemble at what he considered the most critical points, while the Governor did not want his men to leave the State. He insisted that they were most needed at home. In this case the President was wiser than the Governor since the greater includes the less. If a northern army had been defeated anywhere it would have been a gain for the entire confederacy. On the other hand, a merely local defeat would have meant little to either side. In the North, similar conflicts arose, but the President or his representatives, in every case, simply overrode or ignored the protests of minor officials.

Recent writers in the South complain that their writers never received the credit which their merits deserved in histories of American literature. Assuming the charge to be true, it was certainly not due to deliberate neglect or to malice prepense. Among American writers who began to come before the American public towards the close of the last century not a few were of Southern birth, yet their writings were and still continue to be widely read. American literature proper may be said to have been born in Philadelphia. Later it moved to New York and still later to Boston. E. A. Poe was a southerner by birth, but he spent most of his life in the North, and what little recognition he received was accorded to him by a northern public. It would not be easy to find a competent judge anywhere in the world who will not admit that America never gave birth to a greater writer than Poe. In fact, it may be said that in the whole range of English literature he has few peers and no superiors. Not only are his writings unsurpassed in form, but in matter, he having been the creator of the mystery and

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detective stories that have issued from the press in such abundance during the last few decades.

Richmond, Charleston, New Orleans, Nashville, and St. Louis, have long been cities of considerable importance, but very few, if any books have been issued from their presses. At or near the beginning of our sectional war there were in the United States at least one hundred public libraries containing over ten thousand volumes. Of this number only twelve were in the South; in fact, the South can hardly be said to have had any public libraries in the strict sense of the term. From the beginning of the anti-slavery agitation the Southern people manifested a disposition to stifle discussion. If it existed on its merits and was the beneficent institution that many people claimed for it, its champions should have courted and welcomed examination and discussion. From the very nature of the case, and human minds being what they are, this spirit of exclusiveness aroused suspicion, and certainly hurt more than it helped the cause of the slaveholders. Not only did the southern people insist that abolition documents should be excluded from the mails, but in 1835 President Jackson recommended, in a message to Congress, that publications intended to instigate the slaves to insurrection should be excluded from the mails under penalties. Postmasters took it upon themselves to decide what was incendiary and confiscated matter which they considered such, and the head of the department made no objections. As very few of the slaves could read and a large proportion of the whites were in the same state of ignorance, it is evident that fear was grounded on suspicion and not on fact.

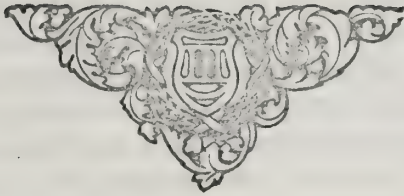
The docility of the slaves during the early years of the war, their fidelity to their masters and their humaneness after the issuance of the Emancipation Proclamation demonstrated how utterly groundless was the fear of a general rising of the colored people. John Brown's complete misunderstanding of the attitude of the slaves toward their masters cost him his life. Some people even at this day profess to see in his execution a just punishment for his wicked attempt to instigate a rising of the blacks that would result in a massacre over the entire South. The House of Representatives, after a heated discussion, resolved to receive no more petitions regarding slavery. The course of John Q. Adams in this controversy is well known. Such a resolution might be justifiable in

time of war, but even under such circumstances the American people have always regarded free speech and a free press as one of their inalienable rights, a statement that holds good of all the people of English speech. Even during the war between the States there was comparatively little interference with the freedom of speech and of the press in the North.

In 1863 Bishop Hopkins published his "View of Slavery from the Days of the Patriarch Abraham to the Nineteenth Century." The volume consists of nearly four hundred pages and is a work of great learning. It was extensively read, doubtless chiefly in the North. So far as the South is concerned, the learned author endeavors to show that the blacks were a hundred times better off than in their native Africa and a great deal better treated than many free laborers in England. He does not seem to have discovered the fundamental fallacy underlying and vitiating much of his thesis. If a custom or an institution is to be preserved merely because it has long existed there could be little or no progress. To mention only two such, child-labor laws are not only modern, but they are recent; of prohibition legislation the same affirmation may be made. This is not taking the position that it is wise or unwise, but merely that the historical argument is at least in regard to many matters utterly worthless. It should also be mentioned in this connection, that more than one hundred and fifty of Bishop Hopkins' fellow clergymen led by Bishop Potter, of Pennsylvania, signed the following protest, which is given here somewhat abridged: "The subscribers deeply regret that the fact of the extensive circulation through this diocese of a letter by the Bishop of Vermont compels them to make this protest. As ministers of Christ, it becomes them to deny any complicity or sympathy with such a defense. The subscribers also affirm that they regard the advocacy of slavery, as it exists in the Southern States as unworthy of any servant of Jesus Christ. They also condemn the States in rebellion for their wicked attempt to establish, by force of arms, a nominal republic" whose corner-stone shall be the perpetual bondage of the African. They further declare that such an attempt "challenges their indignant reprobation." Bishop Hopkins' co-religionists made no suggestion that the volume which they so strongly condemned should be suppressed. Contrast with this concession to the right of free speech in favor of slavery, the attitude of many persons towards

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those who disapproved the institution even in the North. E. P. Lovejoy was shot and fatally injured for publishing an anti-slavery paper. A year later the office of the "Pennsylvania Freeman" was destroyed by a mob. Georgia offered a reward of five thousand dollars for the apprehension of Garrison, and Mississippi offered a like reward for the arrest of any one found circulating the "Liberator." In Louisiana, a vigilance committee offered ten times this sum for the delivery to them of Arthur Tappan.



A Petition of Paul Revere

BY MABEL A. CLIFFT, BROOKLYN, NEW YORK



THE name of Paul Revere is one that calls up a mental picture of a galloping horseman riding in the dead of night to arouse a sleeping country-side to the defence of home. At the present day, children and, indeed, men and women, who never were carried along by the stirring metre and words of Longfellow's poem, know of Paul Revere, his famous and historic ride, and his service to the colonial cause, through the medium of a motion picture in which this incident, admirably portrayed, gives a chief dramatic theme. There has recently come under the observation of the writer, however, a letter in Paul Revere's handwriting which will always remain in memory as a companion piece to the picture of the patriot horseman.

This letter is dated "Canton Feby 20 1804," is addressed to "William Eustis Esq Member of Congress Washington," and its contents show that even that early in the life of the national Congress its members had been shorn of the dignity and aloofness traditionally believed to be inherent in high legislative bodies and were called upon by their constituency for the support of such projects as appealed to the petitioners. Its text follows:

"Sir—Mrs. Deborah Gannet of Thason informs me, that she has inclosed to Your Care a petition to Congress in favour of Her. My works for manufacturing of Copper, being a Canton, but a short distance from the neighborhood where She lives: I have been induced to enquire her situation, and Character, since she quitted the Male habit, and Soldiers uniform; for the more decent apparel of her own sex; & since she has been married and become a Mother.—Humanity, & Justice, obliges me to say, that every person with whom I have conversed about Her, and it is not a few, speak of Her as a woman of handsom talents, good morals, a dutifull Wife and an affectionate parent.—She is now much out of health; She has several Children; her Husband is a good sort of a Man, 'tho of small force in business; they have a few acres of poor land which they cultivate, but they are really poor.

A PETITION OF PAUL REVERE

She told me, she had no doubt that her ill health is in consequence of her being exposed when She did a Soldiers duty; and that while in the army, She was wounded.

We commonly form our idea of the person whom we hear spoken off, whom we have never seen; according as their actions are described, when I heard her spoken off as a Soldier, I formed the Idea of a tall, Masculine female, who had a small share of understanding, without education, & one, of the meanest of her Sex.—When I saw and discoursed with I was agreeably surprised to find a small effeminate, and converseable Woman, whose education entitled her to a better situation in life. I have no doubt your humanity will prompt you to do all in Your power to get her some relief; I think her case much more deserving than hundreds to whom Congress have been generous.

I am Sir with esteem

& respect

Your humble Servant

(Signed) PAUL REVERE."

Two things impress the reader in the above quoted communication,—first, the hitherto unrecorded and unrecognized patriotic valor of the "small, effeminate, and conversable woman" who, unlike her sister soldier, Molly Pitcher, never came into her place in the sun of admiration by posterity; the second, the sympathetic kindness of the gentleman who took up his pen in her behalf and who, it is reasonable to suppose, had opened his purse to relieve her immediate wants. Revere was then in his seventieth year. His writing, despite the oddly formed characters in vogue in the period, is remarkably clear, and the purpose of his writing shows a warmth of spirit and a friendly impulse toward a former comrade in arms (strange as the expression sounds applied to a woman). His letter presents to public view an interesting side-light upon a character whose fame will endure as long as the lesson of patriotism is taught in song and story. His ride was made in the long ago and the poet wrote that "the fate of a nation was riding that night." The words suggest the thought that, as his letter to his representative in Congress was carried by post rider to its destination, he was concerned in a ride involving another fate, that of the little woman who found her place with her "men folks" on the battle line of the Revolution.

A Sketch of the Relations of New York With the Five Nations

BY JOEL N. ENO, A. M.



THE social structure common to the aborigines throughout America was fundamentally the clan-system. A clan is a collection of families united under a chieftain, and all claiming descent from a common stock; or, as explained by Maine, "includes a number of persons in theory of kin to it, yet in fact connected with it only by common dependence on the chief." The significance of Maine's definition is especially illustrated in the present discussion. In comparison with other early social organizations, it is identified with the *phratria* or brotherhood, rather than with the *gens*, which was but a powerful family under a single leader, monarchic, while the *phratria* is aristocratic. The general principle of clanship is that of common rights and duties, including the obligation to avenge one another's wrongs. The tribe is a union of clans; its chief function is military; that of the clan, juristic. In savagery, kinship is traced in the female or maternal line, the mother and her children being considered the family, the father or husband as a perpetual guest. Several families of sisters form a clan, of which the mother is the lawgiver, and the eldest brother her executive,—the chief. The horizon of the clan being so limited, the aborigines of America had no general or comprehensive name for the natives of this continent; not even any national name, for there was no nation; and very rarely a real tribal name. The term "Indios" for the aborigines of America first occurs in a letter of Columbus, dated February, 1493, because he supposed he had discovered the farther coast of India. The name was adopted by the Spanish, Portugese, and Italians, and gradually made its way into other European languages; yet the early French settlers of Canada used "les sauvages" and the early English settlers of New England, "salvages," which was very apt and expressive if taken in its ancient meaning, derived from Latin

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silvaticus; that is, "people of the woods," or "wild people;" Dutch, "wilden."

Recent comparative study of North American Indian languages reveals that the most extensive family of allied languages, and, inferentially, of related stocks racially, is extended over a great triangular tract of territory, whose base may be taken on the Atlantic coast from Newfoundland to Virginia, whence a second side runs northwestward to a point on the eastern slope of the Rocky Mountains near the northern border of the United States; and the third side runs from the lastnamed point northeastward to Hudson's Bay and on to the Newfoundland point of beginning. This family of languages and tribes is now called the Algonquian, from Algonquin, Englished from the French *Algonmequin*, the name originally of a small tribe on the Gatineau River, a branch of the Ottawa, into which it empties near the city of Ottawa, Canada. Like two islands in a sea of other racial stocks were the two divisions of an independent stock, now called the Iroquoian, from the Frenchized name given them by their Algonquian neighbors in Canada, Iroquois (from Iri(n)akhoiw, with the French suffix -ois). The northern division, with which this discussion has mainly to do, consisted of a confederation of tribes mainly located in the present New York State and central Pennsylvania, with points of extension farther north and farther south; and the Hurons, as the French called the tribes inhabiting the peninsula bounded by Lakes Ontario and Erie on the east, and Lake Huron and Georgian Bay on the west. The confederation was already in existence when the French, English, and Dutch first settled in the neighboring Algonquian regions, and consisted of five tribes. The confederacy was a development of the government of the separate tribes, each of which was an independent political unit in local self-government; as each tribe was a development of each of the constituent clans, or brood families (that is, progeny of a woman and her female descendants, counting through the female line only), the evidence indicates that this confederacy began not earlier than 1570. Kinship meant membership in a family, which constituted citizenship in the tribe, which conferred certain social, political, and religious privileges, duties, and rights, denied to persons of alien blood, except these were obtained by adoption; and the confederacy was based primarily on blood relationship. As might be expected from the political posi-

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tion and power of the mother of a family, child-bearing women had suffrage, and the privilege of nominating a chief, and the enactment of important measures, both in the northern and the southern Iroquoian tribes. There were three grades of chiefs: those of the confederacy, those of the tribe, and those of the clan. The tribes acted jointly in matters which concerned all in common, especially in opening war. While it may be said with truth that the northern Iroquois, especially the "Five Nations," as they finally came to be called by the English, were second to no other Indian people north of Mexico in political organization, statecraft, and military prowess, a close study of the New York documents shows that they were rather shrewd bargainers than "astute diplomats," as one has called them, for so-called "presents" figure very prominently in their negotiations. They were also powerfully influenced by implacable resentment of an injury.¹ Champlain, first of the Europeans to come in contact with them, in his expedition, in 1608, to establish the trading post of Quebec, made them bitter enemies of the French by joining a party of the Hurons, with whom they were at war.

The Dutch came in contact with the Iroquois as fur traders of the United New Netherland Company. In the first mention in Dutch records, 1616, and in the treaty made with the Five Nations in 1617,² the name Maquaas is used, apparently the Algonquin name of the Makwa or Bear clan of the nearest Indians; called by the English farther east, Mohawks, a form cognate with Narragansett Mohowaunek, "they eat living things," a hint at cannibalism, of which instances are on record. With the Senecas and Onondagas, they form the "Three Elder Brothers" in the federal council, and other intertribal assemblies. Like the Oneidas, the Mohawks have only three clans: the Bear, the Wolf, and the Turtle, each represented by three chiefs from each of the three clans. The "Maquas" were settled on the west bank of the Hudson near the Mohawk, and up the Mohawk to Little Falls, where they reached the Oneida border, and held the region northward; but the Dutch records lump all the other Indians of the Five Nations as Sinnekaas or Sinnekens,—the Algonquin equivalent of the Iroquois Oneida, that is Tiione(n)iote, "there it is—rock has set up," or in English,

¹Handbook of American Indians, vol. I, p. 616. (Bureau Amer. Ethnol. Bulletin 30).

²(Doc. Rel. to) Col. Hist. N. Y., vol. I, p. 78. ("Contents," by dates).

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the place of the standing stone; and Algonquin, "assini-ika," stone place, in English, Seneca, through the Dutch. West of the Oneidas were the Onondagas, Iroquois onontagé, "on top of the hill," whence the French records and the Jesuit Relations call them "Les Montagneurs" or mountaineers. Their location was central among the Five Nations, and was the assembly-place of the confederacy. West of them was Cayuga, said to mean "locust-catching place," seat of the Cayuga tribe; and to the westernmost and largest of the Five Nations, the old name of Senecas was finally limited. We have thus seen the regular principle of the Europeans was to name from the place where they found a given tribe settled when they first came in contact with it; and considering that most tribes lived mainly by hunting and fishing, and were nomadic within certain limits, the result was often a confusing multiplicity of names, representing no real distinction of blood, but practically the same people. The Five Nations were, however, comparatively settled; living in a good farming region, they gave increasing attention to farming products, as game grew scarce.

Colden, in his "History of the Five Nations," compiled in 1727, and Lewis H. Morgan, in his "League of the Ho-dé-no-saá-nee, (i. e. People of the Long House) or Iroquois," give us comprehensive and detailed descriptions of their customs, arts, manner of life and thought, interspersed with a little history,—necessarily limited, since they had no writing, and the nearest approach to a record was in the memory of the wampum-keepers, stimulated by the association with certain belts and strings of wampum, given by one tribe to another on important occasions,—whose symbolic meaning was set forth at the time by professional spokesmen. Mere general traditions as to events remote in time or place, among them, as elsewhere, are but an uncertain and generally unreliable guide, especially as to people of another language. A plain instance will be seen in the notes to the latest editions of Morgan, on the relations of the Iroquois and the Adirondacks. Colden, who was colonial surveyor-general, especially of new grants in the Mohawk region, says that the Iroquois had no iron tools before the French came, though they were planters of corn and exchanged products with other tribes; that love of country, contempt of death, and revenge, are marked traits with them; that they governed in war and in peace by sachems and old men, but with no compulsion; rather is

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the sachem the father and benefactor of his tribe, and usually poorer than the commons, because of his hospitality to visiting sachems in intertribal councils, and his giving of presents and distributing spoils of war, lest he be suspected of selfishness; and that the mark with which he signs papers is the animal or totem representing his clan.

A considerable part of the "Jesuit Relations" consists of the relations of the French with neighboring Indian tribes, and, especially in connection with the Hurons (Iroquoian), throws a side-light on the Five Nations. The "Relations" were written out by French missionaries to the Indians, 1635-1769; the whole lengthy list (26) being of the Jesuit order, except two, who were Sulpitians;³ from the nature of the case, the religious interests and events occupy the foreground; conversions, and religious experiences of the missionaries and their converts, journals of everyday events and expeditions of the tribe, enhanced by correspondence occasionally, and transmitted under great difficulties, and observations on peoples and products, occupy a large part of this great collection. (Thwaites' edition has 73 volumes.)

French views of the Five Nations are in great measure taken from the standpoint of enemies. It is only in the writing and documents of the Dutch and their English successors in New York, that we get views from a friendly standpoint, especially as to the Mohawks, and the fullest account extant, of the tribal affairs of the Five Nations.

As the Pequots and Narragansetts of southern New England had palisaded or stockaded enclosures in which hundreds of Indians might plant and defend their wigwams, so had the divisions of the tribes of the Five Nations; such were called in New England "forts," but in New Netherland and New York records, "castles." Parkman, drawing from the "Jesuit Relations," gives a description of the Huron type, which is representative of the construction. The site was chosen primarily for its adaptation for defense, natural advantages being taken advantage of. A ditch was dug around the site, the earth being heaped within. Trees were then cut into lengths for a high stockade, and planted in this embankment, sometimes in three or

³Doc. Hist. of N. Y., vol. 4, p. 189.

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four concentric rows. A plot of workable planting land in the vicinity is an essential. It is burned over, and dug into by the squaws, and they plant corn, beans, pumpkins, and tobacco. Unlike the Algonquin coast Indians, who plant a fish in the hill with the corn, they use no manure, and when the land is exhausted, must take up another plot. The number of "castles" and villages varied somewhat according to the size of the tribe. For most of the period of colonial history, the Mohawks had three castles. The Five Nations, on account of the lack of birch bark in their country, were obliged to use elm bark for covering their long houses (sometimes 100 by 20 feet) and for making canoes.

Coming to the historical as distinguished from the traditional period of the Five Nations, and to chronological records, we find first the French record of the Mohawks, when Champlain, seated at Tadousac, at the issuance of the Saguenay into the St. Lawrence River, in 1603, mentions his first hearing of them and their country. With his first meeting with the Iroquois on July 30, 1609,⁴ they first heard and saw the effect of firearms, when about 200 Iroquois were defeated and dismayed by their use by Champlain's soldiers, near Lake Champlain, in company with a band of Canadian Algonquins.

Eelkens' garrison, at the fort a little below the present Albany, having disappeared after the dissolution of the United New Netherland Company in 1618, the West India Company, chartered June 3, 1621, sent over its pioneers in 1623, and soon after built Fort Orange, the site of which is near the lower end of Market Street, Albany. The next recorded contact of the Dutch with the Mohawks is in Wassenaer's "*Historisch Verhael*" under the year 1626: "It happened this year that the Maykans (Mohicans), going to war with the Maquas, requested to be assisted by the commander of Fort Orange, and six others. Commander Krieckebreeck went up with them; a league from the fort, they met the Maquas, who fell so boldly upon them with a discharge of arrows, that they were forced to fly, and many were killed, among whom were the commander and three of his men. Among the latter was Tymen Bouwens, whom they devoured, after having well roasted him. The rest they burnt. Some days after, Pieter Barentz visited them; they wished to

⁴Doc. Hist. N. Y., vol. 3, p. 6.

⁵Doc. Hist., vol. 3, p. 28, and Narratives of New Neth., ed. Jameson, pp. 61, 139.

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excuse their act on the plea that they had never set themselves against the whites; and asked the reason why the latter had meddled with them; otherwise they would not have shot them." Next they are mentioned in the record of a journey into the Mohawk and Oneida country in 1634-5, supposed to be by H. M. van der Bogaert,⁶ surgeon at Fort Orange at the time; a journey in the interests of that trading-post in furs, as he indicates: "Dec. 11, 1634. The Maquas and Sinnekens very often came stating that there were French Indians in their land, and the Maquas wished to trade, and receive as much for their skins as the French Indians did." All the families had come down the Hudson in 1626, but there were about 25 traders at Fort Orange under Bastiaen J. Krol. Our author, on arrival in the Oneida country, records that the natives had from the French, shirts, coats, razors, and good axes, but does not mention firearms, nor in his Mohawk vocabulary has he any word for any kind of firearms, though the Indians asked for and were delighted with the novelty and noise he made by firing off his pistol before the assembled natives. He mentions also that the Oneidas made a peace for four years.

The "Journael van Nieuw Nederlandt," 1641-1646,⁷ published in 1647, explicitly refers the acquiring of fire-arms by the Iroquois to the opening of the free-to-all trade with the Indians in 1638: "This freedom caused greater mischief; for the inhabitants of Rensselaerswyck, perceiving the Mohawk craving for guns, which some had already received from New England, paying for each as many as twenty beavers, and for a pound of powder ten or twelve guilders, came down in great numbers. This was their wont where people were well supplied with guns, purchasing them at a fair price, then realizing great profits, which was not long a secret; traders from Holland soon got scent of it, and from time to time brought over great quantities, so that the Mohawks in a short time were seen with firelocks, powder, and lead (*vierroers, kruyt en loot*) in proportion. Four hundred armed men knew how to use their weapons to advantage, especially against their enemies living along the River of Canada. * * * Dit doet haer oock ontsien syn van de omlegende wilden, tot aen de Zeecust toe, die haer generalyck tribuyt moeten geven." (This caused them also to be respected by the

⁶Col. Hist., vol. 1, p. 182.

⁷Doc. Hist. N. Y., vol. 4, p. 5.

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surrounding savages, even to the seacoast, who generally had to give them tribute.) Thus this acquisition of firearms made the Mohawks easily masters of the Indians who, lacking them, fought with arrows and tomahawks; and was formidable to the French and Hurons, against whom a war party of Mohawks made a foray in 1642; and was even more disastrous to the people down the Hudson. The Dutch authorities at Manhattan becoming alarmed at the Mohawk conquests rapidly made by the use of firearms, forbade the sale to the River Indians on pain of death; and thus had left them at the mercy of the Mohawks or Mohicans, who in February, 1643, came down upon the Tappans and Weckquaesgeeks and killed 70; 400 fled to the Dutch at Corlaer's Hook and Pavonia, near Manhattan.⁸

In spite of the remonstrance of David P. De Vries, the best judge of Indian character in this part of New Netherland, Kieft ordered or permitted a party of eighty soldiers, as cruel, treacherous, and careless of results as savages, in the night between February 25th and the 26th, 1643, to fall upon the Tappans sleeping in supposed security near friends, at Pavonia, and to murder 80 men, women and children; while another party killed 40 Weckquaesgeek fugitives, also sleeping under like circumstances at Corlaer's Hook, and took 30 prisoners. The other surrounding tribes, already angry and jealous at the refusal of arms for self-defence, and at the injustice of the situation which had allowed sale of Dutch firearms to the attacking Mohawks or Mohicans, made a confederation of eleven tribes, and destroyed almost every settlement south of the Highlands on the west side of the Hudson; it was reported that scarcely 100 men besides traders were left on Manhattan itself, after the bloody war in which 120 Indians had been killed at Hempstead and Maspeth, "upwards of 500" at the Indian village in Greenwich, in 1644, and 1,600 at Manhattan, before they agreed to a peace in August, 1645. According to a reference in later records, a treaty with the Mohawks had been made in 1643.⁹

Rev. Johannes Megapolensis,¹⁰ a Dutch missionary to Rensselaerswyck, 1642, writing in 1644, corroborates the above account of the Mohawk acquisition of firearms, and accompanies this in his

⁸Col. Hist., vol. 1, p. 151.

⁹Col. Hist., vol. 1, pp. 182-5, and Jesuit Rel. for 1659-60.

¹⁰Narratives of New Netherland, ed. by Jameson, pp. 173-4, and N. Y. Historical Soc. Collections, 2d series.

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"Korte Ontwerp," or "Short Account," with one of the closest and most lifelike descriptions of the personal appearance and personal habits of the Mohawks, found in colonial records. He writes:

"The Mohawks are of the same stature as the Dutch. Some have very good features. The bodies and limbs are well proportioned. All have black hair and eyes, but the skin is yellow. In summer they go naked, except the private parts. In winter they hang about them an undressed deer, bear, or panther skin; or sew beaver, otter, wild cat, raccoon, martin, mink, squirrel or other skins into a square piece, which constitutes a garment, or buy of the Dutch $2\frac{1}{2}$ ells of duffels, hung on just as it is torn off, without any sewing. As they go away, they look much at themselves, and think they are very fine. They make stockings and shoes of deer skins or corn leaves. Men and women go bare-headed; the women let the hair grow long, and tie it together, and let it hang down their backs. Some of the men wear the hair on one side of the head, some on both sides. On the top of the head, the hair from the forehead to the neck for about three fingers broad is cut short, two to three fingers long, and it stands on end like hogs' bristles. Likewise they paint their faces, red, blue, etc., and then look like the devil himself. They smear the hair with bear's grease. When they travel, they take maize, a kettle, a wooden bowl and spoon, on their backs. When hungry, they make a fire, and cook; they can get fire by rubbing pieces of wood against each other. They live without marriage. Women prepare the lands, sow, and plant. The men go hunting, fishing, and to war. They eat prisoners of war. They wash neither the face nor the hands. Their bread is of Indian corn beaten between two stones. They make a cake and bake it in the ashes. Other victuals are venison, turkies, hares, bears, wild cats, and their own dogs. The fish are cooked just as they are taken from the water, entrails and all. Not one Indian in a hundred has any hair about his mouth. They make houses of bark; also canoes for five or six from bark; and hollow out trees for large boats for ten to fourteen. Their arms were formerly bows and arrows, a stone ax and hammer. They now get from our people guns, swords, iron axes and mallets. The money is made of shells, of cockles, a hole drilled through them, and they string on a thread or make belts as broad or broader than the hand, hung on the neck or around the bodies. They place the dead upright in graves. When the corn is ripe, they put the ears in deep pits, and preserve it through the whole winter. They make nets and seines; catch a vast quantity of shad and lampreys, and dry and put them in bags for winter. The chiefs are generally the poorest, for they have to give to the mob. Prisoners of war are adopted into the family of

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which one has been killed. There is no punishment for murder and other wrongs. Every man is his own avenger."

Since the fur-trade determined the coming of the Dutch and the French, it is of historical importance. Needing, but lacking, indisputable proof, are statements like the following: "About this time (?1614) the Dutch arrived in this country, and being attracted by their beaver skins, they furnished the Mohawks and their congeners with firearms, in order that pelts might be obtained in greater abundance. This purpose was admirably served, but the possession of firearms rendered it easy for the confederates to conquer their adversaries."¹¹ The fact is that the beavers, whose skins formed the chief article or staple of the fur-trade, by "nocturnal habits and extreme shyness make shooting of them impracticable;" trapping having always been the regular method of obtaining them; and great quantities of beaver skins were purchased from the Indians before they had obtained firearms. At the beginning of Plymouth, beaver skins were used for currency; in August, 1622, at three shillings a pound. The cargo of the Dutch ship "Arms of Amsterdam," from the River Mauritius, recorded September 23, 1626, was 7,246 beaver skins; two lots of otter, 675 and 178½; two of mink, 33 and 48; 36 of wild cat, and 34 of rat (muskrat?). Bradford's history says that from 1631 to 1636, Plymouth colony bought from the Kennebec Indians 12,150 pounds of beaver, and 1,156 pounds of otter skins with wampum, which was the ordinary legal tender with both parties at that time. Secondly, the whites, greatly outnumbered by the Indians, knew that their lives depended on keeping firearms in their own possession; according to the records, the Indians paid dearly for their first knowledge of firearms, by their deadly use against them by the whites in war; hence the governments of the colonies very early forbade the sale to the Indians of firearms, lest they be used against their own people; for example, the first act of the General Court of Connecticut, 1636. It was only through lawless and unprincipled private traders that the Pequots and the Mohawks obtained firearms. Brodhead puts the date of the latter after 1630.

The Mohawks had gradually, by intermittent warfare, compelled the Mohicans to give up residence on the opposite bank of the

¹¹Handbook of American Indians, vol. I, p. 922.

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Hudson; they did not, however, relinquish territorial rights, but began to sell these lands to the Dutch from 1630 on, especially the Van Rensselaer tract.

In 1641, a Huron chief and fifty warriors defeated three hundred Iroquois, largely Mohawks; and had defeated a similar party the previous summer in a canoe battle on Lake Ontario. In 1642, eleven Huron canoes were attacked in the Ottawa River about one hundred miles above Montreal, by Mohawk and Oneida warriors; and on August 2, 1642, the Mohawks captured the Jesuit Father Isaac Jogues, two French companions, and about forty Hurons. The Frenchmen were tortured; but Arendt van Curler, agent and relative of the patroon van Rensselaer, visiting the Mohawk country in order to keep up a good understanding with them, and stopping at each of their three castles, found and saved Jogues from being burned by them, enraged by recent defeat by the French. Jogues accepted the advice of the commander of a vessel bound for Virginia, to escape, the Dutch giving a ransom of the value of about one hundred pieces of gold to the Mohawks, in accordance with a previous order of the States General to rescue French prisoners among the Iroquois; and he sailed by way of New Amsterdam to Holland, November, 1643. They ransomed another Jesuit missionary, Father Bressani, and Kieft gave him a safe-conduct to Europe in 1644. On May 16, 1646, Jogues, having returned to Canada, went as envoy to the Mohawks and returned safely to Three Rivers, but on going back in September to establish a mission, he was accused of causing by sorcery an epidemic then raging amongst the Mohawks. The Bear Clan determined on his death, and he was killed October 18, by a blow from an axe. The "Jesuit Relations" for 1646 says, properly speaking, the French had made peace only with the Mohawks, their neighbors, and who gave them the most trouble. The Mohicans had been already conquered, and were in alliance with the Mohawks, whose original tract reached from near Schenectady about sixty miles westward to Little Falls. The Mohicans later withdrew southward to the upper Susquehanna, and were finally absorbed and merged with the neighboring Delawares and Munsees, with whom they removed to Ohio. It is explained on authority, that the Iroquois applied the epithet "women" to the Delawares, not as a degrading but an occupational term, as doing women's work,—cooking, hoeing corn and grinding it.

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As alliance with the Dutch was an advantage to the Iroquois in carrying out their southward conquests, so was the alliance of the Iroquois a bulwark to the Dutch against invasion by the French; in Documents Relating to Colonial History, "the Five Nations had possession of the very key to this continent" (North America), in the French plans for possessing it; that is, as a barrier between the St. Lawrence valley and the Mississippi valley; friendship, conversation, and conquest or destruction, were all tried upon them, and failed. There was war between the Mohawks and the French in 1646, the Iroquois being the cause of the failure of the French and Jesuit efforts to gain the key to the situation by peaceful means. Traders at Rensselaerwyck continued to sell firearms and powder to the Indians, though rebuked by the West India Company, and complained of by the authorities of New England. Armed with these, the Mohawks invaded the Huron country in 1648 at the Jesuit mission village of St. Joseph, broke up the mission, and made the country their hunting ground down the St. Lawrence to Quebec in 1653; but their losses, and dissension with the Onondagas, resulted in a peace with the French, and the missionaries discovered the Onondaga salt springs in 1654. The Dutch renewed their alliance with the Mohawks in 1650, giving presents to the value of 600 guilders (\$240), (O'Callaghan says 575, with 81½ for the expense of the embassy, which consisted of A. van Curler and four others, the expense being paid by Rensselaerswyck.) The Iroquois name "Onontio" for the governor of Canada, arose in 1646, as the translation of Montmagny, the governor at that time, both names meaning "great mountain;" as "Corlaer" became the conventional name of the governor, from Corlaer or van Curler, which conventional names were continued to all the succeeding French, and—after van Curler's death,—to the English colonial governors to whom Stuyvesant transferred the government in 1664.

The "Jesuit Relations" for 1645-6 stated that the greater part of the Oneidas were destroyed by the upper Algonquins, and the tribe recruited itself by taking in Mohawks, which accounts for the Mohawk designation in later conferences, of the Oneidas as their "daughters." Alliance between the Dutch and the Mohawks was renewed again in 1655, on the occasion of the Indian outbreak at Staten Island, Hoboken, and Pavonia, and at Esopus, whose inhabitants abandoned it. The Iroquois were on the warpath in 1657

against the Hurons, Eries, and Jesuit missions. This ended the attempt of the French to found a colony in New Netherland, for the Iroquois warred against Canada in 1658. The Mohawks visited Fort Orange in 1659, and asked that no more brandy be sold to their people, and that the Dutch assist them in rebuilding their castles. A. van Curler and other delegates from Beverwyck visited the first Mohawk castle, Kaghnewaga, and van Curler said to the Mohawks on this occasion, "sixteen years now have passed since the friendship between you and the Hollanders" (which would make the date of the treaty 1643). The delegates gave powder, lead, and fifteen axes for cutting timber for the Mohawk fort. The Mohawks were mediators between the Esopus Indians and the Dutch in 1659, but Stuyvesant refused to employ the Mohawks to war for the Dutch, lest it make them "more inflated and presumptuous" on account of victories.

The "Jesuit Relations" for 1659-60 estimate the Mohawks at 500, in two or three wretched villages; the Oneidas at 100; the Onondagas and Cayugas at 300 each; and the Senecas at 1,000; but state that scarcely more than 1,200 are pure Iroquois; the rest by adoption from other tribes; that in 1657 the Onondagas killed several Hurons with the French, and the Oneidas killed several French at Montreal; hence Governor D'Aillebout seized and ironed several Mohawks and Oneidas, and overawed the Iroquois. The small colony invited by the Onondagas to settle at the salt springs, finding themselves in great peril, in 1658 decamped, after a feast at which drink given the Onondagas had put them to sleep.

Van Curler bought from the Mohawks the "Great Flatt" (Groote Vlachte) at Schonowe, now Schenectady, the Indian deed being dated July 27, 1661;¹² he obtained a patent in 1662, but the land was not surveyed or divided until 1664, when he led a few to settle there under the wing of the Mohawks. Five Mohawks were used as mediators to procure exchange of prisoners between the Esopus Indians and the Dutch, after the attack on the new village, June 7, 1663,¹³ in which the village (twelve houses) was entirely burned, eight women and twenty-six children taken prisoners, three men killed, and one taken prisoner; at the old village, Wildwyck, rebuilt, twelve men, four women, and two children killed, and four

¹²O'Callaghan, *Hist. New Netherlands*, vol. 2, pp. 438-9.

¹³Brodhead, *Hist. N. Y.*, vol. 1, p. 711.

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women and four children taken prisoners by about one hundred and sixty Esopus Indians, thirty Manissings, and nine Wappingers. This is called the second Esopus war, the Dutch by a battle, driving out the Indians from the vicinity. Immediately after the surrender of New Netherland by the Dutch, in 1664, a treaty was made between the Iroquois and English, which was kept unbroken until the Revolution.

The French under De Courcelles and De Tracy warred on the Mohawks 1665-66;¹⁴ De Courcelles started with six hundred men, but two hundred Mohawks waylaid his advance guard, and he was obliged to retreat, and reached home February 12, 1666. De Prouville captured the Mohawk forts October 17, 1666.

Governor Nicolls, who succeeded Stuyvesant when the English acquired New York in 1664, labored to attach the Mohawks firmly to the English, and with the help of Governor Winthrop, of Connecticut, prevented the drawing over of the Mohicans by the French, making an agreement through Colonel Cartwright, September 24, 1664; the Oneidas, Onondagas, Cayugas, and Senecas acknowledged the overlordship of the French, being awed by their strength for war; a treaty had been agreed upon December 13, 1665, ratified by the Senecas May 22, and by the Oneidas and Mohawks June 7, 1666.¹⁵ De Tracy had built Fort Sainte Anne, later named Fort La Motte, on Isle La Motte in Lake Champlain. Governor Nicolls counseled the Mohawks to require the demolition of French forts in their territory as a condition of peace. A nephew of the Sieur De Chazy having been killed by a Mohawk chief, De Chazy wanted war; a French expedition of one thousand two hundred French soldiers and one hundred Hurons went from Fort LaMotte to attack the Mohawk forts, but found them already abandoned and seized them, as aforesaid; DeChazy hung the offending chief. Governor Nicolls consoled the Mohawks, and sent van Curler and the French-speaking LaFontaine to obtain terms for the Mohawks; unfortunately van Curler was drowned on the way to Canada, in Lake Champlain; but a peace was made in 1669, and Jesuit missionaries were received by the Mohawks and Oneidas. Hostilities between the Iroquois and the Mohicans occurred in August, 1669.

In connection with the recapture of New York by the Dutch, is

¹⁴Col. Hist., vol. 3, pp. 152-155.

¹⁵Col. Hist., vol. 3, pp. 146, 148.

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mentioned the visit of the Mohawk sachems and chiefs to the city, September, 1673, to see the naval force of the commanders—twenty-three vessels—and a treaty of the Mohawks with the Dutch “at harvest time,” 1673. Governor Andros, who succeeded Anthony Colve in 1674, when the Dutch retransferred New York to the English, tried to prevent the New York Indians from taking part in King Philip’s War, 1675, asking the Mohawks not to pursue the Northern (that is, Philip’s) Indians, but to let them come into New York and be protected, if they will submit to New York government; but about one thousand (some say two thousand) of Philip’s Indians advancing, one band of about five hundred approaching within about forty miles of Albany, in November and December, 1675, the neighboring New York towns received the old Mohawk sachems, women and children, while three hundred warriors drove out Philip’s Indians in February, 1676.¹⁶ “Corlear” appears apparently for the first time as applied to an English governor, for Andros, 1675; probably the terms of his predecessors, since the death of van Curler himself, were too brief to make them known by dealings with the Mohawks. Andros in 1676 forbade the “sale of powder to any Indians except ye Maques.”

In Wentworth Greenhalgh’s description of the Iroquois in 1677, he states that the Mohawks had four towns and about three hundred fighting men; the Oneidas one town, about one hundred and thirty miles west of the Mohawks, about one hundred houses, and about two hundred fighting men; the Onondagas one town, about one hundred and forty houses and three hundred and fifty fighting men; the Cayugas three towns, about one hundred houses and three hundred fighting men; and the Senecas four towns, and about one thousand fighting men.¹⁷ In 1677 the Mohawks made war on the Mohicans; in 1678 they stopped at Albany on their return from a raid into New England, with twenty-two Natick Praying Indians, prisoners, taken six miles from Sudbury, Massachusetts, which they reported burned in July, 1678.

For the ten years of Count Frontenac’s first governorship of Canada, 1672-1682, conditions between the Iroquois and the French were generally peaceful, but Frontenac built Fort Frontenac (now Kingston, Ontario) in 1673, and Fort Niagara on the New York side

¹⁶Col. Hist., vol. 3, pp. 254-5, 265.

¹⁷Col. Hist., vol. 3, pp. 250-252.

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of the Niagara River at its issuance into Lake Ontario, in 1677, to prevent invasion by the Iroquois at either end of Lake Ontario, and also built the "Griffin," the first French vessel for use on the lake. The Onondagas and Cayugas put in trust with Andros the land on the Susquehanna which they had acquired by conquest from the Andastes or Susquehannocks of Conestoga. Dongan, on becoming governor in 1683 took over the jurisdiction; an act approved by King James II. but resented by Penn, as the land lay within his grant.

De La Barre threatening from Canada the Senecas at this time, Dongan treated with the Iroquois at Albany, 1684, promising them the assistance of four hundred cavalry and four hundred infantry if they were attacked by the French, and notified De La Barre, who had advanced with one thousand two hundred men to Fort Frontenac in August, 1684.¹⁸ The Iroquois orator, La Grande Gueule (in English records Garangula), or "Big Mouth," met with De La Barre and told him that the Iroquois were free from both Corlear and Onontio, and De La Barre concluded to make a treaty. The next year the Senecas brought ten thousand beaver skins to Albany instead of carrying them to the French, as they had formerly promised De La Barre, whom Denonville soon succeeded. He and Dongan, whom John Fiske characterizes as "two old foxes," carried on a war of diplomatic correspondence over the Iroquois and their fur-trade. Dongan in his report to the Lords on the state of the Province, 1686,¹⁹ says "The five Indian nations are the most warlike people in America, and the bulwark between us and the French and all other Indians. All the Indians in these parts are tributary to them." He further reports that he has been at great charge to keep them peaceable; has brought back the Iroquois converts by the Jesuits, from Canada, and settled them about forty miles above Albany, furnishing priests so that the French priests should be obliged to retire to Canada; and that "before my coming no man of any government ever went beyond the Sinecas country;" but that "last year some went to the Ottawas, three months journey west and northwest from Albany;" he reports seventeen thousand French inhabitants in Canada, of whom three thousand are fit to bear arms. In 1687, Dongan made propo-

¹⁸Col. Hist., vol. 9, p. 243.

¹⁹Col. Hist., vol. 3, pp. 393-416.

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sitions for a compact with the Five Nations; this and their answer are given at length in volume 3 of the "Documents Relating to Colonial History."

Under instructions from Louis XIV, who despaired of winning by peaceful measures, Denonville, collecting one thousand eight hundred men, seized fifty Iroquois chiefs, who were sent to work in the French galleys. The Iroquois, 1687, laid waste Fort Frontenac and Montreal, killed one thousand French by rifle and tomahawk, and devastated the whole country west of Montreal. In August, 1689, they made the massacre at La Chine, near Montreal, the most frightful in Canadian history: two hundred burned, roasted alive, devoured, and more than one hundred and twenty prisoners.

In 1690, the French, with converts whom they had drawn from the Iroquois to Canada, destroyed Schenectady, then the westernmost outpost of the New York white settlers. In the winter of 1692-3 they came down upon the three Mohawk villages, and in 1696²⁰ upon the Oneidas and the Onondagas, the last French invasion of New York until the French and Indian War, peace lasting till 1755. Preceding the last invasion, Wessel was sent on an embassy to the Onondagas, in 1693, to prevent the Five Nations from meeting to answer the belt of peace from Count Frontenac. The Mohawks refused to attend the meeting, but the Senecas and Cayugas were there ahead of Wessel, and inclined to make peace with the French; and the Onondagas and Oneidas came to Albany to make propositions to the English, but were prevailed upon by Major Peter Schuyler not to go to Canada. The French were beaten by Schuyler in the invasion, but most of the Mohawks were destroyed by the war, and the other Iroquois tribes greatly reduced.²¹ The wars of the Iroquois with the French had occurred at intervals since about 1642; with Indians, since about 1625. They had overthrown the Hurons in 1646-50; the Neuters, 1651; the Eries, 1654; the Adirondacks, 1670. At the latter date they held all the territory between Lakes Huron, Erie, and Ontario, and the north bank of the St. Lawrence to the mouth of the Ottawa River, near Montreal; besides terrorizing the Algonquins far into New England; they had vanquished in war the Delawares, Minsees, Shawnees, and Nanti-

²⁰Col. Hist., vol. 9, pp. 435, 467-8, 550, 639-40, (for 1689-1696).

²¹Col. Hist., vol. 4, pp. 55, 183.

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cokes, and made conquests in New York, New Jersey, Delaware, Pennsylvania, Maryland, Ohio, Kentucky, northern and western Virginia, northern Tennessee, part of Illinois, Indiana, the western edge of New England, and most of "Upper Canada," now the province of Ontario. Their greatest population about 1650 was about twenty-five thousand, of which the Senecas had ten thousand, the Mohawks five thousand, the Onondagas four thousand, and the Cayugas and Oneidas three thousand each. In 1697, the estimated number of men was reckoned—Mohawks, one hundred and ten, Oneidas seventy, Onondagas two hundred and fifty, Cayugas two hundred, and Senecas six hundred.

At a conference with Governor Hunter in August, 1710,²² they made propositions to him on the 14th, and he made counter-propositions on the 16th. They mention that "some of our Brethren have been lately in England, and are now returned safe; natives of the Mohawk nation have seen the great Queen and her court, and have been very well treated;" and they assure "Corlear" that the ancient covenant chain "shall be kept inviolable by all our Five Nations as long as the sun and moon endure." A block-house (Fort Hunter) was built in the Mohawk country, but the four companions at New York were not sufficient for garrisoning the forts at New York, Albany, Schenectady, and here. Governor Hunter was hampered and vexed on account of the extravagant grants of Governor Fletcher, made before 1700, covering nearly all the unsettled land near the whites; among these were a grant to Godfrey Delliuss, eighty-six by twelve miles, and four others fifty by two miles on each side of the Mohawk River, in breadth including the three Mohawk castles; and Nicholas Bayard's in Schoharie, including part of the Mohawk land; though Fletcher's grants were annulled in 1698, Bayard attempted to bargain with intending settlers, and the land disputes were not settled for several years. The Lords of Trade report to the King a conference of Governor Burnet with the Five Nations August 27, 1722,²³ at Albany, Governor Spotswood of Virginia also being present; Burnet proposed: 1, that the Five Nations are not to have any correspondence with the French, but to depend on, cleave to, and keep the path open for, the English; 2, the far Indians are to come to New York to trade; 3, the Five

²²Col. Hist., vol. 5, pp. 220-229.

²³Col. Hist., vol. 5, pp. 670-677.

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Nations are never to molest Virginia or other of the King's provinces; the Indians replied to each point, that they had done all these. Following this was a conference with William Keith, Governor of Pennsylvania. A reference is made to Lieutenant Governor Nanfan's conference with the Five Nations in 1701.

About 1714 the Tuscaroras, a branch of the Southern group of Iroquois, began to join the Five Nations, and came in increasing numbers from 1715 till 1722, when they were formally joined, being adopted by the Oneida tribe as their "children,"²⁴ the confederacy from 1726 being known as the "Six Nations." In a conference of Governor Cosby with the Six Nations in 1733,²⁵ they complain of the corporation of Albany as cheating them of their (Mohawk) land,—one thousand acres of the best planting ground; an absolute conveyance being drawn under pretence that it was a deed of trust; but as no payment had been made to the Indians, Governor Cosby gave the deed over to the sachems, who tore it up and burned it. The defense was a patent of Colonel Dongan accompanying the charter of Albany, 1686, making a grant of one thousand acres in the Mohawk country; but, 1st, The charter was not in the King's name, and therefore void; 2d, A Governor cannot grant lands until they are bought from the Indians, though a King may give a general patent to lands before purchase from the Indians; the city of New York charter also was granted by Dongan in his own name; so the city, being sensible of its weakness obtained a new charter from Governor Montgomerie "in the Royal Stile."²⁶ Cosby forbade the selling or giving to the Indians of strong liquors during his stay, September, 1733. A deed of trust was given by the Mohawks to King George II, November 4, 1733,²⁷ of their lands at Fort Hunter; the low lands, elsewhere called "Mohawk Flatts;" near Fort Hunter, on the south side of the Mohawk river, one thousand two hundred acres and two thousand acres of wood or upland; provided that the King shall not grant or cause to be granted to anybody the above mentioned tract, except by free and voluntary assent and further confirmation of us, whose names are hereunto subscribed, or a majority of us or of the survivors of us or of our heirs. The one thousand acres in dispute was a part of this land. By the charter grant of Governor

²⁴Col. Hist., vol. 5, p. 387.

²⁵Col. Hist., vol. 6, p. 15.

²⁶Col. Hist., vol. 5, p. 961.

²⁷Col. Hist., vol. 6, pp. 6, 15-16.

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Dongan to Albany in 1686, that city obtained the right to purchase one thousand acres of land from the Indians at what is now Fort Hunter; on the 12th of October, 1730, the city took from the Mohawk Indians of the last castle to hold the lands in trust for them so long as they should be settled thereon, with the remainder to the city. On the 12th of September, 1733, the deed was delivered to Governor Cosby, and on the 4th of November following, Cosby obtained the above deed to King George II from the Indians. The Mohawks continuing uneasy, the city of Albany signed an instrument December 18, 1733, surrendering to the Indians in the lower Mohawk castle all right and title to the said one thousand acres of land "so long as they continue a nation and be settled on said lands."

In 1788 the Mohawks at Canajoharie petitioned to be reinstated in their lands at Fort Hunter and elsewhere; and by two instruments, dated respectively April 15, 1789, and June 16, 1790, the city bought out all the claims of the surviving Indians to the lands in question as appears by the various instruments on file in the office of the city clerk. The lands were divided into farms, and all except one were sold in 1855. The meadow tract was reported "by an unknown hand" to the Lords of trade as thirty thousand instead of one thousand two hundred acres. Cosby replies to the Lords on January 2, 1734-5, that most people who have seen it say it is not quite so much (as one thousand two hundred acres). Secretary Popple writes to Cosby on February 25, 1734-5,²³ that Van Brugh, Livingston, and Mr. Stocke petition for a tract on the Mohawk River, about six miles square. The Lords of Trade desire Cosby to observe whether the Mohawks are settled on a part, in which case it is highly improper to give them umbrage; and also to inform the Lords whether the tract surrendered by the Mohawks in trust be not included, since it is improper that Cosby grant any part of the land before his Majesty have determined thereupon.

On May 18, 1736,²⁹ the Common Council of Albany wrote to President Clarke concerning the above tract, that they were assured that a great part of said tract was already patented, and also that the Mohawks were seated on a part; that the method of obtaining patents before purchase from the natives would alienate the In-

²³Col. Hist., vol. 6, pp. 25, 42.

²⁹Col. Hist., vol. 6, pp. 57-59.

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dians from his Majesty's interest, and create animosities and strife between them, and in the end drive them to the French. The same opinion was given May 17 by the Commissioners of Indian Affairs. The reply from President Clarke, May 28, 1736, states that he has heard of no more than two instances of grant before purchase from the Indians, viz.: that in Albany charter, to be surrendered to the city of Albany in trust; and the other a grant made by Mr. Van Dam, after Governor Montgomerie's death, to Mr. Philip Livingston, the petitioner Livingston's father and four others,—they having in vain in Montgomerie's time attempted to purchase it from the Indians. They took advantage of Van Dam's weakness to get a grant, but the Indians would never yet suffer them to possess it. The government is careful not to grant land until first purchased from the Indians, knowing that they are impatient of such injuries and know of how much importance it is to the British colonies to tie the Six Nations to our interest. The petitioners asked to be exempt from quit rents. The reply to this was, "if such grants be made, who will take them on any other terms?" With the remark that the petitioners are preparing beforehand to lay in for themselves an estate on easy terms.

President Clarke writes on June 18, 1736, to Popple, acknowledging a map and a letter from Colden showing most of the square of six miles already granted to the petitioners, who probably had in view to get a grant of all the land, one hundred and thirty miles on that side of the Mohawk River, six miles wide from the bank, and opening a door to endless lawsuits, hindering settlement of the country, and robbing the King of quit-rents of about £600 a year and driving the Mohawks and Oneidas to Canada. An appended letter of Surveyor Colden guesses that the "northwest spring" mentioned, indicates an oblong square six miles in breadth and to extend the whole length of the Mohawk River up to its head. Colden deprecates the granting of New York lands by those in England, for it is difficult for officers on the spot to prevent frauds by shifting Indian names of places, and unfaithful subordinates. Also that the surveyor-general has no salary, but depends on perquisites, which are lost if the grants are made in England over his head. The foregoing land-trouble, caused by private speculators, occupies most of the first seventy pages of volume six of the Documents Relating to Colonial History of New York, and succeeded or superseded the

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troubles caused by private fur traders who, in exchange, furnished firearms used for killing their neighbors.

The other relations of New York with the Five Nations follow.³⁰ On August 30, 1738, the Commissioner of Indian Affairs writing to Lieutenant Governor Clarke reports Cuyler's return from Canada. He infers that the French design to settle several families on Wood Creek, about ten miles from our settlement; that the Seneca sachems having gone to Quebec, an encroachment of the French was probable. Next, the Lords of Trade blame Lieutenant Governor Clarke that the Five Nations had attacked the Catawba Indians, and afterwards murdered eleven English, the Catawbas as well as the Five Nations being under English protection. The French were building a stone fort at Crown Point in 1738. A letter of Clarke, February 17, 1738, to the Lords of Trade discusses the plan of a fort at Tierondequat (Irondequoit) on Lake Ontario (French, Cata-raqui), and mentions English forts at Albany, Schenectady, the Mohawk country, and Oswego. Clarke wishes the Lords to buy goods for presents to hold the Six Nations neutral in case of war, as there is a report that the French and Indians intend to attack the Cherokees in Georgia and Carolina. The French laid claim to the heads of all rivers that empty into the St. Lawrence. The Six Nations had always been faithful allies of the English.

At a conference August 16, 1740, between Lieutenant Governor Clarke and the Six Nations, they reply to Clarke telling him of the advantage of a trading house at Oswego, that they "think your people have the most advantage; it is as good for them as a silver mine." In reply to his saying that they had acted wisely in not suffering the French to settle at Tierondequat,—“We perceive that both you and the French intend to settle that place; but we are fully resolved that neither shall settle it.” Clarke reports to the Duke of Newcastle April 22, 1741, that the French have two forts on Lake Ontario: Frontenac at the northeast, where the lake empties into the St. Lawrence, and Fort Niagara at the southwest end; both square stone forts, each garrisoned by from thirty to thirty-five men; and that “we have need to defend Fort Oswego,” our fort at the north end; he advises ships of war, and raised five companies of soldiers.

³⁰Col. Hist., vol. 6, pp. 112-989, cover the years 1738 to 1755, Sept. 8.

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A deed to the king, of Seneca lands and Irondequoit, was made January 10, 1740-1. Lieutenant Governor Clarke effected a treaty of neutrality with the Six Nations and the Cochnewagas near Montreal (descendants of the Mohawks drawn away by French priests), and a peace between the Six Nations and the Southern Indians, the conference with the Cherokees and Catawbias taking place May 23, 1741.³¹ Farmers began to settle in the Mohawk country soon after the peace of Utrecht (1713); now there were several hundred farms, and good wheat crops, the land being fertile above any other land in the province.

There was a conference June 15, 1742, between Lieutenant Governor Clarke and the Six Nations, at which time the Mohawks were the fewest in number. In his report he advised that four hundred men be sent from England, and four hundred raised in America, and posted on Lake Ontario. Clinton, the new Governor, arrived in 1743, and ordered the Commissioners of Indian Affairs to supply Indian scouts to watch French movements. He increased the garrison at Fort Oswego. The English declared war (King George's) against France in 1744. A conference between Governor Clinton and the Six Nations (the Senecas absent) took place June 18, 1744. The Governor mentions the annual interview with the Indians July, 1745, and that the French Indians had begun to scalp the white people of New England. A conference between the Commissioners of Indian Affairs and the Six Nations was held October 5, 1745,³² at which the Governors of Massachusetts, Connecticut, and Pennsylvania, and four hundred and sixty-four Indians were present. After Hendrick, the Mohawk sachem, had reported grievances from the whites getting Mohawk lands, the Indians agreed that if the French attacked the Colonies, they would make use of the hatchet—the conventional figure for beginning war. Soon after, the French attacked Saratoga, killed thirty persons, and burned twenty houses and a fort, but war was temporarily averted. In 1746 the Mohawks petitioned for a minister to succeed the Rev. Mr. Barclay; and the tribe had a conference with Governor Clinton in August and September. In April, 1747, Lieutenant Walter Butler made an expedition against the French; active preparation was made for a colonial participation in King George's war, by New York, with

³¹Col. Hist., vol. 6, pp. 210-212.

³²Col. Hist., vol. 6, pp. 289-305.

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which Connecticut was to join in opposing the French and their Indian allies. William Johnson writes to Governor Clinton as to a retaliatory measure, May 7, 1747, as to paying to Indian warriors £60 for six scalps from Crown Point, "which I could not avoid;" also that he had a Mohawk bodyguard, and that his house and out-houses were full of Indians.³³ The land forces were ready for an expedition against Canada, but the loss of a great part of the force which was to coöperate by water, rendered the expedition futile, though watch was kept of Canada, and conferences held with the Six Nations in 1748 to keep them interested and watchful; the chief development of 1749 was that of a French scheme to intercept British trade with the Indians. Johnson had a conference with the Mohawks February 19, 1749-50; and there was an exchange of prisoners, twenty-four from Canada, and thirteen from New York. In 1750, Captain Stoddard reported to Governor Clinton on the French towns and forts: Quebec, Montreal, Three Rivers, St. John's (on Sorel river), and St. Frederic on Lake Champlain, while the French, trying to draw the Six Nations from the English alliance, succeeded in making them dissatisfied. Clinton to counteract this influence held a conference with the Six Nations and the Southern Indians in July, 1751. The Nations acknowledged themselves subjects of Great Britain by the 15th article of the Treaty of Utrecht; and Colden made his report on Indian Affairs, August, 1751. There was a conference between Clinton and the Mohawks in 1753, and the interpreter Conrad Weiser has among the documents the Journal of his visit to the Mohawks about this time. The newly appointed Governor, Sir Danvers Osborne, having hung himself October 12, 1753, Lieutenant Governor De Lancey became acting governor. There was an incursion of the French Indians in 1754, and in November the secret instructions to General Braddock by the King are "To erect a fort on the Ohio, dislodge the French from Fort Niagara and Crown Point, and later from Beausejour, N. S. De Lancey proposed forts at Wood Creek, at the south end of Lake George, at the place of the Onondaga council ground of the Six Nations, and at Tierondequat on Lake Ontario, in the Seneca country. Braddock's letter of 1755 gives his plan of operations. William Johnson, appointed major-general in April, 1755, writes July 21, 1755, to the Lords of Trade, that he expects upward of three hundred In-

³³Col. Hist., vol. 6, pp. 383, 387.

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dians will be in the expedition against Crown Point. De Lancey had to record the first expedition against Fort Duquesne under Braddock, in July, 1755, as a defeat; but General Johnson after a council of war, set out against Crown Point, with one thousand men and two hundred Indians in the first detachment, and one thousand men in the second, and chiefly through the next officer in rank, General Lyman, gained a victory at Lake George,³⁴ September 8, 1755, though Johnson was wounded early in the battle, and thirty-eight Indian allies in the first detachment were killed including the Mohawk leader, Hendrick. These two expeditions mark the opening of the French and Indian War.

Volume 7 of the Documents Relating to the Colonial History of New York, opens with the record of three expeditions undertaken in 1755 against Crown Point, Niagara, and the French fort on the Ohio. The Lords of Trade³⁵ writing to Secretary Henry Fox recommends £120,000 to reimburse the Colonies for the expense, South Carolina and Georgia not included; this meant a virtual shifting to the Colonies the military conduct of the war, especially to those exposed to the French. In 1756, there were granted £115,000 to Massachusetts, New Hampshire, Connecticut, Rhode Island, New Jersey, and New York, the last receiving £15,000. The year 1755 saw the building of Fort Edward at the great carrying place on the Hudson River, fifty miles above Albany; Fort William Henry, to secure the passage by Lake George to the Hudson River; Fort Ticonderoga, between Lake George and Lake Champlain; and Fort Williams, near the present Rome, New York. A fort was also to be built in the Onondaga country, but the French forestalled the action by building there themselves; and another at Irondequoit. Secretary Wraxall³⁶ in "Some Thoughts upon British Indian Interests in North America, especially the Six Nations," January, 1756, scores severely New York's conduct in the war: 1. That the French were allowed to push into Indian territory, and to build a fort at Onondaga Castle. 2. Albany is keeping peace to profit by the French Indian trade, while New England is bleeding at every vein. 3. Impositions of Albanian traders. 4. Patents of large tracts of land, without design of cultivation. Patents obtained upon pretence

³⁴Doc. Hist. N. Y., vol. 2, pp. 402-5.

³⁵Col. Hist., vol. 7, pp. 1-7.

³⁶Col. Hist., vol. 7, pp. 15-29.

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of fair Indian purchases, some forged, some bought of Indians made drunk, some extended vastly beyond even the pretended limits. The returns to the Lords Commissioners of sales show, especially, vast grants of land to the Ohio Company, one of the most material articles of discontent and jealousy to the confederated Indians and their allies. The Six Nations look upon the disputes between the English and the French as on a point of selfish ambition in both, and they dread the success of either. 5. Our ill conduct and bad success in our several expeditions against Canada; four, the last in 1746. Our operations last year towards Crown Point are a happy and retrieving stroke. Notwithstanding that Colonel William Johnson was still in Indian affairs, it appeared: 1. That the Six Nations reluctantly took up the hatchet against the French and their Indians. 2. They declined sending any of their people to join General Braddock. 3. They were not inclined to join General Shirley. Reasons: 1. In June, 1754, the Six Nations accused the Albany commissioners of neglect and contempt with which they treated the Six Nations. From personal love and confidence in Johnson, near one thousand two hundred of nine different nations came, and some near three hundred miles, to conference. 2. Jealousy of the claim of England upon Ohio, especially the Ohio Company, prevented their joining Braddock, as he was looked upon as the Governor of Virginia, with which they are not on good terms; as there are large patents in Virginia for lands on the Ohio which the Six Nations deny having either sold or given away. Also the Six Nations are at war with the southern Indians, while Virginia is friendly to the southern Indians, the Catawbias having killed six young men of the upper Mohawk castle. 3. They would go under General Johnson, not under Shirley; and General Shirley's interference prevented some from joining Johnson, as it weakened his (own) influence. In Johnson's conference with the Six Nations, early in 1756, it appeared that the French priests had drawn the Indians to the French. "They were grieved at the loss of the sachems at Lake George," says Abraham, brother of Hendrick. It was agreed that a fort is to be built for the security of the Oneidas' castle, and one for the Onondagas. Parliament granted £5,000 to Sir William Johnson for long and faithful services in North America, and £600 salary per annum, with the patent of a baronet, March 13, 1756.

The patents which the Indians principally complain of are

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Kayoderosseras, Canajoharie, and that at Oneida carrying place; if annulled, doubtless the Six Nations would act against the French with their whole strength. Johnson promises the Onondagas provisions for the watching and defence of Oswego; the Mohawks are to adopt the River Indians on the Hudson. Johnson says that the deserters from Shirley's and Pepperell's regiments are Irish papists, enlisted in the back parts of Pennsylvania and Maryland, who shelter themselves among the Six Nations, and invent lying stories to justify their quitting the service. The lack of zeal of the Six Nations is because of our inefficient defense, and fear of the French.³⁷

On March 15, 1756, came news that the French and four hundred Indians were marching against the Oneida country. Johnson set out for German Flats, and arrived on the second day; and next day one thousand militia and some Indians came; and he sent word to the Oneidas. The Oneida fort was ordered to be one hundred and twenty feet square; of logs sixteen feet long, set in the ground, and well rammed; two blockhouses to be built at opposite corners, each twenty-four feet square below, and the upper part to project a foot over, so that the men may fire down upon the enemy: a sentry box on top of each house. This order was on April 21, 1756. (This is now in the town of Vernon).

The Onondaga Fort to be one hundred and fifty feet square, of pine or oak logs sixteen feet long, four feet set in the ground and well rammed; two sides of each log to be square, so as to stand close to each other, and proper loop holes to be cut at four feet (apart); height from the ground to be left to the Indians; two good blockhouses at either gate of opposite corners, each twenty-four feet square, the upper part to project a foot: a sentry box on top of each, and two strong gates of oak plank three inches thick, with strong iron hinges.³⁸ Schoroyady, the half-king, addressing Johnson, desires the women now present to be acquainted with the news and the public affairs of the Five Nations; for their influence is of no small consequence with our fighters. It is no new thing to take women into our councils, particularly the Senecas.³⁹ At the

³⁷Col. Hist., vol. 7, pp. 86-91.

³⁸Col. Hist., vol. 7, pp. 101-102.

³⁹Col. Hist., vol. 7, pp. 103-116, 119.

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conference, Johnson is "taking off the petticoat," or name of women from the Delawares; a name given by the Six Nations.

The declaration of war by England upon France was not formally made until May 18, 1756, but the hostile acts between the colonies began in 1754, as shown above, the French having about four thousand regulars, besides Indians. They took Fort Ontario from the English August, 1755, and Fort Oswego, which had a garrison of eight hundred, twenty-four hours later.

Johnson, who had more influence with the Six Nations than any other white man, lets us into the situation as it regards them, at about the time of the declaration of war. He says: "The Indians are naturally mercenary people;"⁴⁰ and the context shows that they were sharp in their own interests, as they conceived them; jealous with regard to their lands; their tenaciousness upon that article, the deprivation of what they deem their property, is the chief cause of their indifference in our quarrel. "The Indians have not reach enough to foresee the consequence of the valuable morsels the French have pitched upon; our avidity alarms them. It is my opinion that the hostilities which Pennsylvania suffered from the Indians on the Susquehanna did in some measure arise from the large purchases made by that government two years ago at Albany. I know that the land was fairly paid for, and that the Indians are unjust and unreasonable to recant and keep the money, but if good policy require it, to yield is more advantageous than to contest." Thus he writes to the Lords of Trade in September, 1756.⁴¹ He also describes the ceremony of condolence he observed in June, 1756,⁴² for the Onondaga chief "Redhead." Abraham, the chief sachem of the Mohawks, who had the foremost part in official activities of the confederation: 1. Made a speech, and with a large belt covered the grave of the deceased. 2. Gave a belt to comfort the relatives of the deceased. 3. A belt to the surviving councillors, admonishing them that, notwithstanding the loss, they should continue the friendship between them and the English. 4. A belt to dispel all dark clouds that they might see the sun clearly and consult on all affairs with cheerfulness and tranquility. 5. A belt to dispel all dark clouds at night; that being the time the warriors of the Six Nations

⁴⁰Col. Hist., vol. 7, p. 129.

⁴¹Col. Hist., vol. 7, pp. 127-130.

⁴²Col. Hist., vol. 7, p. 67.

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hold their councils. All these compliments of condolence were enforced by eleven belts and three strings of wampum, and a scalp of the enemy to replace the deceased; and with a glass of rum round, to wash down all sorrow and grief; 19th June. Sir William Johnson condoled the death of a little boy bitten by a rattlesnake, and covered his grave with a shroud blanket and a shirt. The French condoled the Onondagas with belts and wampum, on the 24th June, and gave a hatchet as a hint to kill the enemy (i. e. the English).

Johnson asked liberty to cut a road through the Indian country from German Flats to Oswego, and promised one hundred skipple (Dutch schepel or bushel) of corn. Abraham sang a war song June 28th. Sir William arrived at his house very much fatigued and in a bad state of health, from fever and dysentery. General Abercrombie was present July 19, at a conference with the Six Nations, also Governor Hardy. The River Indians and Tuscaroras sold their arms and clothes for rum, and Johnson had to fit them out anew, in August, 1756. In June, 1757, the Senecas, Cayugas, and Onondagas declared in favor of neutrality. Johnson ascribes this to the loss of Oswego and of confidence in the war power of the English, and to great presents from the French.

On August 24, 1757, Lieutenant Governor De Lancey announces to the Lords of Trade the loss of Fort William Henry on the 9th, after six days' resistance, to Montcalm and three thousand regulars, with bands of Indians. Sir William Johnson's "Remarks" respecting the purchases of lands from the Indians were challenged September 10, 1757, by Propositions of Pennsylvania. Johnson replies:⁴³ 1. Several chiefs of the Six Nations, in a conversation he had, say they are not satisfied with the conduct of the government of Pennsylvania in general, nor with the aforesaid purchase in particular. 2. At the treaty of Lancaster, 1744, the Six Nations complained to Governor Thomas that the Connoye Indians had not been satisfied for their lands, and renewed the complaint 1749, to Governor Hamilton. In 1750, the sachem says that the Six Nations are dissatisfied with the Susquehanna purchase, and in 1755, that your people be not suffered to buy any more of our lands. The Governor of Pennsylvania bought a tract and paid for only one half of it. In the spring of 1756, Governor Morris sent to the Five

⁴³Col. Hist., vol. 7, pp. 329-333.

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Nations a confession "That he found by woeful experience, that making purchases of lands was the cause of much blood having been shed; he was determined to buy no more." The Onondaga Indians were informed in 1756 by the Delawares and Shawanese that they regarded the building of a fort at Shamokin as part of a scheme to take possession of their lands.

Lieutenant Governor De Lancey on January 5, 1758, announces the destruction of German Flats, November 12, 1757, by three hundred French and Indians; one hundred Palatines carried captive; houses, barns, and crops burned up. Johnson writes to the Lords of Trade May 17, 1759,⁴⁴ that the Indians ought to be redressed or satisfied in all their reasonable and well-founded complaints of enormous and unrighteously obtained patents for their lands. Fort Niagara surrendered to the English, July 24, 1759;⁴⁵ General Prideaux being killed on the 20th, Sir William Johnson was in command till the surrender, when eight hundred and fifty French and three hundred and fifty Indians were captured; two hundred had been killed and one hundred taken prisoners before the surrender. Johnson's army was composed of two thousand two hundred whites and nine hundred Indians.

The Mohawks granted Johnson about forty thousand acres, and he asks Lieutenant Governor Colden for a patent, 1762. The council refused. Colden⁴⁶ in 1762 informs the Lords of Trade of the method followed in purchasing lands, from 1736, when he was surveyor-general. A regulation was made then to prevent frauds. Not a foot of land at any time was purchased of Indians, except the Mohawks and Oneidas; they only could have any pretence that they were cheated of their lands; yet the Mohawks were the most faithful of any Indian nation on the continent. The Chenussio (Genesee) Indians (Senecas) massacred the garrison at Venango Fort, 1763. Johnson preventing the Six Nations from joining the Ottawas, says: "without reward, the Indians always did, and always will consider themselves neglected." The Senecas refused to attend the conference; though unquiet, they were numerous, and hard to punish. Johnson writes to the Lords of Trade, September 25, 1763:⁴⁷ "The Indians * * * are in no wise inferior to us in

⁴⁴Col. Hist., vol. 7, p. 377.

⁴⁵Col. Hist., vol. 7, pp. 401-403.

⁴⁶Col. Hist., vol. 7, pp. 490-494.

⁴⁷Col. Hist., vol. 7, pp. 561-2.

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sagacity and stratagem; their ideas of courage differ from ours; they are deficient only in that courage which the nature and situation of their country renders less necessary amongst them, as they attack by surprise, and on failure of success are able to repeat their attacks at the next advantageous place with small loss. A Mohawk grievance is the grant of Kayadarosseras or Queensborough of above one-half million acres, and the claim of the corporation of Albany on their dwellingplace at Fort Hunter, and of Livingston and others at Canajoharie, or the Upper Mohawk castle. The original bounds of the Five Nations were,—from south of Lake Ontario to the great ridge of the Blue Mountains, with all the west part of New York to the Hudson River west of Catskill; thence to Lake Champlain, and from Regioghén rock on the east side of said lake to Oswegatchie on the river St. Lawrence. By conquest they ruled all the country along the great ridge of the Blue Mountains back of Virginia; thence to the head of Kentucky River, and down the same to the Ohio above the rifts; thence north to the south end of Lake Michigan, then along the shore of Lake Michigan to Michillimackinac; thence east across the north end of Lake Huron to the Ottawa River, and down the said river to the island of Montreal. But now, on account of decrease, and claims by powerful nations, only from the Ohio and thence to the Lakes⁴⁸

In the reign of Anne, some people of Albany persuaded the Mohawks to sell a small piece of land (about enough for three farms) on the Hudson River above Saratoga. The deed was burned in the destruction of Schenectady, and the purchase money never since paid. Under the pretext of said deed, the parties procured a patent, dated November 2, 1708, for all lands unoccupied between the Hudson and the Mohawk River, estimated eight hundred thousand acres, including the most valuable part of the Mohawk hunting-ground, at only £4 per annum quit rent; which if now granted, would yield a revenue to the Crown of about £1,700 per annum. (Kayaderosseras patent.) “This is the utmost grievance of the Mohawks. But the grand concern of all the Six Nations, except the Mohawks, is our occupying a chain of small posts on the communication through their country to Lake Ontario: Fort Schuyler on the Mohawk; the royal blockhouse at the end of Oneida Lake; Fort Bruxton; and

⁴⁸Col. Hist., vol. 7, pp. 573-576.

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a post at Oswego Falls in the Onondaga country; in order to obtain these posts they were promised that they should be demolished at the end of the war; which they request to be done, the war being over."⁴⁹

The Senecas sued for peace after the conquest of Canada, the other five nations remaining loyal; peace was made with them April 3, 1764; with the Chenussios, August 6, 1764. The Senecas gave the King four miles each side of the Niagara River, between Lake Ontario and Lake Erie; about fifteen thousand acres, of great use to the forts; thirty houses sell liquor at extortionate rates on the Mohawk River, and more than two hundred in the whole northern district.

Johnson says: "I never possessed an acre in America but what I purchased from white inhabitants. (1764). The Indians never consider a sale just, which is not subscribed by every tribe; the Kayaderosseras lands only two tribes signed; they made complaints of Kayaderosseras from my first acquaintance with the Mohawks; there was no settlement thereon, nor was it surveyed till 1754. The Indian land was divided into due proportions for each tribe, with exact bounds; afterwards subdivided into shares for each family: no infringement of neighbors' hunting grounds. The Oneidas were also suspicious of Kayaderosseras grant." The first part of volume 8 of the Col. History, beginning January, 1768, considers the Indian boundary question; and on August 17, 1768,⁵⁰ the west part of the Kayaderosseras patent was released to the Indians and the Indians released claim to the rest; a dispute of sixty years was ended by the patentees paying the Indians five thousand dollars. Next, a boundary line was directed by the Earl of Hillsborough, October, 1768, a description of the bounds following: A treaty was made with the Six Nations July 15, 1770, near German Flats. A conference with the Six Nations occurred in July, 1774, during which Sir William Johnson dies, July 11; his son-in-law and official representative, Guy Johnson, made a report of the conference July 26, 1774. His letter of September 10, to the Earl of Dartmouth complains of the conduct of the frontier districts as causing the northern Indians to be alarmed and resentful, from the invasion of the Shawanese country by Virginia; by a conference with

⁴⁹Col. Hist., vol. 7, pp. 576-7.

⁵⁰Col. Hist., vol. 8, pp. 35, 78, 92, 100-163.

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the Six Nations he held them to peace, but in a second letter to the Earl, December 14, 1774,⁵¹ he says: "Indians cannot help believing (the invasion) will be followed by attempts on their country or liberties; whilst many private unredressed grievances strengthen their apprehension, and most of the frontier settlers are rude, and insensible of the danger to which their indiscretions expose them, particularly those southward. The Six Nations can muster two thousand fighting men, without taking in their dependent tribes in Canada or about the lakes. Want of reflecting upon this, and the little attention one colony pays to the distresses in which it may involve its neighbors is a very alarming consideration. The northern colonies are particularly exposed in case of an eruption of the Six Nations."

In January, 1775, the minister returned from Boston with news that the King wanted to be paid for all the money he had laid out on America, and for tea sent over, which had occasioned a quarrel. Dartmouth writes to Guy Johnson, July 25, 1775,⁵² to induce the Six Nations to take up the hatchet against the rebels. The twelve united colonies held a conference with the Six Nations at German Flats, August 15, 1775, through Colonel Francis. The Indians refused to forward a belt of invitation to the seven tribes on the St. Lawrence, but would confer at Albany, which they did, August 24 to September 2. Johnson writing to Dartmouth from Montreal, October 12, 1775, tells of assembling the Indians of the northern confederacy, 1700, who agreed to assist his Majesty's troops against the New Englanders about St. John's under Montgomery; and writing to Lord George Germain, January 26, 1776,⁵³ a report on Indian affairs, refers to a battle September 6, 1775, near St. John's (province of Quebec) in which the Indians did most of the fighting, and complained that no troops supported them. The Oneida chiefs, however, negotiated with General Schuyler May 22, 1776, through Rev. Mr. Kirkland, missionary among them, and they agreed to remain neutral; the "rebels" are here called "Bostonians." Colonel Daniel Claus,⁵⁴ writing on "Management of the Northern Indian Nations," mentions "awe and respect from military show and parade, under commanding officers whom the Indians regard as the

⁵¹Col. Hist., vol. 8, pp. 489-542.

⁵²Col. Hist., vol. 8, pp. 605-631.

⁵³Col. Hist., vol. 8, p. 658.

⁵⁴Col. Hist., vol. 8, pp. 700, 718.

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King's representatives; the officers assume an airy consequence and decorum which is very taking with the Indians, who have greater esteem for the military than the civil, all their policies being founded on war. Johnson to Germain writes that the Six Nations (Oneidas excepted) are faithful to the British, and on July 7, 1777, about seven hundred went against Fort Stanwix and Pennsylvania. On St. Leger's expedition from Montreal against the fort, renamed Fort Schuyler, Joseph Brant, Mohawk sachem, joined John Johnson's regiment at Oswego, with three hundred Indians; two hundred and fifty more accompanied St. Leger, and others were with Colonel Butler; the whole army eight thousand. The expedition miscarried, except for the surprise and retreat of Herkimer at the battle of Oriskany, a bloody one on both sides, though upward of £4,000 had been spent on the Five Nations; a result which the whites attributed to the want of timely and good intelligence from these Indians; and that the Iroquois would not have entered the war at all but for emulation roused by the indefatigable Brant. After the action near the fort they fell upon the settlement of the Oneidas who were in arms against the British, burned their houses, killed and carried away their cattle; after the British retreat, the Oneidas retaliated on the Mohawks. Guy Johnson writes to Germain late in 1777 that "the Indians cannot be expected to keep together like British troops, nor after the beginning of October, their hunting season; but afford much security to an army, and strike terror into the enemy." September 10, 1778,⁵⁵ he mentions successful incursions of Indians and loyalists from the northward; and in May, down the Susquehanna under Butler, destroying the settlement at Wyoming, whilst another division under Brant cut off two hundred and eighty-four men near Schoharie, and destroyed the adjacent settlements and magazines. November 11, 1779,⁵⁶ Johnson reports that the rebels (under Sullivan) retreated after destroying almost all the villages and cornfields of the Six Nations; and the number of our Indians is reduced to two thousand six hundred and twenty-eight; and in 1780 about one thousand six hundred men; more than one thousand two hundred warriors; eight hundred and thirty-six now in the service,—a large body to support; and adds "I have induced about twelve hundred of their

⁵⁵Col. Hist., vol. 8, p. 751.

⁵⁶Col. Hist., vol. 8, p. 779.

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people to settle on the Ohio." During 1781 and 1782, the Indians caused frequent alarm, but did little damage. The whole number of Indians engaged on the British side is put at twelve thousand six hundred and ninety; of the Six Nations, four hundred Senecas, three hundred each of the Onondagas and Mohawks, two hundred and thirty Cayugas, two hundred and eighty Tuscaroras, one hundred and twenty Oneidas, (the rest engaged on the American side). After the Revolution, the Mohawks and Cayugas settled on Grand River, Ontario, where they still reside. The Iroquois in the United States are on a reservation in New York, except the Oneidas, who are settled on Green Bay, Wisconsin. Iroquois in New York, 1904, number five thousand two hundred and ninety. In Ontario and Quebec, ten thousand four hundred and eighteen. The estimate for 1774 was ten thousand to twelve thousand five hundred, nearly all in New York.⁵⁷

⁵⁷Handbook of Amer. Ind., vol. 1, p. 659, Joel N. Eno. A. M.



Highland Scottish Clans

SUB-CLANS AND FAMILIES REPRESENTED IN AMERICA

BY JOEL N. ENO, A. M.

(Continued)



MACALASTER, founded by Alasdair (i. e. Alexander), son of Angus Mor, Lord of the Isles, living in 1263; a branch of MacDonald settled in Kintyre, but now reckoned independent: Variations: MacAlester, MacAl(l)ister, MacAllaster, Alexander, MacAlexander.

MacAlpin-e.; from the name of the first king of the united Picts and Scots. Ailpein is considered a Pictish name; but MacAilpein was evidently written by a Gael, Alpin. Siol Alpin was a group of clans akin to each other, including MacGregor, MacKinnon, Macaulay, Grant, MacNab, MacQuarrie. Badge, pine.

MacArthur; formerly reckoned with clan Campbell, springs from MacArtair, head of the clan in the reign of Alexander III (1249-1286). Variants: MacCartair, MacCarter.

Macaulay, Gaelic MacAmhlaidh, i. e. son of Olaf; founder of a branch of clan MacLeod. To this subclan, T. B. Macaulay, the historian, belonged. Variants: MacAulay, MacAvealey.

MacAulay, from MacAulaidh, branch of MacGregor and MacAlpin; a Lennox clan at Ardincapel, has in Argyll a sept MacPheid-eran or MacPhedron. Dissolved as a clan.

MacBean, a member of clan Chattan; Gaelic MacBethain (little MacBeth); aspirated MacBheathain, Englished MacVean; sept MacBeth or MacBeath. Badge of clan Chattan, whortleberry.

MacBean, from MacGillebane, on record 1555; from Ban, Gaelic ban, white; later, MacGilleveen, MacGilvane, MacIllebhain, MacIlvain, MacIlveen, MacIlwaine, MacBain.

MacClenachan, Gaelic MacClaonachain, from claonachan, prejudiced; with its variants MacClena(g)han, MacClenathan, occurs among the immigrants from Antrim to Boston 1718 on.

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MacClernan, -d, Gaelic MacGillErnain, son of the servant of St. Ernan; died 634, nephew of St. Columba.

MacClery, *MacChlerich*, *MacClary*, *MacCleary*, son of a scholar (cleireach), occur in clans Cameron, MacIntosh, and MacPherson.

MacClintock, for MacGillFhiontag, MacGillFhiondaig, from fiontach, hairy.

MacCull-och, -ough, -a, -agh, from cullach, boar; in clans MacDougal, Munro, and Ross.

MacDonald, Gaelic MacDomhnuill; from domhan, the world, and (u) al; cognate, Welsh Dyfnwal, earlier Dumngual; sense, like the Gallic Dumno-rix (in Caesar), world-king. This clan is more widely distributed in Scotland and has a greater number of sept or subclans than any other, with a branch (MacDonnell) settled in Ireland in 1532, said to number eight thousand. Prof. Skene, after close study of the genealogies of Highland clans, pronounces them artificial and untrustworthy, farther back than 1000 A. D., styling them "the fabulous genealogies of the Highlanders and the Irish sennachies." He fixes the first really historical figure as Gillebride-mac-Gille-adomnan; the next in the narrative being his son Somerled, Norse Sumarlidhi, summer sailor, i. e. viking, king of Argyll in 1035. He married the daughter of Olaf the Red, Norwegian king of the Isles. The Isles were divided in 1156 between Somerled and his brother-in-law, Godred, Somerled receiving all south of Ardnamurchan. He was killed in battle in 1164, by the army under the High Steward of Scotland under Malcolm IV, with his son Gillecolum, (by his first wife). He was succeeded by Somerled 2d, son of Gillecolum, in Argyll. He was killed in 1229 by the army of Alexander II, King of Scotland, who received the submission of Somerled's vassals, who became crown vassals; and his estates were erected into the sheriffdom of Argyll, of which the ancestor of the Campbells was made hereditary sheriff; and all north Argyll was granted to the earl of Ross for his aid to the King. But the Isles, except Arran and Bute, went to Dugall, oldest son of Somerled 1, by his Norse wife, from whom they were inherited. Dugall being defeated by the Earl of Ross, general of Alexander II, and his line failing, his next younger brother, Rognvaldr, known in history as Reginald or Ranald (Gaelic Raonall), by the law of tanistry became king of the Isles; and by gavel the clan was divided into three branches among his three sons: Clan Rory, clan Donald,

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and clan Dugall. The Rory male line became extinct, but Donald was succeeded by his son Angus Mor, he by his son Angus Og, he by John MacDonald, 1st Lord of the Isles, who married Amy, heiress of Rory. John died about 1386. Of his three sons, Ranald founded clan Ranald. From John Og (i. e. the younger) brother of John, descend the MacDonalds of Glencoe, alias MacIan. After a long and losing conflict with the kings of Scotland, the great clan became disorganized and the dependent clans took the opportunity to declare themselves independent in 1494, during the reign of James IV. Badge of all the MacDonald branches, common heath. The main clan is divided into North, adjoining the MacLeods in Skye, North Uist and South Uist; and South, on Isla and Jura islands, and in Kintyre. Clan Ranald in West Inverness and Glengarry. Subclans of North and South MacDonalds: Beath, Beaton, Bethune, Colson (for MacColl), Connall or Connell (for MacConnell); Darroch (from Darrach, hill in Stirling); Donald, Donaldson, Donillson, Donnelson; Galbraith, Gilbreath or Gilbride; Gorrie, Gowrie (for MacGorrie); Gowan (Gaelic gobhan, little smith); Hawthorn, from township in Durham; Hewison, Houston, Howison and Hughson (for MacHugh); Hutcheonson, Hutchinson, Hutcheson and Hutchison (for MacHutcheon); Isles; Johnson and Kean (for MacIan); Kell-ie,-y (for MacCeallaich); Keene; Kinneal (for Connell); Maca'challies; MacBeath, MacBeth, MacBheath; MacBride; MacCaishe, MacCash and MacCosh, MacCooish and MacCuish (Gaelic MacUais); MacCall and MacColl (from Colla, person-name); MacCeallaich (Gaelic ceallach, a fighter); MacCodrum (son of Guttormr, Norse chief); MacConnell (Gaelic MacDhomhnuill); MacCook and MacCuag; MacCuithein and MacCutcheon; MacCrain (for MacT(h)rain); MacDaniel; MacEachern and MacEachran (Gaelic each-thighearn, horse-master); MacElfrish (Gaelic MacGilleBrighid, MacGilleBride); MacElheran (Gaelic MacGilleChiarain, servant of St. Ciaran or Kieran); MacGorr-ie or -y. (Gaelic MacGuaire; from guaire, noble); MacGonn and MacGowan, MacGown (from gobhan, smith); MacHugh, son of Hugh; MacHutch-en, -eon, son of Hutchin, Hodgin or Roger; MacIan son of John; Macilreach, -riach, (Gaelic MacGille Rioich, probably short form of Macilrevie, Gaelic MacGille-Riobhaich; riabhach, mottled gray); Macilvrde for Mac'Il-Bhrighde, Perthshire form; Macilwraith, probably variant of Macilvrde; MacKean-MacIain; Mac-

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Kellachie, little MacKellaig or MacKelloch-MacCeallaich; MacKenal and MacKinnell-MacConnell; MacLarish-Macleriach; MacLardie, MacLarty and MacLaverty (Gaelic MacLabhartach, for MacFhlaithbhartaigh; fhaith, lord, and beartach, active, cunning; cognate with Irish O'Flaherty); MacMurchie (Gaelic MacM(h)urchaidh; cognate Irish UaMurchadha, O'Murphy); MacMurdoch, old Gaelic in Adamnan, Muiredachus, sea protector; MacO'Shannaig; MacQuist-an-en, MacChristian, Gaelic Mac(H)easdean, Huistein, Norse Eysteinn; MacRaith (MacRath in a 12th century record; from Rath, person-name rath, good fortune); MacRorie (from MacRuaidri, 1467, genitive of Ruaidh); MacRuer, MacRurie, MacRery, MacCreery, are variants; MacShannachan (Gaelic MacSeanchain, from seancha, historian); MacSorley (Gaelic Somhairle, i. e. Somerled); MacSporran, son of the purse (sporran), treasurer; MacSwan (Gaelic MacSuain, Norse Sveinn; sveinn, a youth); MacWhannel-MacConnell; Martin; May, Murchie, Murchison; Murdoch, Murdoson; O'Drain, O'May, O'Shannachan, O'Shaig (Gaelic Seaghdh); O'Shannaig (seancha) (these in O' being Kintyre names); Train; Whannell.

MacDonald of clan Ranald; subclans; Allan, son; Currie, short for MacVurrie; MacAllan; MacBurie-MacVurie; MacEachin, MacGeachin, MacGuckin, MacKeachan, MacKeechan (Gaelic MacEachain (n), MacEachdhonn, horse-master; MacKeechnie, little MacEachain); MacIsaac and MacKissock son of Isaac; MacMurrich (from Muireach, from Muireadhach, for older Murdoch) MacVurrich, MacVurrie, for MacMhuirich; MacVarish, aspirated from MacMaurice.

MacDonald of Glencoe, alias MacIan; subclans; Henderson, Johnson, Kean or Keene, MacHenry, MacIan, MacKean. Angus MacDonald of Glengarry, changed his name when he was created Lord in 1660, to MacDonell. Subclans: Alexander and Sanderson. MacDonell of Keppoch; subclans; MacGillivantie, Gaelic MacGilleMhanntaich; manntach, stutterer; MacGlasrich, i. e. of Glassary parish; MacCaleb, MacGilp, MacKillop, MacPhilip, Philipson; Ronald, son.

MacDougall, from Dugall, the third son of Reginald, and brother of Donald, the ancestor of the MacDonald clan; Gaelic Dubhgaill, from dubh, dark, and gall, stranger, a term also applied to a Dane. Subclans: Conacher, Cowan (Gaelic Comhghan); Dougall, Dow-

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all; MacConacher (Gaelic MacConChobhair of Lorn); MacCoul (Gaelic MacDhughail); MacCulloch from cullach, boar; MacDowall-ell (Gaelic MacDubh-g(h)aill of Argyll); MacDuloth; MacHowell (Gaelic MacDhubhghaill); Mac Kichan (Gaelic MacFhi-theachain, from fitheach, raven); MacLucas and MacLugash; MacLulich (from Lulach, person-name); Macoul, Macowl.

MacDuff, Gaelic MacDuibh, from dubh, dark, black; according to tradition, thanes of fife, but that line extinct in 1425. From the Bauffshire branch, Duff, the earls of Fife, descendants of David Duff, who received a grant of lands from Robert III, in 1404. William Duff, 1st earl, created 1759; Alexander W. Duff married July 27, 1889, Princess Louisa, eldest daughter of King Edward VII, and was created Duke July 29, 1889. Subelans: Duff, Fife, Fyfe, Spencer or Spens (keeper of the pantry); Wemyss (parish in Fife-shire, Gaelic, uamh, cave).

MacFarlane,-e; descendants of Gilchrist, brother of Malduin, 3d Earl of Lennox. His son Duncan is on Ragman roll, 1296; from whose son Bartholomew, (Gaelic Partholam or Parlan), the clan derives its name. Badge, cloudberry bush. Sub-clans: Allan,-son; Bartholomew; Caw for MacCaw; Galbraith, hitherto explained as from gall, stranger, and breath, a Briton; but see Gilbride; Greisck, for greusaich, shoemaker, Gruamach, (Gaelicgruamach surly); Kinneson; Lennox (Gaelic Leamhnach (field) of the Leven); MacAindra (Gaelic Aindrea), son of Andrew; MacAllan; MacCaa, MacCause, MacCaw, MacGaw and MacGeoch (Gaelic MacEach; each, horse); MacCondy, MacEoin, i. e. son of John; Macgreusich; Macinstalker, MacIock, for MacEach; MacJames; MacKinlay (Gaelic Macfhionn-laigh); MacNair, MacNeur and MacNider (Gaelic Mac-an-fhigheadair, son of the weaver); MacRob-b; MacWalter; MacWilliam; Miller; Monach (Gaelic manach, monk); Napier (Norman Le Naper, servant in charge of table linen); Parlane; Robb; Stalker; Thomas. Variant Macfarland.

MacFie, originally MacDuffie, Gaelic MacDubhi, little MacDuff. Variants: MacAfee, MacPhee, MacPhie, Duffie, MacGuffie (Gaelic MacDhubhi). A small clan on Colonsay Island.

MacGillivray; Skene cites manuscript of 1450 for derivation from Gillebride, ancestor of the MacDonalds; others, MacGillebhraith, from brath, judgment. Variants: Gilroy, MacGillivour, MacGil-

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ray, MacGilroy, MacGilyra,-y, Macilroy, Macilvrae. Branch of clan Chattan.

MacGregor, a branch of clan Alpin; and claims descent from Gregor, 3d son of King Kenneth MacAlpin. Their lands were wrested from them by the Campbells, to whom they became tenants. The name was prescribed by Act of Privy Council April 3, 1603, and the act was not repealed until 1775. Having no lands to lose, they were bold in exercise of what seems to have been assumed as the privilege of clansmen; namely, to live off the enemy's country; but they found the enemy more powerful than they. The noted freebooter, Rob Roy, (ruadh, red-haired) was of this clan, but the name being proscribed, he adopted that of Campbell, whose chief was his protector. He was born in 1671, and married Helen M. M'Gregor. He became a drover and entered partnership with the Duke of Montrose, each investing one hundred thousand marks which should purchase five hundred head; the price in Scotland was seldom over twenty shillings a head; Rob was obliged to sell at less than cost; and as the Duke held his bond, he endeavored to collect the sum invested; not succeeding, he seized the lands which Rob held, whereupon Rob began war and levied contributions on the Duke's cattle and grain for thirty years. With the exception of Montrose, he had not an enemy in the country, and never meddled with property of any other; he was meanwhile supported and aided by Campbell, Duke of Argyll, who was not sorry to see Montrose suffer. In Argyll Rob always received shelter, when hardpressed. Rob died in 1734. Subclans and variants: Black; Comrie, from Cumrie village in Strathearn; Fletcher, (English, an arrowmaker); Gregor,-son, Gregory, Grieg, Grier,-son, Grigor; King (Gaelic MacRigh); Leck-ie,-y, from Leckie estate in Stirlingshire; MacAdam; Macara, Macaree (Gaelic Mac-an-righ, son of the king); MacChoiter, son of Cotter; MacGrowther; MacGruder, MacGruther and MacGrigor; Macilduy (Gaelic MacGilleDuibh); MacLeister (Gaelic Mac-an-fhleisdear, son of a fletcher); MacLiver (Gaelic MacLiomhar); MacNee, MacNie (Gaelic Mac-an-righ); MacNeish, MacNish for Mac'Neis for Mac Aonais, son of Angus); MacPeter; Malloch; Neish, Nish, Peter, White, Whyte.

MacInnes, Gaelic MacAonghais, MacAonais, i. e. son of Angus. Variants: Angus, Innes, MacAngus, MacCainsh, MacCansh. Subclan: MacMaster.

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MacIntire, Gaelic Mac-an-tseoir, i. e. son of the carpenter. Variants: MacTear, Tyre, MacAteer; and English Wright.

MacKay, Gaelic Mac Aoidh, one of the largest of the Highland clans, recently numbering twenty-seven thousand names. Caithness and Sutherland. Badge, broom plant. Subclans and variants: Bain, Bayne, for MacBain, from ban, white, fair; MacAy, MacCrie, MacGhee, MacGhie, MacKee and Mackie; MacPhail, i. e. son of Paul; MacQuey, MacQuade, MacQuoid, i. e. MacAoid; MacVail; Neilson; Paul; Poulson; Williamson. Aodh, founder of the clan, was grandson of Morgan, 1315, used as alias of the clan.

MacKenzie, Gaelic MacChoinnich, son of Kenneth, i. e. Coinneach; same root as cannach, pretty, kind. Badge, holly. Branch of the Ross tribe; became independent soon after the Lords of the Isles resigned the earldom of Ross, 1477. Subclans: Kenneth-son; MacBeolain; MacConnach; MacIvor (from Norse Ivarr); MacKerlich, for MacT(h)earlaich, i. e. son of Charles; MacMurchie; MacVanish, for MacMhaghnuis, son of Magnus; Murchie-son.

MacKinnon, Gaelic MacFhionghuin, son of Fingon; great-grandson of MacAlpine, King of Scotland, but dependent of the Lord of the Isles. Variants: MacKinney, MacKinning, Mackinven; English, Love. Subclan: MacMorran, i. e. son of Moghron. Badge of Alpin, i. e. pine.

MacIntosh, Mackintosh, Gaelic, Mac-an-toisich, son of the chief, head of clan Chattan. Subclans: Adamson, Ayson, Clark,-e, Clarkson, Clerk, Combie (for MacThomie i. e. little Mac Thomas); Crerar (Gaelic criathrar, sievemaking); Dallas (parish in Elgin); Doles (for deDolyes, ancient for Dallas); Elder; Esson (for Ayson, i. e. Adamson); Glen i. e. of the glen; Gleanie, little Glen; Hard-ie,-y; MacAndrew; MacAy; MacCardney; MacChlerich and MacChlery; MacCombe and MacCombie, MacComie, for MacThomie; MacConchy, (Gaelic MacDhonnchaidh, son of Duncan); MacFall (Gaelic MacPhail, son of Paul); MacGlashan (from glas, gray); Machard-ie,-y; MacHay; MacKeggie; MacKilligan (Gaelic MacGhill'Fhaolagain, little faolan or puppy); MacLuie; MacNiven (Gaelic MacNaomhein; naomh, saint); MacOmie (for MacThomie); MacPhail; MacRitchie (from Richard Mackintosh of Dalmunzie); MacThomas, MacVail, Niven, Noble, Paul, Ritchie,

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Shaw (Gaelic Seaghdh, esteemed person; seagh, esteem); Tarrill, Tosh,-ach.

MacLachlan; in the manuscript of 1450, descendants of Anradan who became dependents of Campbell. Badge, lesser periwinkle. Variants: Lachlan, Lauchlan, MacLauchlan, MacLaughlin. Subclans: Ewan, Ewen, Ewing or MacEwan (Gaelic MacEoghain, MacEachain), and Gilchrist or MacGilchrist (Gaelic Gille-Criosd, i. e. servant of Christ). Ewen as a clan, extinct.

MacLaine of Lochbuie, Gaelic Mac'illEathain, i. e. son of the servant of St. John. Subclans: MacCormick (Gaelic MacCormaich, from cormach, a brewer); MacFadyen; MacFadden; MacPhadyen (Gaelic MacPhaideen, little MacPhadraig, son of Patrick); MacGilvra.

MacLaurin, from Gaelic Labhrainn, on record 1296; named from St. Lawrence. Badge, wild laurel. Subclans and variants: MacFater, MacFeat, MacPatrick, MacFetridge, MacPhater, Pater-son (Gaelic MacPhadraig and MacPadruig); MacLaren; MacFedris and Petrick; MacGrory, MacRory.

MacLean of Duart; from Gillean, Gaelic Gilleoin, time of Alexander III (died 1286); i. e. servant of St. John. Badge, holly. Septs: Beath, Beaton, Black, Lean, MacBeath, MacBheath, MacBeth; Macilduy (Gaelic MacGilleDuibh); MacLergain (Gaelic MacGhille-Fheargain; fearg, fighter); MacClurg, MacClurkin; MacRankin, Rankin, i. e. littleRandolph, in MacLean of Coll; MacVeagh and MacVey (Gaelic MacBheatha). Another son of Gillean is ancestor of MacLaine.

MacLennan, Gaelic MacGilleFhinian, MacGill'innein, i. e. son of the servant of St. Finian. Septs: Lobban and Logan; in Ragman's Roll, 1296, de Logan.

MacLeod, Gaelic MacLeod, from earlier Leot, Norse Ljotr, earl of Orkney, 10th century. Badge, juniper. Septs on Harris island; Beaton, Bethune, Beton (Gaelic MacBeathain, from beatha, life). MacCaig (for MacCuaig, from cuthaig, cubhag, cuckoo); MacClure, MacLure, M'Leur, (Gaelic M'Gill'Uidhir, servant of Odhar); MacCrimmon, Gaelic M'Cruimein, from Norse Hromundr; MacCuaig; MacHarold and MacRaild, Gaelic M'Arailt, son of Norse Harald; Norman. On Lewis Island; Callum (for Malcolm); Lewis (from Lewis Island in the Hebrides, Norse Liodh-hus, house for song); MacAskill (from Norse Askill, person-name);

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MacAulay (Gaelic MacAmhlaibh, son of Olaf); MacCallum and Malcolm, devotee of St. Columba; MacCaskill; MacCorkindale and MacCorquodale (Gaelic M'Coreadail, from Norse Thorketil); MacLewis; MacNicol; Malcolmson; Nicholl, Nicol, -l, Nicholson; Tolmie (Gaelic tolmach, hillock); on Ramsay. MacLeod was a dependent of MacDonald until 1494. Now mainly in Inverness and Ross.

MacMillan, Gaelic MacM(h) aolain; earlier M'Ghillemhaoil, son of the servant of the devotee. The Lochaber branch bears the badge of Cameron; the other the badge of Buchanan. Subclans: Baxter, Bell, Brown, MacBaxter; baxter is northern English for baker.

MacNab, Gaelic, Mac-an-aba(dh), i. e. son of the abbot (of Glendochart) living 1150-1180, who became chief on the death of his older brother. Branch of Clan Alpin. Subclans: Abbotson; Dewar (Gaelic Deoradh, a stranger) and Macandeor; Gillelan, MacClellan (for MacGillelan, Gaelic M'GhillFhaolain, old Gaelic, servant of St. Filian); Gilfillan.

MacNaughtan, Gaelic MacNachtan, in a charter of 1267, Badge, trailing azalea. An older form is Nechtan, an early Scottish King; in 1467 M'Neachtain occurs. Variants: MacNaghten, MacNaughton. Subclans: Hendrie, Hendry, Kendrick, MacHendr-ie,-y, MacKendrick, MacKenrich, all from Gaelic MacEanruig, son of Henry; MacBrayne, Gaelic MacBreathain, son of the brehon or judge; Maceol; MacKnight, Lowland for MacNaughton; MacNair, MacNaugher, MacNayer, MacNuir, MacNuyer (Gaelic Mac-an-oighre, son of the heir); probably MacNeary belongs here; MacNiven, (Gaelic MacNaoinheim, from naomh, saint), Niven; MacVicar, McVigors son of vicar; Weir (for MacNuyer); MacNaught, MacNutt, MacNorton, MacNear, MacNeven.

MacNeil,-l, Gaelic Nial, champion; Nial Og, the first who appears in a charter, grant to John, son of Gilbert mac Neil, in the reign of King Robert Bruce, Nial's great-grandson, Gillenan, in a charter 1427, settled on Barra Island, seat of the clan. Badge, dryas. Variants: MacNeil-age,-edge, MacNe(i)lly, MacNeely, Neal, Neil,-l, MacNeal.

MacPherson, Gaelic MacPhersain, son of the pearsan (parson); branch of clan Chattan. Alias clan Mhurich, from Muireach, whose son Ewen became parson, but on death of his older brother, Diarmid, in 1153, became chief of the clan and founder of its name. Sub-

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clans: Catannach, i. e. belonging to St. Catan; Clark,-e, Clark-son, Clerk, MacChlerich, MacChlery, i. e. son of the clerk; Currie, for MacMhuirich; Fersen for MacPherson; Gillespie (Gaelic Gill-espuig, i. e. servant of the bishop); Gillies (Gaelic Gill-Iesa, servant of Jesus); Gow (Gaelic gobha, smith); Keith, MacKeith (for Mac-Heth); MacCurrach (for MacVurrich); Lees (for Gillies); Mac-Gowan (Gaelic MacGobhain, i. e. little son of a smith); Maclerie; MacLeish and MacLise, M'Lehose (for MacGill-Iesa); MacMurdo,-ch; MacMurrich, MacVurrich; Murdoch (in Adamnan, Muiredachus, sea protector), Murdoson.

MacQuarrie, Gaelic MacGuaire, from the person-name Guaire; guaire, noble. Branch of Alpin. Variants: MacCorr-ie,-y, Mac-Gorr-ie,-y, MacGuire, Macquaire, MacQueary, MacQuhirr, Mac-Quire, MacWhirr, Wharrie.

MacQueen—MacBain says, from M'Cuinn, from Conn; but the variants Mac-Swan,-Swen, Sween, Swyde, and Swan, and M'Sweyn of Sky indicate the Norse name Sweyn (sveinn, a youth), or Mac-Shween, of sept Revan, once branch of MacDonald, but later annexed to Chattan.

MacRae, from MacRaith; in 12th century record, MacRath; from Rath, person-name, rath, good fortune. Variants: Macara, Maccraw, Macra,-ch, MacRath, Rae. (See MacRaith in MacDonald).

Mathieson—Logan gives Gaelic MacMathain; in 1467, Matgamna, i. e. son of a bear. Variants: MacMath; MacPhun (Gaelic MacMhathan); Mathie. Branch of Ross. Dissolved and scattered.

Menzies; earlier, Menyies. Originally Meyners, Norman Meigners. Robert de Meyners was high chamberlain of Scotland about 1250; the first Meyners known was about 1090, and in charters, 1213, in Athol, seat, Weem castle, Gaelic Craig Uamh (i. e. cave). Badge, Menzies' heath. Variant: MacMenzies, Mac-Minn, MacMonies, Means, Mein, Mennie, Minn,-us, Monzie. Sub-clan: Dewar or MacIndeor (Gaelic Mac-an-deoir, from deoradh, stranger).

Morrison, Gaelic M'GhilleMhoire, i. e. son of the devotee of Mary (Virgin). Subclans: Brieve (brieve, a justice) or Mac-Brieve, and Gilmore. Abundant throughout Scotland.

Munro—The first for whom there is distinct authority is George of Fowlis, mentioned in a charter of William, Earl of Sutherland,

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in the reign of Alexander II (1107-1124). The family in Fowlis, natives of Moray, acquired their first feudal titles about 1350 from the Earl of Ross as their feudal superior, to lands belongnig to Munro's predecessors since Donald, the first of the family, supposed to have died about 1053. Donald's grandson, Hugh, is the first styled "Baron of Fowlis;" but the first in historical record is George, 5th baron, witness to a charter by William, Earl of Sutherland, 1232-37, in which Munro is called "consanguineo" of the Earl, confirming the tradition that Hugh Freskin was the grandfather of both. The present baronet is the 11th. Munro is originally a place-name, adopted by the Rothach clan. Robert de Munro obtained lands in Strathspey in 1309. Badge, clubmoss. Variants: Munroe, Monro, -e. Subclans: Dingwall (named from a town near Cromarty Firth); Foulis (parish in Perthshire); MacCulloch (cullach, boar); MacLulich (son of Lulach, Gaelic Loilgheach, milch cow); Vass and Wass, from John Vaux, a Norman, witness to a charter in 1252. North of Scotland, especially Ross.

Murray, or clan Moraidh. William, a descendant of Freskin, who received a great tract of land, is the first who assumed the surname "de Moravia," and died about 1220. Sir John de Moravia, of the same descent, was sheriff of Perth and his son is styled "Dominus Malcolmus de Moravia, Vice Comes of Perth," in a charter of 1284. Sir John Murray, descendant of William, Lord of Tullibardin, was 3d Lord, and in 1676, Marquis; and his son was Duke in 1703. Badge, butcher's broom. Subclans: de Moravia, MacMurray and Moray; Rattray (from Rattray parish, Perthshire); Small, i. e. a small man; Spalding, from Spalding parish, Lincolnshire, a settler who joined the clan. Abundant, especially South Scotland.

Ogilvie—Patrick de Ogilvie swore fealty for confirmation of title to lands in 1296; name from Ogilvie in Perthshire. Badge, alkanet. Subclans: Airlie, originally maormors of Angus, who in 11th century exchanged the title for Earl of Angus; James, the 7th Lord, was created Earl of Airlie (named from a parish in Forfarshire); the present Earl is the 8th; Gilchrist or MacGilchrist.

Robertson, Gaelic Donnchadh or Duncan, who lived about 1360. Robertson from Raibert riach, living in the reign of James II (1437-60). Badge, fine-leaved heath. Subclans and variants: Collier, Collyer, i. e. a collier or charcoal burner; Donachie, Duncanson,

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Dummachie, MacConachie, MacConnechy (Gaelic M'Dhonnchaidh), MacDonachie, Tonnochy; Macinroy (Gaelic MacIan Ruadh, or red MacIan); MacIvor, Norse Ivarr; MacLagan; MacRobie, MacRobbie, MacRobert; Reid, i. e. red, and Roy (Gaelic ruadh, red), Stark, English, strong. M'Coillvig, MacKelvey and MacIlvaick. Next to Stewart, Robertson is the most abundant name in Scotland.

Ross—Malcolm, the first Earl of Ross, received a grant before 1162 from Malcolm IV. The next, Ferchard Macin Taggart, was probably of a new line, clan Gill-andres,-an-rias, devotee of St. Andrew; and mac an tsagart, indicates that he was son of the priest (sagart). On the death of the last of the old earls of Ross, Paul MacTire became chief; and on his death the Rosses of Balnagowan entered on three hundred years of chieftainship; descended from William de Ros, confirmed by Robert II in 1375. From the ancient tribes of Ross, Kenneth Mor, their chief, in 1247, obtaining MacDonald lands. Subclans Anderson, Andrew, Gillanders or MacAndrew; MacCulloch, MacLulich; Dingwall; MacTaggart; MacTear, MacTeir or MacTier, for MacIntire; Taggart; Vass or Wass, from John Vaux, Badge, juniper.

Sinclair—William, comte de St. Clair, of kin to William the Conqueror, coming with him to Britain in 1066, is the ancestor of all the Sinclairs. Badge, gorse. Subclans: Caird, i. e. in Gaelic a mechanic; Clyne, named from Clyne parish in Sutherland.

Skene—John le Skene is on Ragman's Roll in 1296; intermarried with Robertson. Subclans: Cariston, i. e. Carr's town; Dyce, from Diss or Dysse parish in Norfolk; Hallyard (for Aylward).

Stewart—First traceable ancestor, Alan, Lord of Oswestry in Shropshire. Walter, son of Alan in the 12th century, obtained from David I a charter of the burgh and lands of Renfrew, and Malcolm IV, by charter, made the office of High Steward hereditary in his line, May 24, 1158; the surname Stewart begins with him. He died in 1177, and was succeeded in the office by his son, Alan; he by his son, Walter II; he by his son Alexander; he by his son James; he by his son Walter III, who married Marjorie, daughter of Robert Bruce in 1315; he by his son Robert, who succeeded his mother's brother, king David II, as Robert II, reigning 1371-96, as first of the Stewart kings of Scotland; succeeded by his son John, as Robert III, (1390-1406); he by his son James I (1406-37); he by his

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son James II (1437-1460); he by his son James III (1460-88); he by his son James IV (1488-1513); he by his son James V (1513-42); he by his daughter, Mary, Queen of Scots (1543-67); she by her son, James VI, of Scotland, who succeeded Queen Elizabeth as James I of England, in 1603, and died in 1625; succeeded by his son, Charles I; he by his sons Charles II followed by James II; James II by his daughter Mary and her husband, William of Orange (William III); they by Anne, sister of Mary; then passed to George I of the house of Hanover, by his marriage to another sister of Mary. The spelling Stuart is said to have been first used by Mary, Queen of Scots, during her residence in France, where there is no W. Clan badge, a thistle. Subclans of royal Stewarts: Boyd (Gaelic bodih or buidh, yellow (haired); France, i. e. of France; Garrow (Gaelic MacGaraidh); Lennox (Gaelic Leamhnach (field) of the Leven; Menteith, i. e. district of the Teith in Perthshire. Variant, Monteith. Stewart of Appin, subclans: Carmichael (named from Carmichael barony in Lanarkshire); Combieh and MacCombieh from combach, a companion; Livingston from L. parish in Linlithgow; MacKinlay, for Mac-an-leigh, son of the physician; Mac-lae,-lay,-lea,-leay, for Mac-an-leigh; Mac-Michael, earlier M'GhilM(h)ichiel. Stewart of Athol, subclans: Crook-or Cruik-shank; Duilach; Gray or MacGlashan. Stuart of Bute, subclans: Bannatyne (of Bennachtyne), Edinburghshire; Fullarton or Fullerton, burgh in Ayresshire; Jameson, Jamieson, and MacCamie; MacCaw (MacEach); MacClay, MacClew; MacClue, MacCloy and MacLewis, from Lewis Fullarton; MacKirdy, MacCurdy, earlier MacKurerdy for MacMhuireadaich, i. e. son of Murdoch. Variants MacMutrie, MacMuntry, for MacMuireadaigh.

Sutherland—Descendants of Freskin the Fleming are mentioned in a deed in 1211, in Sutherland, from which the clan takes its name; the place-name was given by the Norsemen, because it was south of their Caithness lands. Badge, butcher's broom. Subclans: Cheyne, Norman de la Chene, i. e. of the oak; Federith, from Magnus of Fetherith; Gray; Keith (place-name), Mowatt, Moffatt (from Moffatt village, Dumfries or Lanarks; Oliphant (Norman,elephant).

Urquhart—Adam de Urquhart is witness to a charter, July 4,

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1342; named from Urquhart in Invernesshire. The original lords of Urquhart are now extinct, still Urquhart of Craigston.

Chisholm, a small clan, has almost disappeared. Shaw, a broken clan, follows MacIntosh. MacNicol, a broken clan, follows MacLeod, as does MacCruimen, once hereditary pipers of clan MacLeod. MacColl, a subclan of MacDonald, is now attached to clan Campbell. Proportion of principal clan-names to each ten thousand of the population of Scotland, 1890: Robertson, one hundred and thirty-seven, Scotland generally, with subclan Duncan fifty, Highlands. Stewart, one hundred and fifty, with Stuart, ten, Scotland generally. Ross, forty-three, especially Ross with Anderson, one hundred, Highlands. Campbell, one hundred and thirty, Argyll and Perth; with part of Ballantyne (Bannatyne) twenty. MacDonald, seventy-three, Inverness with Donaldson twenty-four, Central Scotland, and Donald, twenty-four, Scotland generally. Cameron, thirty-eight, Argyll and Perth, with Kennedy, thirty-five, S. & W. Murray, sixty-five, Scotland generally. Ferguson, sixty, Scotland generally, Graham, sixty, Lowlands and Central Scotland. Morrison, forty-two, Scotland generally, and Gilmore, twenty-four, Ayrshire. Gordon, fifty-seven. N. central. Mackenzie, fifty, Ross and Inverness. MacFarlane, forty-eight, central. Davidson, forty-seven, Scotland generally. Buchanan, thirty-five, Glasgow district with Harper, twelve, Scotland generally. MacIntosh, twenty-five, Inverness and Perth, with Ritchie, twenty-eight, Sc. Fraser, forty-four, Sc. MacGregor, twenty-eight, with Grieg, fourteen; Perth and Stirling. Grant, forty, Highlands. MacCallum, twenty-seven, central, with Malcolm, thirteen, Sc. Forbes, thirty-nine, Aberdeen and Perth. MacPherson, twenty-four, Inverness, with Gow, sixteen, Perth and Gillespie, twelve, south. MacLaren, thirty-four, Inverness and Perth. Farquhar, son, Highlands with Finlay, ten, Findlay, seventeen, Ayr., and Finlayson, Perth, ten. MacNeill, thirteen, Argyll and Renfrew, Neil, eleven, Ayr., and Neilson, Glasgow, fifteen. MacLean, thirty-one, Argyll. MacKie, thirty, Lowlands, Lindsay, thirty, Ayr. MacIntyre, twenty-nine, Argyll. Macmillan, twenty-seven, Argyll, Drummond, twenty-seven, Perth and Stirling, MacDougall, twenty-six, Argyll. Mackay, twenty-five, north, especially Caithness, Menzies, seventeen, Perth. MacNab and MacEwen, fifteen each, central. Cumming, fifteen, Inverness. Ogilvie, fifteen, especially Forfar. Moffat, seventeen, south.

HIGHLAND SCOTTISH CLANS

ERRATA—Under Lamont, in the “Highland Scottish Clans” in the 4th number of *Americana*, 1923, first paragraph, the second and the fourth sentences were inserted through error of the author’s assistant. In the original manuscript he derived the name Lamond from the old northern English “Laweman.”

The statement that “the derivation is Norse, and there is a belief that the founders came from Ireland,” has been interpolated, and is unwarranted. In the sub-clans of Lamont, Black (the Lowland equivalent of the Gaelic Dubh), stood alone on the first line. On the third line, “Burden is named from B(o)urdon, a parish in Durham.” On the fifth line, MacGille Duibh, for MacDhomh’uill Duibh. Donald the black; MacGillegowie should follow. Meikleham should be Meikleham. Samhairle for Somerled.



Sayles Family

BY MRS. HEROLD R. FINLEY, MINNEAPOLIS, MINNESOTA

Arms—Argent, on a fess cotised engrailed azure between three wolves' heads erased sable, as many griffins' heads erased or.

Crest—In front of a wolf's head couped sable, gorged with a collar gemel or, three escallops gold.

Motto—Who most has served is greatest. (This motto is given only in English).



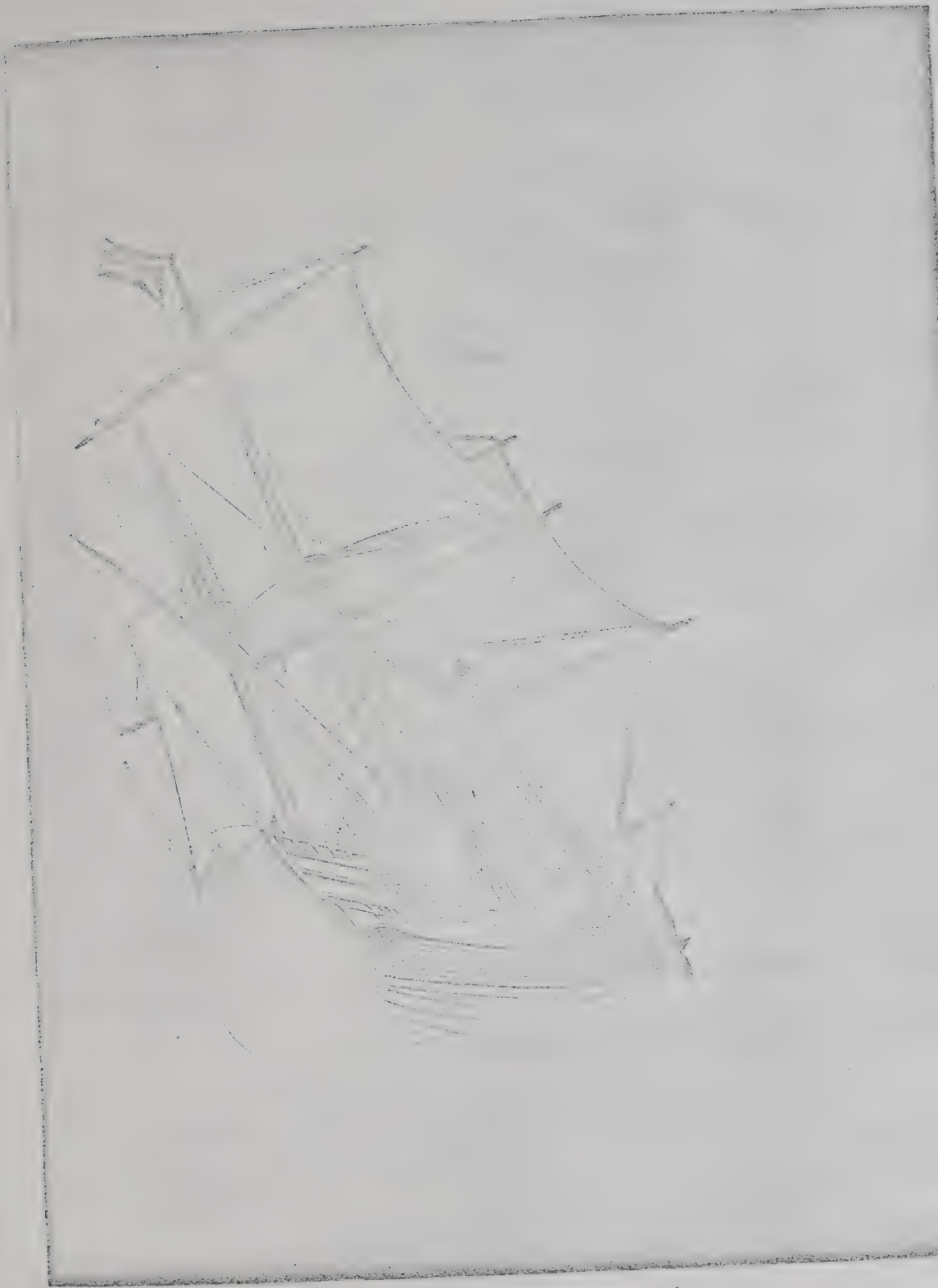
NO MORE distinguished name than that of Sayles occurs in the history of the State of Rhode Island, in the annals of its business, financial and industrial development in the last century. From the first days of Rhode Island's existence as a Colony the name has carried a prestige and influence in large affairs which subsequent generations have not allowed to wane. In the career of the late Frank Arthur Sayles, prematurely cut off at the height of its gigantic achievement and usefulness, we have an example of inspired strength welding together structures of men and minds for great industrial advancement, combined with the resourcefulness and inventive genius of the New England intellect, such as occurs but few times in a century. Frank A. Sayles took undisputed place as one of the greatest Captains of Industry of the twentieth century, and his reputation was world wide.

The Sayles family in Rhode Island dates from the year 1651, when the first mention of the name of the progenitor, John Sayles, appears on the records of the Colony. That he had been here for at least a short period prior to that date is evident from the fact that about 1650 he married Mary Williams, daughter of Roger Williams. They were the progenitors of a family which has figured largely in the affairs of Colony and State from the very beginning. Although not numerous, their descendants have been divided into several clearly defined branches, according to the localities in which they have resided.

The surname is of ancient English origin, and considerable interest attaches to its derivation. It is local in source, and signifies literally "at the hurdles," *sayles* being the old English word for hurdles, or the upright stakes of a hurdle. Charles Wareing Bardsley, M. A., in his "Dictionary of English and Welsh Surnames," in tracing the origin of the name, says: "The only instances I can find, ancient or modern, are in County York. The name has remained there at least five hundred years." From this fact we cannot go far



SAYLES



THE MAYFLOWER

SAYLES FAMILY

astray if we claim Yorkshire as the home of the early Sayles ancestors.

I. John Sayles, immigrant ancestor and founder, was born in 1633, and is first recorded in Providence Plantations, January 27, 1651, when he purchased a house and lot of John Throckmorton. On May 12, 1652, he bought land of Ralph Earle, near West River. In the following year, 1653, already risen to a position of prominence in Colonial affairs, he was chosen assistant to the governor. In 1655 he was admitted a freeman, and in 1653, 1655, 1657, 1659, was commissioner. From 1655 to 1657 he served the town of Providence as clerk; member of the General Council, 1658; warden, 1648; treasurer, 1653, 1657, 1659, 1661, 1662. On May 26, 1660, he sold William Hawkins a piece of property which indicates how vast were his holdings in the early Colony. On that date he conveyed all rights in land lying between Pawtucket and Pawtuxet rivers, "beginning at the end of seven miles upon a west line from the hill called Foxes' Hill (the town of Providence having the same for a boundary), and so to go up the streams of those rivers unto the end of twenty miles from the said Foxes' Hill." On February 19, 1665, he had lot twenty-four in a division of lands. On May 31, 1666, he took the oath of allegiance. He served on the grand jury in 1669-71, and in 1669-70-71-74-76-77-78, was a deputy to the Rhode Island General Assembly. On May 4, 1670, he and three others were appointed to audit the Colony's account. On June 24, 1670, he sold to Stephen Arnold a thirteenth of the island, called the vineyard, at Pawtuxet, "which my father-in-law Mr. Roger Williams gave me." In 1670-71 he was a member of the Town Council. On August 21, 1671, he and Thomas Roberts were appointed to prize and transport the horse belonging to the town of Rhode Island, and to deliver it to Joseph Torrey in payment for debts due from the town. On May 24, 1675, he drew lot eighteen in the division of lands. His last appearance on the public records is on July 1, 1679, when he was taxed 1s. 3d.

John Sayles married, about 1650, Mary Williams, daughter of Roger Williams, who was born at Plymouth, Massachusetts, in August, 1633.

II. John (2) Sayles, son of John (1) and Mary (Williams) Sayles, was born in Providence, Rhode Island, August 17, 1654. He was admitted a freeman, May 3, 1681, and in 1688 served on the grand jury. On January 23, 1694, he had laid out to him thirty-five acres, "which land he had of his grandfather Mr. Roger Williams." In 1694 he was chosen to the office of deputy to the General Assembly, and again in 1706. On August 14, 1710, he was licensed to keep an inn and sell liquor. John Sayles died on August 2, 1727. His will, dated September 14, 1726, and proved August 21, 1727, be-

SAYLES FAMILY

queathes to his sons: Thomas, Richard and John, and his daughter Mary. The gravestones of John Sayles, his wife Elizabeth, and son Daniel are still to be seen in the old graveyard west of the railroad track, nearly opposite the foot of Earl street.

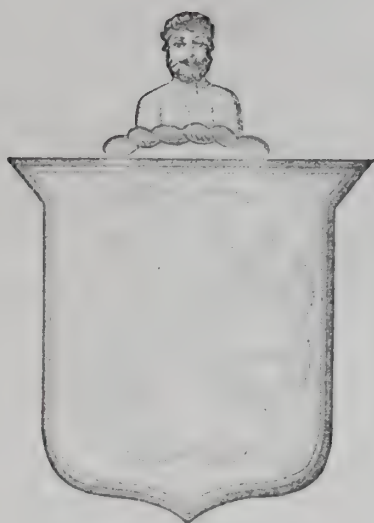
John (2) Sayles married Elizabeth Olney, born January 31, 1666, daughter of Thomas Olney. She died November 2, 1699.

III. Captain Richard Sayles, son of John (2) and Elizabeth (Olney) Sayles, was born in Providence, Rhode Island, October 24, 1695, and died in Smithfield after May, 1775. In 1731 he was town clerk of Providence. There is a record of his delivering the two children of his wife by a former marriage to their grandfather, Maturin Ballou, September 25, 1742. He removed, in 1731-32, to Smithfield, a stronghold of the Rhode Island Friends, and some of his children joined the Society of Friends. His brothers also settled in Smithfield, and became very prominent citizens. Richard Sayles held the rank of ensign in the Second Providence Company, Second Regiment of Militia of the Main Land, 1722, 1723, 1724, 1725. He was a lieutenant in the same company in 1725 and 1726, and captain in 1729. In 1731, 1733, he was captain of the Smithfield company. He was deputy for Providence to the General Assembly of Rhode Island in 1730, and deputy for Smithfield in 1738. On February 21, 1750, Richard Sayles deeded a house lot of two and three-quarter acres to his son Richard, and on July 5, 1757, deeded land to his sons, Jonathan and Gideon, including the homestead.

Captain Richard Sayles married (first), November 24, 1720, Mercy Phillips, daughter of Richard and Sarah (Mowry) Phillips. He married (second), May 14, 1738, Alice Arnold, of Smithfield, widow of David Arnold, and daughter of Maturin and Sarah Ballou. He married (third), January 10, 1742, Susannah Inman, widow of John Inman, and daughter of James and Susanna (Whitman) Ballou.

IV. Captain Israel Sayles, son of Captain Richard and Mercy (Phillips) Sayles, was born March 17, 1726, and died April 22, 1801. He was a farmer, and an unusually skilled mechanic. For many years he was president of the Town Council of Glocester. He held the rank of lieutenant in the First Company of Glocester, Providence County Regiment, in 1754, and was captain of the same in 1754, 1755, and 1756. In 1757 he was enlisting officer for Glocester Israel Sayles served in the Revolutionary War as a member of Captain Hopkins' company, Colonel Lippitt's regiment, and according to report, under General Sullivan.

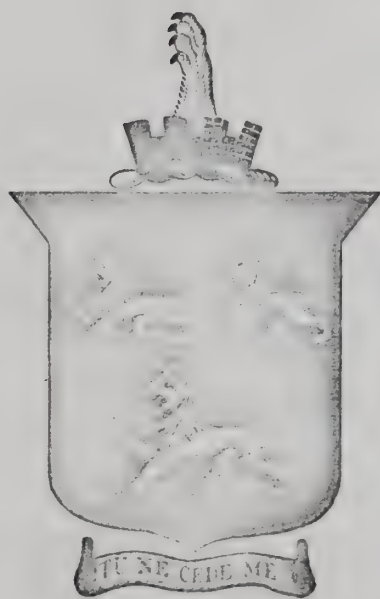
Captain Israel Sayles married Mercy Whipple, daughter of Daniel and Mary (Smith) Whipple.



Mullins



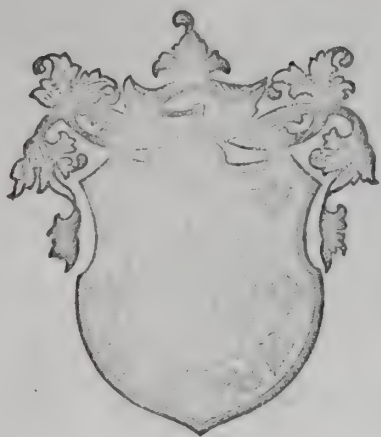
Inman



Steere



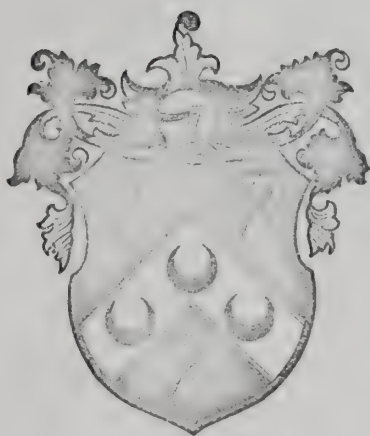
Rhodes



Williams



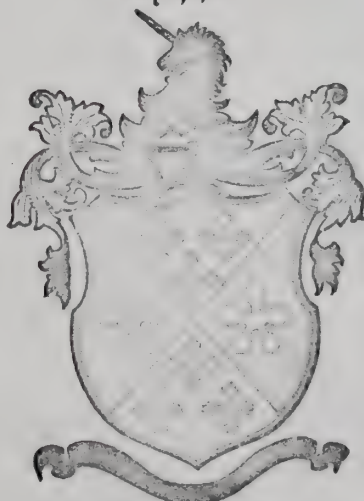
Olney



Whipple



Angell



Winsor



Freeman

SAYLES FAMILY

V. *Ahab Sayles*, son of Captain Israel and Mercy (Whipple) Sayles, was born October 17, 1760, and died April 17, 1849. His homestead lands were between Pascoag and Chepachet, on the line which in 1806 was made the boundary line between Burrillville and Glocester. The family mansion was then situated in Burrillville instead of in Glocester as formerly.

Ahab Sayles married, in January, 1786, Lillis Steere, daughter of Samuel and Martha (Colwell) Steere, and member of an old Rhode Island family. She was born August 17, 1766, and died March 9, 1854.

VI. *Clark Sayles*, son of Ahab and Lillis (Steere) Sayles, was born in Glocester, Rhode Island, May 18, 1797. He was educated in the local schools, and as a youth was an omnivorous reader. At the age of eighteen years he entered the employ of Mr. Elias Carter, a master-builder of Thompson, Connecticut. He later went to Georgia, where he was employed in building the Burke county court house. Returning, he assisted in building the Congregational church edifice at Milford, Massachusetts. Finally establishing himself independently, he erected a residence for his brother, Nicholas Sayles. He again went to Georgia, where for a time he constructed dwellings for planters, and completed a large hotel at Waynesborough. On his return from the South he built the meeting house in Greenville, Smithfield, Rhode Island. In the spring of 1822 he removed to Pawtucket, and settled as a master-builder. Among the contracts which he was awarded during the ensuing period were houses for David Wilkinson, the adding of the middle section of the First Baptist Church edifice, the building of the First Congregational Church edifice in Pawtucket, which he also planned, a church in North Scituate, and one in Attleboro, Massachusetts.

In addition to this work, Mr. Clark Sayles engaged in the coal and lumber business, and was the first man to introduce coal into Pawtucket in vessels. Mr. Sayles associated himself in business with Mr. Daniel Greene, and in the financial panic of 1829 the firm of Clark Sayles & Company assumed to a great disadvantage, as the issue proved, the business interests of Mr. Greene, who had failed. Mr. Sayles was chosen director of the New England Pacific Bank, and was one of the two of its thirteen directors who did not fail. Chosen president of the bank as successor to Dr. Asa Messer, Mr. Sayles stood at the head of the institution for seventeen years, and, "by most skillful financiering," brought the bank through all its difficulties. In 1837, closing most of his large business interests in Pawtucket, he again went South and engaged in the wholesale lumber trade for the firm of which he was head, and also as agent of another company, operating steam saw mills, one on an island at the mouth of the Altamaha river, and one on the Savannah river, oppo-

SAYLES FAMILY

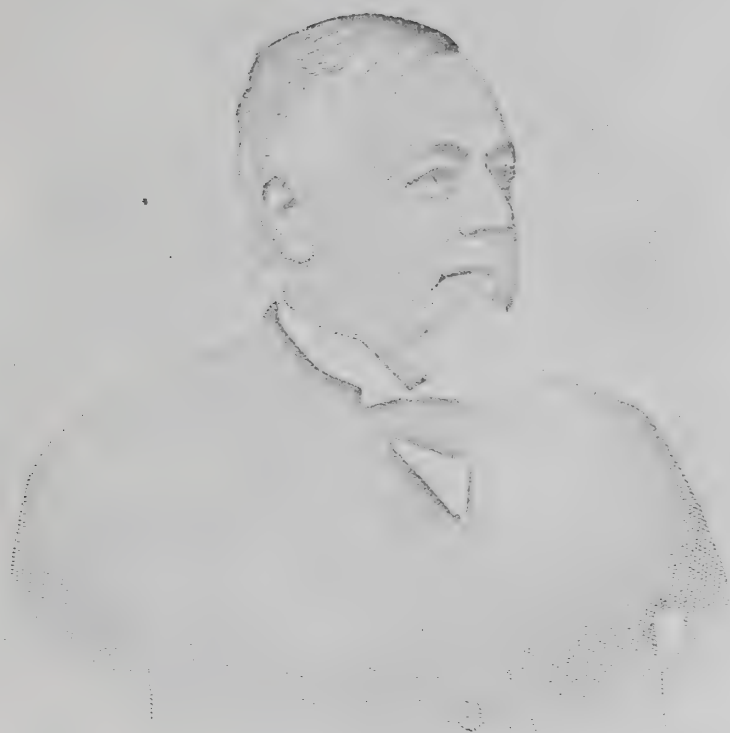
site the city of Savannah. He was occupied in this way for about twenty years, but finally returned to Pawtucket. He did not again enter business for himself, but assisted his sons, William Francis and Frederic Clark Sayles, in purchasing materials and in the construction of the buildings added to their extensive Moshassuck Bleachery, in Lincoln, Rhode Island. He was also general superintendent in the erection of the beautiful Memorial Chapel in Saylesville, near the Bleachery.

In 1832 Mr. Sayles became a member of the Congregational church, and was prominent in the stand against slavery, and for temperance, educational and moral reform. In politics he was an Old-Line Whig, and was finally identified with the Republican party. Contemporary record tells us that "Mr. Sayles was a strong, energetic, independent, incorruptible man." He stands out preëminently as one of the strong, admirable, constructive figures of business life in Rhode Island in the latter half of the nineteenth century.

Clark Sayles married, December 25, 1822, Mary Ann Olney, born June 21, 1803, daughter of Paris and Mercy (Winsor) Olney, and a descendant of Thomas Olney, founder of the family in America, who was one of the thirteen original proprietors of Providence Plantations. Thomas Olney came from Hertford, England, in the ship "Planter," and settled first in Salem, Massachusetts; he was one of the founders of Providence, with Roger Williams. From him the line descends through Epenetus Olney, who married Mary Whipple; Epenetus Olney, Jr., who married Mary Williams; James Olney, married Hannah Winsor; Emor Olney, married Amey Hopkins; Paris Olney, married Mercy Winsor. Clark and Mary Ann (Olney) Sayles were the parents of five children, three of whom died young. The sons, William Francis, mentioned below, and the late Hon. Frederic Clark Sayles, both rose to commanding positions in the industrial and business life of Rhode Island.

VII. William Francis Sayles, son of Clark and Mary Ann (Olney) Sayles, was born in Pawtucket, Rhode Island, September 21, 1824. He received his early education in the Fruit Hill Classical Institute, under Mr. Amos Perry; the Seekonk Classical School, under Mr. Stanton Belden; and for two years was a student in Phillips Academy, Andover, Massachusetts.

In 1842 Mr. William Francis Sayles began his business life as bookkeeper for the firm of Shaw & Earle in Providence. He was afterwards salesman, and eventually was placed in charge of the financial affairs of the concern. In December, 1847, he bought at public auction the Moshassuck Bleachery, which is situated about two miles west of Pawtucket. For some time the plant had been used as a print works. Mr. Sayles began immediately to erect additional buildings and converted the plant into a bleachery for shirt-



Wm F. Sayles



Mary Wilkinson (Fessenden) Payles

SAYLES FAMILY

ings and sheetings, having a capacity of two and a half tons daily. By 1854, despite the fact that he had entered the business without experience and with small capital, he had increased the capacity of the works to about four tons a day. About three-fourths of all the finer cotton goods came to his bleachery. The water of the Moshassuck river, for which the bleachery is named, is well adapted for the purpose of the plant, but the additional advantage of a fountain of water from a hundred springs, enclosed in a wall some three hundred feet in circumference, has been added. In June, 1854, the entire plant was destroyed by fire, but Mr. Sayles immediately set himself to work to rehabilitate his loss, and the establishment was rebuilt on even a larger scale than the old. The new plant had a capacity of six tons a day, and from year to year additions have been made until the daily output is now expressed in terms of hundreds of thousands of yards. The buildings cover an area of thirty acres and of models of architecture for buildings of this kind and class, substantially built of brick. The surrounding grounds are tastefully laid out and carefully kept. The works are lighted by electricity, and are well equipped with fire apparatus and with every convenience for safeguarding the life and comfort of the workmen. Mr. Sayles was a pioneer in providing for the welfare and health, comfort and happiness of his men, and the most harmonious relations always existed between him and his employees. He was a prime mover in the establishment of a school district for the village, and on the first Sunday of June, 1860, he organized a Sunday school, and on as its superintendent devoted himself to the work during the remainder of his life. The village which grew about the bleachery has come to be called Saylesville, and now has a population of more than two thousand, with stores, post office, and all the attributes of a model manufacturing community. In 1863 Mr. Sayles admitted to partnership his brother, Frederic C. Sayles, with whose coöperation the business was constantly enlarged.

In 1873 William F. and Frederic C. Sayles, to meet the religious needs of the growing community in Saylesville, and to raise a suitable memorial "to the memory to their deceased children," erected a beautiful chapel of Westerly granite, in the Gothic style. The following names are inscribed on marble tablets on the interior walls at each side of the pulpit: "Louisa Marsh Sayles, and Nannie Nye Sayles, children of William F. and Mary W.," on the west side; and "Benjamin Paris Sayles, son of Frederic C. and Deborah C.," on the east side. In 1877 William F. Sayles erected a tower on the corner of the church as a memorial to his deceased son, William Clark Sayles, who died in the previous year while a student in Brown University. A few years later, Mr. Sayles, with his brother, erected, at a cost of \$30,000, a large hall for the use of those in their employ, containing a library and reading room, and a room for the

SAYLES FAMILY

association of firemen in the bleachery and for other social purposes. One writer said of the village a generation ago what is just as true to-day in a larger sense:

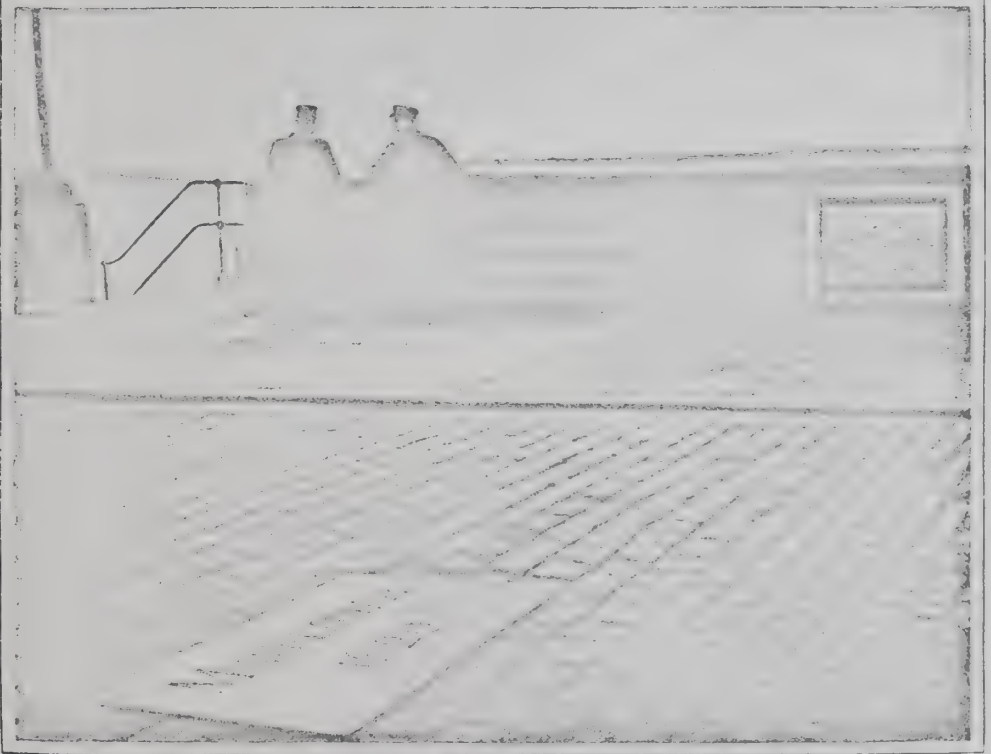
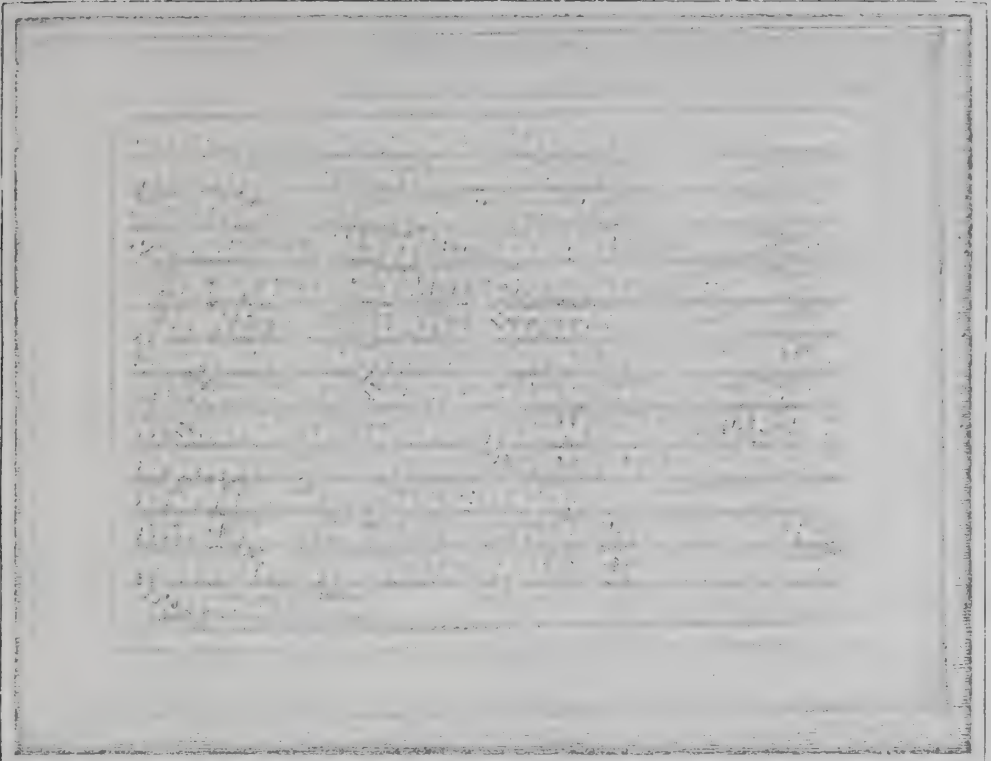
The Moshassuck Bleachery, with its numerous substantial buildings, the neat appearance of the tenement houses around it, the elevated grounds on either side of the winding stream, which gives the valley its name, the pleasant homes of the permanent residents, the chapel, the school house, the public hall, the absence of drinking saloons and the concomitants, the peaceable and orderly character of the people, give to Saylesville its enviable reputation as the model manufacturing village of Rhode Island.

In 1877 William F. and Frederic C. Sayles built the Moshassuck Valley railroad, which connects their village with the Woodlawn station of the New York, New Haven & Hartford railroad. The senior partner became president of the road, and his brother treasurer. This spur track greatly facilitated the transportation of goods to and from the bleachery and opened up an opportunity for indefinite expansion of business. Between Woodlawn and the bleachery, the firm established an extensive business in the Lorraine Mills, in manufacturing ladies' dress goods of the finest quality, especially French cashmeres. At Lorraine another model village grew up about this industry, and the firm erected a chapel there, pursuing the same generous policy which they had followed at Moshassuck.

Mr. Sayles was prominently identified with many of the foremost business and financial institutions in the State of Rhode Island. He was president of the Slater National Bank of Pawtucket, and a director of the Third National Bank of Providence. He was a large stockholder in numerous manufacturing industries, and was president of the Slater Cotton Company of Pawtucket, of which he was founder. He was a director of the Ponemah Mills, of Taftville, Connecticut, the largest cotton manufacturing business in the State, and one of the largest in New England. He was president of the Stafford Manufacturing Company of Central Falls, and a stockholder in numerous mill corporations in Massachusetts.

In politics, Mr. Sayles was a Republican. He served two terms as State Senator from Pawtucket, and proved a wise and efficient legislator. For many years he was president of the trustees of the Pawtucket Free Public Library. In 1878, in memory of his son, William Clark Sayles, Mr. Sayles gave to Brown University the sum of \$50,000 for the erection of a memorial hall. The gift was subsequently increased to \$100,000, and on June 4, 1881, Sayles Hall was dedicated. In 1879 Mr. Sayles was elected to the board of trustees of Brown University, and held that office until his death, May 7, 1894. In his younger days he served in the State Militia, and was lieutenant-colonel of the Pawtucket Light Guard. During the Civil War he gave earnest and loyal support to the government, contributing freely from his wealth for many patriotic purposes.

In 1870-72 Mr. Sayles erected a beautiful mansion overlooking



COMMEMORATIVE STONE AND TABLET ON THE BARBICAN.
PLYMOUTH, ENGLAND

F. H. Gayles

SAYLES FAMILY

the cities of Pawtucket and Providence. Here he collected a fine library and many works of art. He was fond of literature and the arts, and travelled extensively in this country and abroad. A contemporary wrote of him:

Active and public-spirited as a citizen, upright, and honorable in all his dealings with his fellowmen, he won and retained the respect and confidence of the community in which he always resided. From the beginning of his business career, he believed in the principle of hard, persistent work and honesty of purpose as the only sure ground of success. Acting upon this belief he succeeded by his own unaided exertions in raising himself from the position of a clerk in a commercial house to the possessor of an ample fortune. Endowed with a sympathetic nature, and bestowing substantial aid where deserved, he strove always to make the applicant depend upon himself rather than on others. While from his door none were turned away empty, his charities were of the practical kind, and calculated to confer permanent aid, as well as to relieve present necessity. His convictions of right and duty were decided and firm, and uncompromisingly maintained, and though a positive man, he viewed the faults of others with charity, his creed being,

That mercy I to others show
That mercy show to me.

He attended and generously contributed to the work of the Central Congregational Church in Providence, but was not sectarian in his beliefs.

William Francis Sayles married, October 30, 1849, Mary Wilkinson Fessenden, who was born October 24, 1827, and died September 20, 1886. She was the daughter of Hon. Benjamin Fessenden, of Valley Falls, Rhode Island, and Mary (Wilkinson) Fessenden, his wife. Their children were: 1. Mary Fessenden. 2. Louise Marsh. 3. William Clark. 4. Martha Freeman. 5. Frank Arthur, of whom further. 6. Nancy Nye.

VIII. Frank Arthur Sayles, son of William Francis and Mary Wilkinson (Fessenden) Sayles, was born December 14, 1866, in Pawtucket, Rhode Island. He was educated in preparatory schools, and was graduated from Brown University in the class of 1890. He entered immediately into his father's bleaching industries, and devoted the period ensuing between his graduation and the death of William F. Sayles to learning the business in all its departments. On the death of his father, Frank A. Sayles inherited the Sayles Finishing Plants at Saylesville and Phillipsdale, and the Moshassuck Valley railroad. He inaugurated at once the policy of expansion and progressive development which within a short period made the Sayles bleaching industries the most noted of their kind in the world. He was a man of inventive as well as executive genius, and to the advancement of the Sayles industries brought the valuable gift of familiarity with mechanical and scientific affairs, as well as his ability as an organizer and director. Broad of vision, thoroughly cognizant of every changing phase of the vast enterprises which he directed, devoting himself to his work with a singleness and intent-

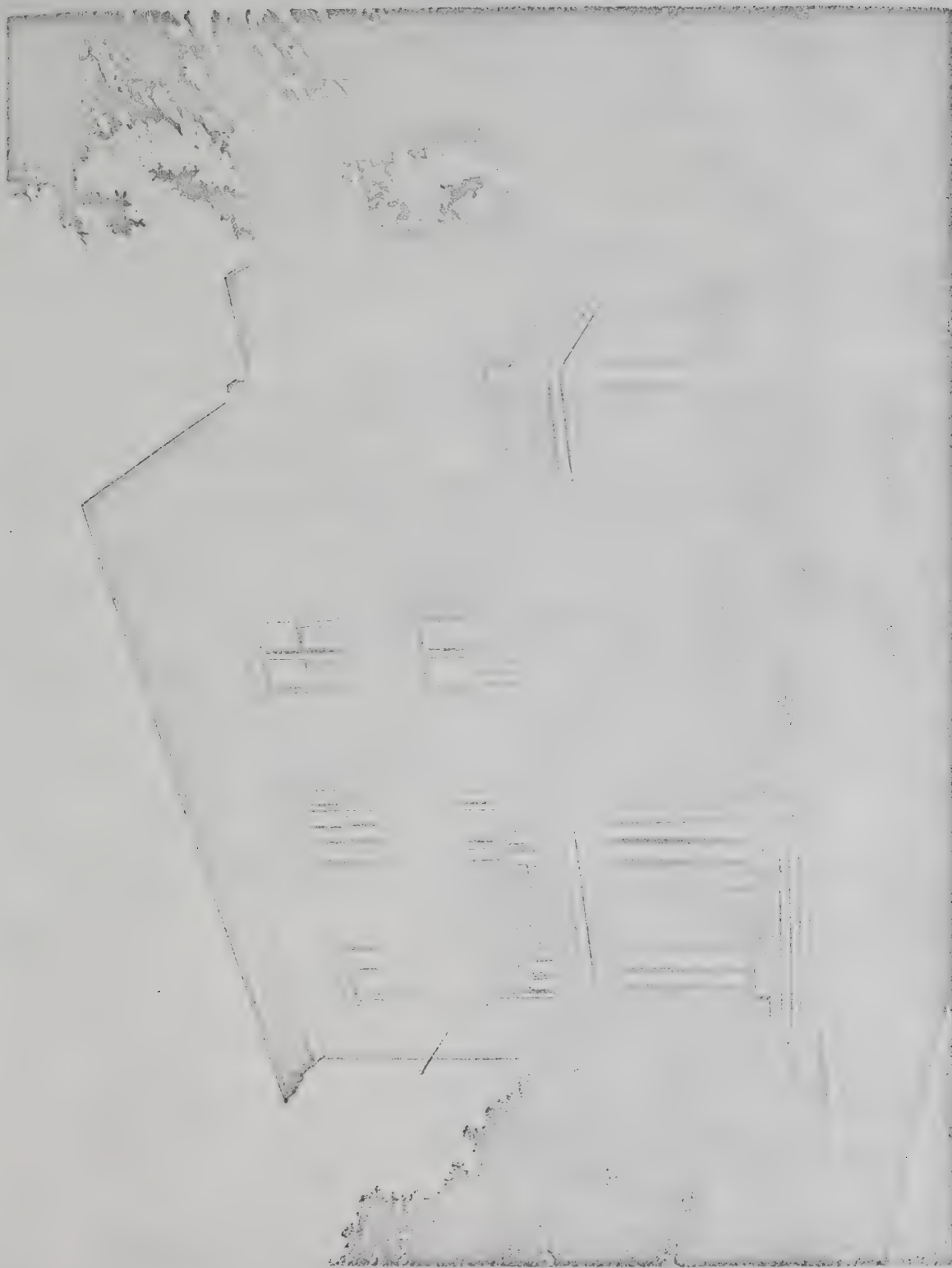
SAYLES FAMILY

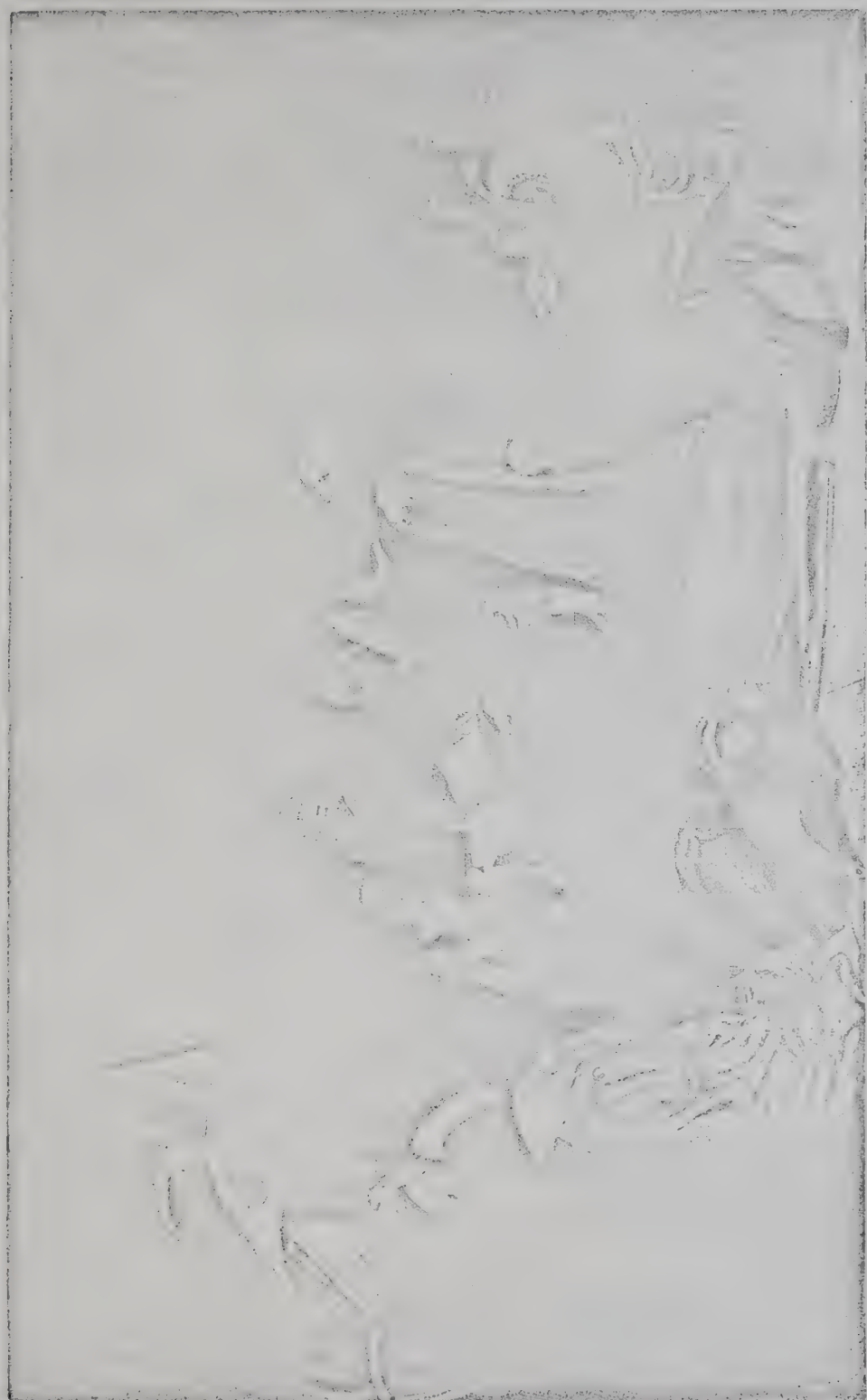
ness of purpose which admitted of no distractions, he reared on the foundations laid by his father and uncle a business which has no peer in Europe or America to-day, and stands as a monument to his intellectual and creative strength.

Mr. Sayles' interests, although confined largely to the field of woolen and cotton manufacture, were wide and diversified. Rhode Island industries which he operated and of which he was president included the Sayles Finishing Plants at Saylesville and Phillipsdale, above mentioned; the Hamlet Textile Company of Woonsocket and Pawtucket; the Slater Yarn Company of Pawtucket; and the River Spinning Company of Woonsocket. He was president and principal stockholder of the Lorraine Manufacturing Company, and of the Slater Trust Company of Pawtucket. It has been estimated that fully ten thousand persons were employed in the plants which he controlled. Other business enterprises in which he was heavily interested were: The French River Textile Company of Mechanicsville, Connecticut, of which he was president; and the Ponemah Mills at Taftville, Connecticut, of which he was president and member of the board of directors. He was a director in the following corporations: The Blackstone Valley Gas and Electric Light Company; the Castner Electrolytic Company, director and vice-president; the Chase National Bank, of New York City; the Moshassuck Valley railroad; the Norfolk Southern Railroad Company; the Putnam (Connecticut) Light and Power Company; the United Gas and Electric Company; and the Wauregan Mills. He rendered invaluable service along industrial lines throughout the World War. Part of his service was devoting his plants at Woonsocket, Valley Falls and Phillipsdale to the bleaching of cotton linter used in the manufacture of explosives; the weekly output of these plants was 2,500,000 pounds.

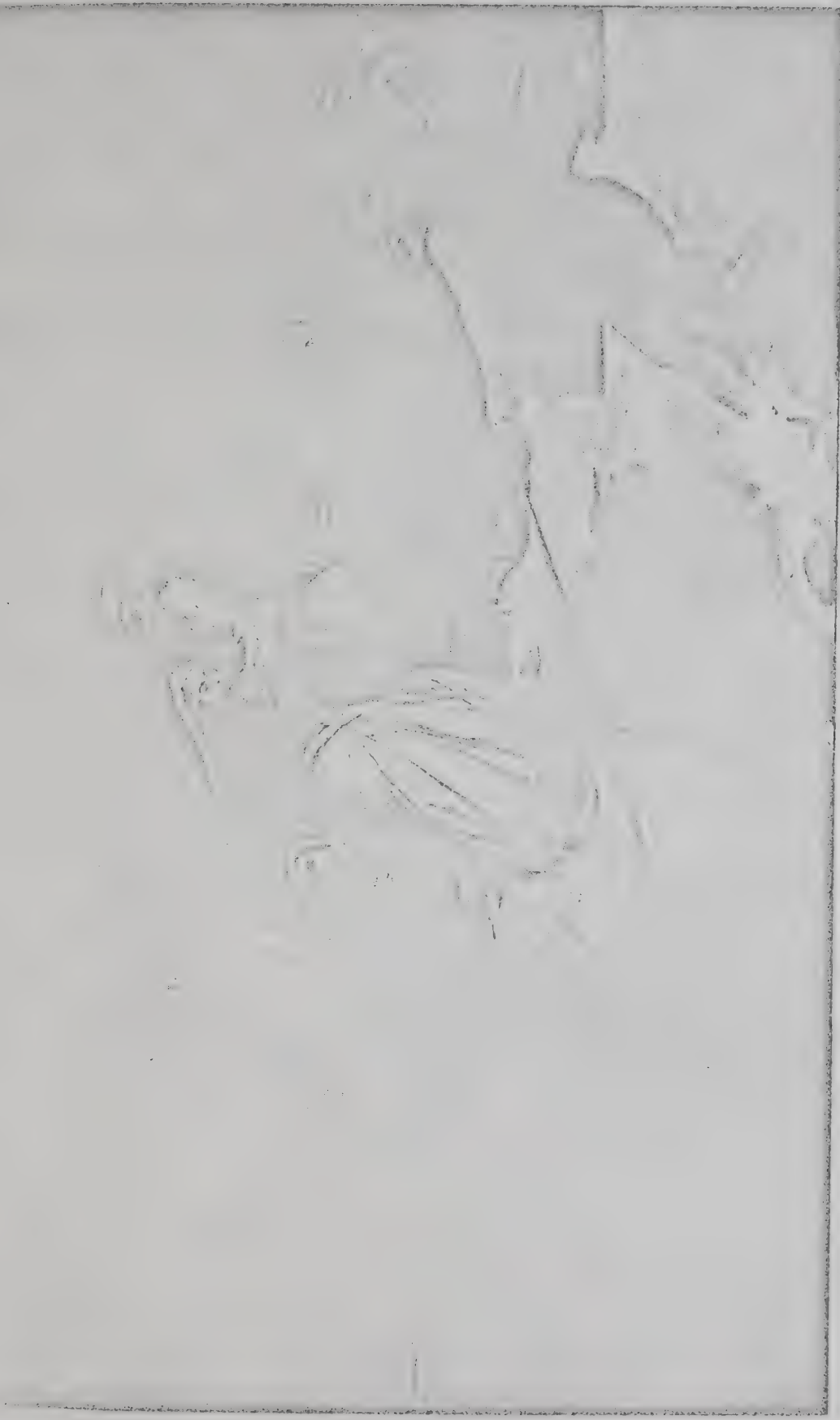
Throughout his entire career, Mr. Sayles was a generous supporter of worthwhile charities and benevolences, giving freely and liberally for the alleviation of suffering and for the advancement of the arts, education, religion, and civic interests. His gifts to war charities were very great and were exceeded by no resident of Pawtucket. Other notable gifts made possible the Pawtucket Memorial Hospital, which Mr. Sayles erected and presented to the city in memory of his mother and sister. He also endowed the Sayles Memorial Hospital with \$75,000.

Mr. Sayles was no seeker after public honors. His life, away from the cares of his great business interests, was essentially simple. He had no fraternal connections and cared little for social life. In his leisure hours he shunned the artificialities and pretenses of modern life, reverting to the simple, homely interests and pleasures of the preceding generation. He was a lover of outdoor life and horses. Of magnetic personality, brilliant in mentality, yet un-



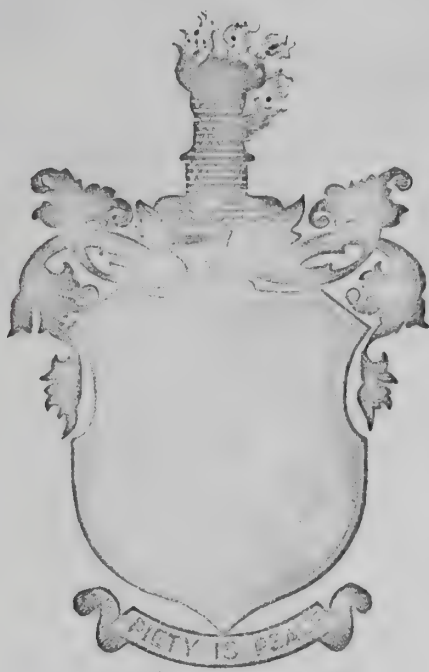


EMBARKATION OF THE PILGRIMS





Wilkinson



Hopkins



Arnold



Tilley

WILKINSON.

(Matthews, 1901, 330. Lawrence Wilkinson. Lieutenant in army of Charles I; settled in Providence, R. I., 1645. William Wilkinson, Westerly, R. I., died 1723. Both had the same arms.)

Arms—Azure, a fess ermine between three unicorns passant argent.

Crest—Out of a mural crown gules a demi-unicorn ermine erased of the first, armed and maned or.

Motto—*Nec rege nec populo, sed utroque.*

HOPKINS.

(Matthews, 1901, 325. John Hopkins, who came from England with Rev. Thomas Hooker, 1628; admitted Freeman at Cambridge, Mass., 1635; settled at Hartford, Conn., 1636; died 1654. Stephen Hopkins, Plymouth, Mass., 1620. Both have the same arms.)

Arms—Sable, on a chevron between three pistols or, three roses gules.

Crest—A tower sable, in flames proper.

Motto—Piety is peace.

ARNOLD.

(Arnold, Matthews, 1908, 254. William Arnold, born at Leamington, England, 1587; came to Providence, R. I., 1636; son of Thomas Arnold, of Melcomb Regis, Dorsetshire.)

Arms—Gules, a chevron ermine between three pheons or.

Crest—A demi-lion rampant gules, holding a lozenge or.

Motto—*Mihi gloria cessum.*

TILLEY.

Arms—Argent a wivern with wings endorsed sable.

Crest—The head of a battle axe issuing from the wreath.

SAYLES FAMILY

ostentatious, he numbered among his friends some of the foremost men of the State and Nation, men who valued and loved him for the cultured, kindly gentleman and man of affairs that he was. His funeral was carried out with the impressive and dignified seriousness and freedom from pomp and affection with which he had lived his life.

Mr. Sayles had a notable Colonial ancestry, being descended from many of the early Rhode Island families, distinguished in the annals of the Colony. He traced his line from Roger Williams, the founder of Rhode Island, by six different descents, through the Sayles, Winsor and Olney families. He was descended from Thomas Olney, one of the thirteen original proprietors of Providence Plantations, through three lines; from John Whipple, commander of an expedition against the Indians in King Philip's War, 1675-76, by four lines; and from Thomas Angell and Joshua Winsor, two of the thirteen signers of the first written compact of the Providence Plantations, by three lines each.

The well known Field, Arnold, Jenckes, Mowry, Inman, Wicken-den, Rhodes and Wilkinson names were also duplicated by the frequent intermarriages of that era. Other notable Rhode Island ancestry included the Hopkins, the Chad Brown, the Obadiah Holmes, the Harris, Barker, Randall, Scott and Smith families, showing that the Sayles family record was closely interwoven with a large part of early Rhode Island history. Through his maternal ancestry, Mr. Sayles was descended from John Howland and John Tilley of the "Mayflower."

Cape ancestry of note included the Newcomb, Bourne, Skiff, Chipman, Freeman, Otis, Bacon, Russell and Mayo families, while other Massachusetts lines included the Colton, Marshfield, Chapin, Johnson, Marsh, Wilson, Hobart, Adams, Wright, Moody and Collins families. Branches straying into Connecticut were the Rev. Thomas Hooker, the Newton and Talcott lines.

Members of all of these families performed distinguished Colonial service. Indeed, it is worthy of notice that Mr. Sayles claimed over eighty Colonial ancestors, whose services have been recognized and entered in the different hereditary societies, three of whom were Colonial governors, or presidents. He was a member of the Rhode Island Society of Colonial Wars, by right of such services, and although he was not affiliated with the Sons of the American Revolution, he claimed six Revolutionary heroes.

Frank Arthur Sayles married, June 9, 1892, Mary Dorr Ames, daughter of Commander Sullivan Dorr Ames, of the United States Navy, and Mary Townsend (Bullock) Ames, his wife. They were the parents of the following children: 1. Mary Ames, born October 13, 1893; married Neville Jay Booker, of New York, June 8, 1918; one child, Mary Sayles, born January 1, 1921. 2. Martha Free-

SAYLES FAMILY

man, born July 18, 1896; married Paul Coe Nicholson, of Providence, June 23, 1917; they have children: Paul Coe Nicholson, Jr., born October 12, 1918; Martha Sayles Nicholson, born October 5, 1922. 3. William Francis, born April 23, 1901, died March 21, 1902. 4. Nancy, born April 12, 1905. 5. Hope, born February 21, 1907.

Mrs. Sayles resides at "Saleholme," the Sayles' mansion, in Pawtucket.

Frank A. Sayles died in New York City, March 9, 1920, at the home of his daughter, Mrs. Neville Jay Booker.

(Ames Family).

Arms—Argent, on a bend cotised between two annulets sable, a quatrefoil between two roses of the field.

Crest—A rose argent slipped and leaved proper, in front thereof an annulet or.

Motto—*Fama candida rosa dulcior.*

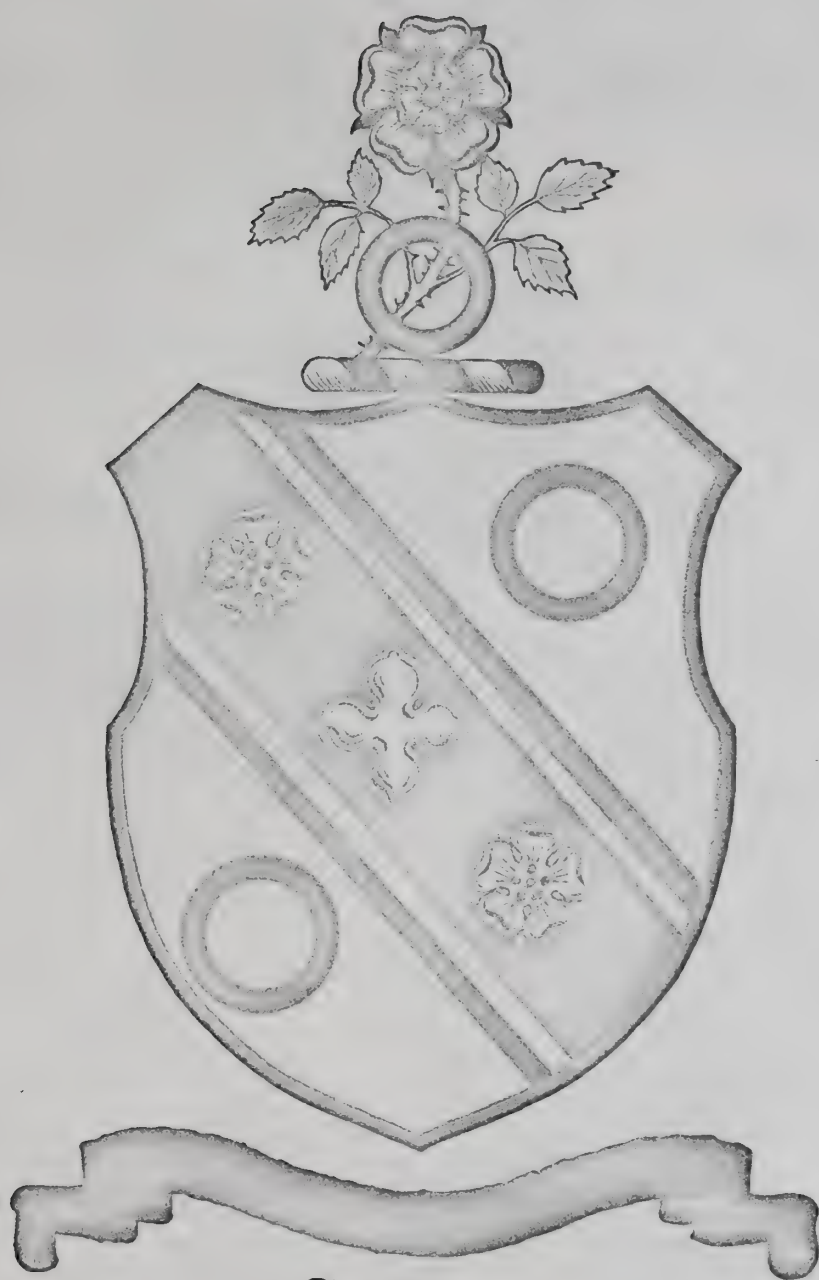
The family of Ames is said to have been originally of Bruton, in Somersetshire, England.* Here a certain John Ames, or Amyas, the first progenitor of whom there seems to be positive knowledge, was buried in the year 1560. Some of his descendants eventually came to America in 1638 and 1640, and settled in Duxbury and Braintree, Massachusetts, and later removed to Bridgewater.

With this Duxbury and Bridgewater family, the Providence Ames have no known connection. Whether the Providence line actually traces back to John Ames, of Bruton in Somersetshire, yet remains to be proved. Judge Samuel Ames, of Providence, Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of Rhode Island, was fifth in descent from Robert (1) Ames, of Andover and Boxford, Massachusetts.

I. *Robert Ames* probably came from Boxford, England. He settled in Boxford, Massachusetts, and undoubtedly resided near the Andover line, as several of the births of his oldest children are recorded on the Andover town records. His home estate was in the West Parish. He was one of the committee chosen by the town of Rowley and the village of Rowley (afterwards Boxford), to establish the dividing line between the two towns, July, 1685. In December, 1689, he was one of those chosen to meet with the Topsfield committee to settle the line between that town and Boxford. This committee evidently did not accomplish its object, as another committee was appointed for the same purpose in March, 1695. In 1692 Robert Ames, Sen., was selectman for Boxford.

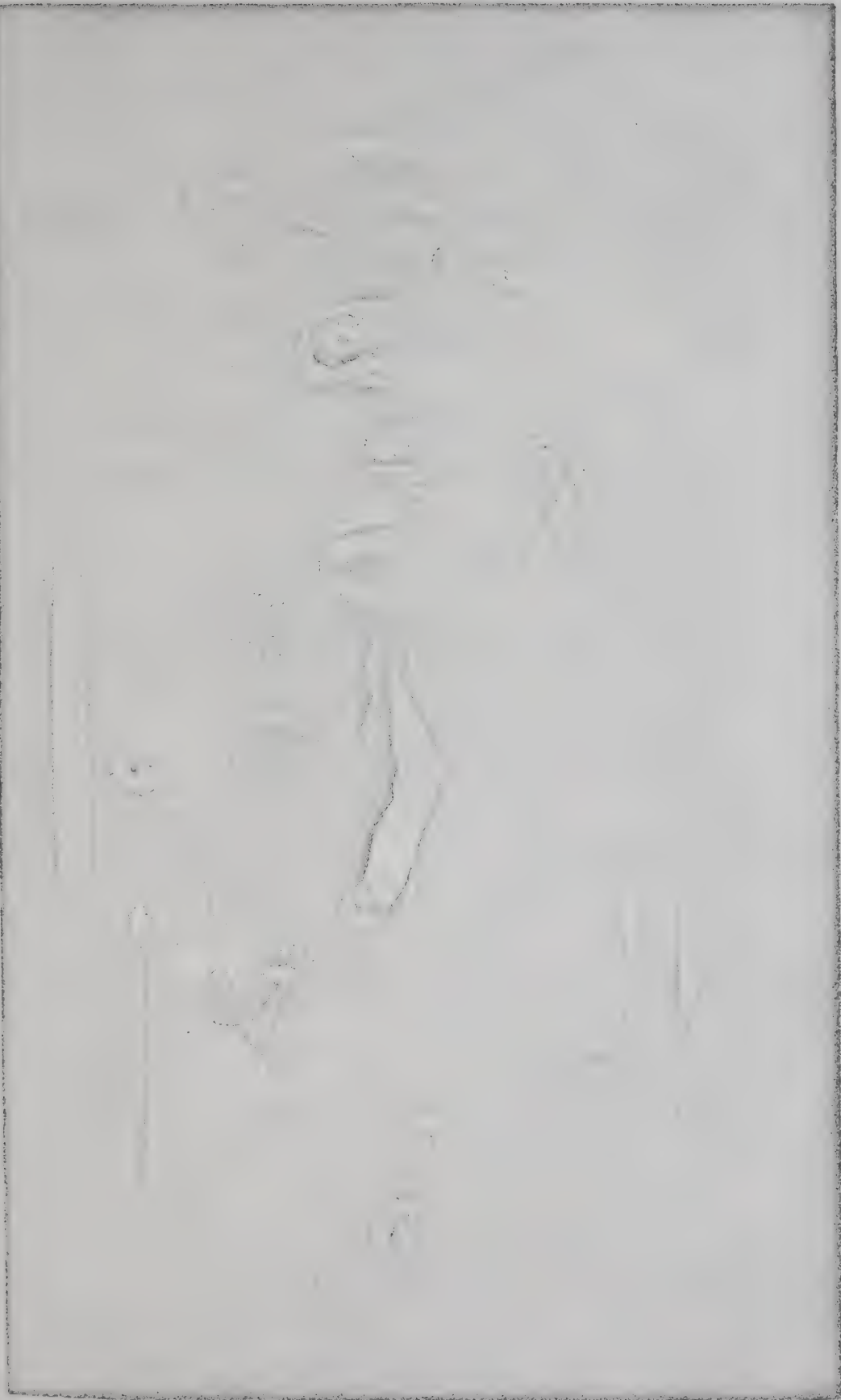
Robert Ames married, in 1661, Rebecca Blake, eldest daughter of George Blake, of Gloucester, Massachusetts, who afterwards settled in Boxford. In 1692 she was arrested as a witch and condemned, but after seven months' imprisonment she was included in

*The early spelling of the name was Eames. Also found Emes, Emms, Emmes, Eamms, and Amaes.



Ames

SIGNING OF THE COMPACT
IN THE CABIN OF THE MAYFLOW. 1620



SAYLES FAMILY

the general reprieve of July 22, 1693, a strong reaction and protest against the amazing and incredible superstition of those days having set in. A full account of her trial is given in the "History of Boxford, Mass." (1880), by Sidney Perley, pp. 120-123. Robert and Rebecca (Blake) Ames had eight children, of whom the third was Robert, mentioned below.

II. Robert (2) Ames, son of Robert (1) and Rebecca (Blake) Ames, was born February 28, 1667-68, in Andover, Massachusetts. He married, April 20, 1694, in Boxford, Bethiah Gatchell, of "Sec-onke," of whose parentage nothing is known. Robert Ames was a husbandman and lived in Boxford, where two children were born. He resided in Boston between 1695 and 1700, where the births of three children are recorded. The first child on the Boston records was Samuel, through whom the line descends. The actual date of death of Robert Ames has not been found.

III. Samuel Ames, son of Robert (2) and Bethiah (Gatchell) Ames, was born in Boston, Massachusetts, February 24, 1695. He was a resident of Andover by 1719, where a child by his first wife, Abigail (Spofford) Ames, of Rowley, was born. She died June 25, 1719, and he married (second), January 13, 1720-21, Hannah Stevens, of Andover.

Samuel Ames was in Lexington in 1722, when he bought land; at Natick by 1729, where a child was born; at Andover again by 1734; and at Groton by 1756. He was a housewright, also called "yeoman" in some of the deeds. He died between the date of his will, February 13, 1782, and April 20, 1784, when it was probated. His wife was living in 1782, but the date of her death has not been ascertained.

IV. Nathan Ames, son of Samuel and Hannah (Stevens) Ames, was born in Natick, Massachusetts, April 27, 1729. He was a resident of Andover and of Groton, Massachusetts. He was called "of Westford" in 1791, but he probably lived in the extreme eastern part of Groton, next to the Westford line.

Nathan Ames married (first) in Groton, April 19, 1763, Deborah Bowers, daughter of Samuel and Deborah (Farnsworth) Bowers, of Groton. She was born in Groton, September 2, 1746, and died there, April 8, 1782, and he afterwards married again. He died March 7, 1791, aged sixty-one years, in Groton. By his first wife he had nine children, of whom the second was Samuel, mentioned below.

V. Samuel (2) Ames, son of Nathan and Deborah (Bowers) Ames, was born in Groton, Massachusetts, February 7, 1766. He married, in Boston, Massachusetts, September 8, 1801, Anne Check-

SAYLES FAMILY

ley, born August 13, 1785, in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, daughter of John Webb and Anne (Bicker^{*}) Checkley, of Philadelphia. John Webb Checkley was on Governor Mifflin's staff (Pennsylvania) during the Revolution. He belonged to one of the old Puritan families, whose members took a prominent part in the early Colonial history of Massachusetts. The original form of the name is asserted to be Chichele, which passed through many modifications until the present form of Checkley, as used by the emigrant ancestor, Colonel Samuel Checkley, of Boston, and was finally established in America. Colonel Samuel Checkley was born at Preston Capes, England, October 14, 1653. He came to America, arriving in Boston, August 3, 1670. Here he married, in 1680, Mary Scottow, daughter of Ensign Joshua Scottow, and became the progenitor of the American family of his name.

Samuel Ames removed to Providence with his brother, Asa, where they were shopkeepers. On March 11, 1795, a petition is recorded in Middlesex county, Massachusetts, probate files, wherein Samuel and Asa Ames, of Providence, shopkeepers, acknowledge a receipt of money from the estate of their grandfather, Samuel Bowers. (See *ante* under Nathan Ames).

The children of Samuel and Anne (Checkley) Ames were: 1. Samuel, mentioned below. 2. John Checkley. 3. John Checkley. 4. Frank. 5. William. 6. Ann Checkley. 7. Sophia Bichler (or Biehler). 8. Elizabeth Lothrop.

VI. Hon. Samuel (3) Ames, of Providence, son of Samuel (2) and Anne (Checkley) Ames, was born there, September 6, 1806. He received his early education in Providence, after which he was prepared for college at Phillips (Andover) Academy, Massachusetts. Entering Brown University, he pursued his studies with distinction, and was graduated in the class of 1823, at the age of seventeen years. Among the classmates of Judge Ames at Brown were Judge Edward Mellen, of Massachusetts; William R. Watson; George Prentice, of the "Louisville Journal;" and Dr. Henry Seymour Fearing, of Providence.

After his graduation, Samuel Ames immediately entered upon the study of law in the office of the Hon. S. W. Bridgham, also attending for a year the lectures delivered by Judge Gould at the law school in Litchfield, Connecticut. In 1826 he was admitted to the Rhode Island bar, and opened an office in Providence, Rhode Island, where he at once began the practice of his profession. He soon became well known as an able advocate, and his fluency and earnestness of style gained for him a wide reputation as a popular orator. In political campaigns he was a most effective speaker, and in the

*Name also found "Bichler" and "Biehler."



IN YE NAME OF GOD, AMEN.

We whole names are underwritten, the loyal subjects of our dread soveraigne Lord, King James, by ye grace of God, of Great Britaine, France and Ireland, King, defender of ye faith, etc., have- ing undertaken for ye glory of God and advancement of ye Chris- tian faith, and honour of our King and countrie, a voyage to plant ye first Colonie in ye Northerne parts of Virginia, doz by these presents solemnly, and mutually, in ye presence of God, and of one another, covenant and combine ourselves togeather into a civil body politick for our better ordering and preservation and furtherance of ye end aforesaid, and by vertue hearof to enacte, constitute and frame such just and equal lawes, ordinances, acts, constitutions and offices from time to time, as lhall be thought most meete and con- venient for ye generall good of ye Colonie, unto which we promise all due submission and obedience. In witnes whereof we have hereunder subscribed our names at Cape-Codd ye 11 of November, in ye year of ye raigne of our soveraigne Lord, King James of En- gland, France and Ireland, ye eighteenth, and of Scotland ye fiftie- fourth. Ano Dom. 1620.

1. John Carver,
2. William Bradford,
3. Edward Winslow,
4. William Brewster,
5. Isaac Allerton,
6. Myles Standish,
7. John Alden,
8. Samuel Fuller,
9. Christopher Martin,
10. William Mullins,
11. William White,
12. Richard Warren,
13. John Howland,
14. Stephen Hopkins,

15. Edward Tilley,
16. John Tilley,
17. Francis Cooke,
18. Thomas Rogers,
19. Thomas Tinker,
20. John Rigdale,
21. Edward Fuller,
22. John Turner,
23. Francis Eaton,
24. James Chilton,
25. John Crackston,
26. John Blinington,
27. Moses Fletcher,
28. John Goodson,

29. Degory Priest,
30. Thomas Williams,
31. Gilbert Winslow,
32. Edmund Margeson,
33. Peter Brown,
34. Richard Britteridge,
35. George Soule,
36. Richard Clarke,
37. Richard Gardiner,
38. John Allerton,
39. Thomas English,
40. Edward Dotey,
41. Edward Lister,

54.

set by them done (this their condition considered) might
be as firme as any patent; and in some respects more-fir-
me forme was as followeth.

In y^e name of god Amen. We whose names are underwritten,
the loyal subjects of our dread soveraign Lord King James
by y^e grace of god, of great Britaine, France & Ireland King
Defendor of y^e faith, &c.

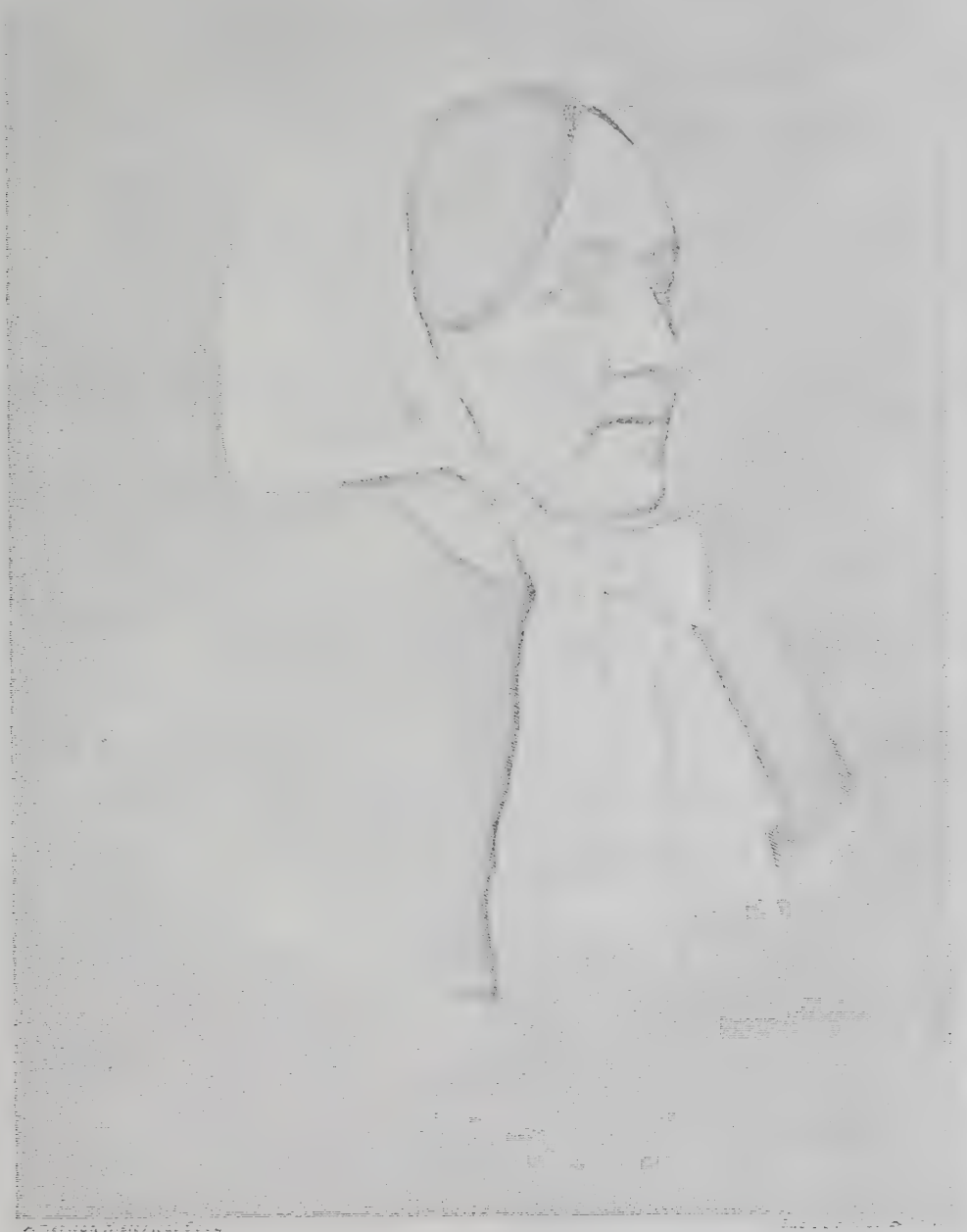
Having undertaken, for y^e glorie of god, and advancement
of y^e Christian, and honour of our King & Country, a voyage to
plant y^e first Colonie in y^e Northern parts of Virginia. Do
by these presents solemnly & mutually in y^e presence of god, and
one of another, Covenant, & combine our selves together into a
civil body politick, for y^e better ordering, & preservation & fur-
therance of y^e ends aforesaid; and by vertue hereof to enacte,
constitute, and frame such just & equall Lawes, ordinances,
orders, constitutions, & offices, from time to time, as shall be thought
most meete & convenient for y^e generall good of y^e Colonie: Unto
which we promise all due submission and obedience. In witness
whereof we have hereunder subscribed our names at Cap-
Codd y^e 11. of November, in y^e year of y^e raigne of our soveraign
Lord King James of England, France, & Ireland y^e eighteenth
and of Scotland y^e fiftie fourth. An. Dom. 1620.]

After this they chose, or rather confirmed in John Carver (a man
godly & well approved amongst them) their Governour for that
year. And after they had provided a place for their goods, or
common store, (which were long in unlading for want of boats
foules of y^e winter weather, and sickness of divers) and builded
some small cottages for their habitation; as time would admit
they met and consulted of Lawes, & orders, both for their
civil & military government, as y^e necessitie of their condi-
tion did require, till adding therunto as urgent occasion
in severall times, and cases did require.

In these hard & difficult beginnings they found some discontents
& murmurings ^{arise} amongst some, and mutinous speeches & carriage
in other; but they were soon quelled, & overcome, by y^e wis-
dom, patience, and just & equall carriage of things, by y^e gov^r,
and better part wth clau^s. Faithfully together in y^e maine.
But that which was most sad, & lamentable, was, that in 2
or 3. moneths time halfe of their company dyed especially
in Jan: & february, being y^e depth of winter, and wanting
houses & other comforts; being distressed with y^e scurvy &



Judge Samuel Ames.



Mary Throck (Derr) Ames

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exciting times of 1842 and 1843, when political affairs in Rhode Island were undergoing a tremendous upheaval, his voice was conspicuous and frequently heard. He became quartermaster-general of the State in 1842, and served also in the City Council. He was a member of the General Assembly for many years. His influence throughout the entire period of disturbance was most marked and beneficial to his native State, being always staunch and firm on the side of law and order. In 1844 and 1845 he was elected speaker of the Assembly, and became prominent as a leader in all debates. His practice, which was a most successful one, was wide and far-reaching, extending into the Federal courts and winning for him distinguished honors and emolument.

In 1853 he was appointed by the Legislature as State representative to adjust the boundary between Rhode Island and Massachusetts; and in 1855 he was one of the commissioners for revising the statutes of Rhode Island, the work being conducted chiefly under his supervision and finished in 1857. In 1855 he received also his degree of LL.D., and in May, 1856, the year following, he was elected by the General Assembly to the office of Chief Justice of the Supreme Court, being appointed at the same time reporter of the court. His "Reports" contained in the four volumes, IV to VII, inclusive, are "remarkable for their clearness, their learning, and their conformity to the settled principles of jurisprudence," and remain as a monument to the ability and industry of their author.

Judge Ames was also the author, in collaboration with Joseph K. Angell, of an elaborate treatise entitled "Angell and Ames on Corporations," which has ever since been regarded as a standard work on corporations and has passed through many editions. In 1861 Judge Ames was one of the delegates from Rhode Island to the Peace Convention held in Washington, before the outbreak of the Civil War, the other members of the delegation being William H. Hoppin, Samuel G. Arnold, George H. Browne, and Alexander Duncan. It was, however, by his labors on the bench and his rare qualities as an accomplished lawyer and erudite judge that his name will be preserved to posterity.

Judge Ames held the office of Chief Justice of the State of Rhode Island, to which he had been appointed in 1856, for a period of nine years, covering the troublous times of the Civil War, and on November 15, 1865, owing to failing health, he was constrained to tender his resignation. He died a few months afterward, very suddenly, in Providence, the city of his birth and center of his life's activities, December 20, 1865, having but recently entered upon his sixtieth year. He was a man no less distinguished for his social qualities than for his legal and political services, and for his excellence as a man of learning and letters. He was a contributor to the New England Historic-Genealogical Society, of which he was elected

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a corresponding member in 1845, and in whose cause he manifested keen interest.

Judge Ames married, June 27, 1839, Mary Throop Dorr, a daughter of Sullivan and Lydia (Allen) Door, of Providence, and sister of Thomas Wilson Dorr, leader of the famous Rebellion of 1842, during which Judge Ames, notwithstanding the connection, distinguished himself by his patriotism and wisdom of conduct, standing always on the side of the Constitution. It may be said of his wife's brother, however, who, though subversive of law and order, was a brilliant and accomplished man even before his leadership of the suffragist party, that, "but for the menace of civil war the suffrage would never have been extended," and made universal as it was in 1843, at the close of the brief and easily suppressed Rebellion. Thomas Wilson Dorr, convicted of high treason, was pardoned within three years, and finally restored to his civil rights in 1852; time dealt leniently with him after all.

Judge Ames, who was survived by his widow, left four sons and one daughter. Two other children died in infancy. Two of these sons became prominent figures in public affairs, and distinguished themselves in both military and civil life. Their children were:

1. Sullivan Dorr, mentioned below.
2. Colonel William Ames, born in Providence, the old home of the family, was a short time before his father's death in command of the heavy artillery, and served with much honor in the campaigns of Virginia and South Carolina during the Civil War, attaining the rank of colonel. He was a graduate of Brown University in the class of 1863, and received the degree of A. M. by special vote in 1891. He was a leading manufacturer in Providence, having been connected with Allen's Print Works for the four years subsequent to the Civil War; he was also interested in many large enterprises, and was an officer and director in several. He was a member of the Rhode Island House of Representatives, and was a leading Republican, and belonged to a number of clubs both in Providence and New York. Colonel Ames married (first) Harriette Fletcher Ormsbee, of Providence; (second) Anne Ives Carrington, widow of Gamaliel Lyman Dwight, of Providence.
3. Edward C., a well known lawyer of Providence, now deceased.
4. Mary Bernon, wife of William Gordon Reed, of Cowesett.
5. Samuel, Jr., prominent Providence lawyer, now deceased.

VII. Commander Sullivan Dorr Ames, son of Judge Samuel (3) and Mary Throop (Dorr) Ames, was born in Providence, Rhode Island, July 16, 1840. He served with distinction with the Rhode Island troops during the Civil War, rising to the rank of lieutenant.

BULLOCK.

Arms—Gules, a chevron ermine between three bulls' heads cabossed argent, armed or.

Crest—Five Lochaber axes sable, encircled by a ribbon or.

Motto—*Nil conscire sibi.*

TOWNSEND.

Arms—Azure, a chevron ermine between three escallops or.

Crest—A stag trippant proper.

RICHMOND.

Arms—Argent, a cross pat once azure between four mullets gules.

Crest—A tilting spear headed or, broken in three parts, one piece erect, the other two in saltire, enfiled with a ducal coronet of the last.

Motto—Resolve well and persevere.

WINTHROP.

Arms—Argent, three chevrons crenellée gules, over all a lion rampant sable, armed and langued azure.

Crest—A hare proper running on a mount vert.

GORTON.

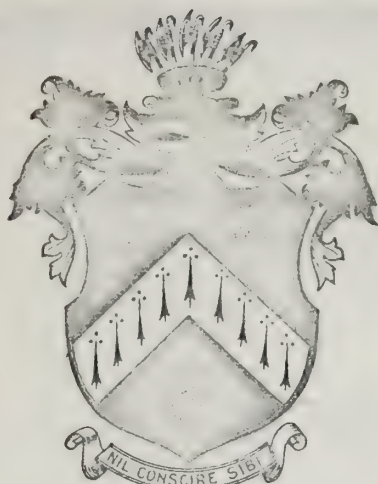
Arms—Gules, ten billets or, a chief indented of the last.

Crest—A goat's head erased argent ducally gorged or.

HARRIS.

Arms—Or, three hedgehogs azure.

Crest—A hedgehog or.



Bullock



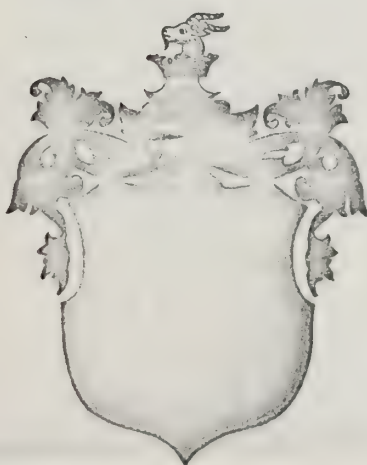
Townsend



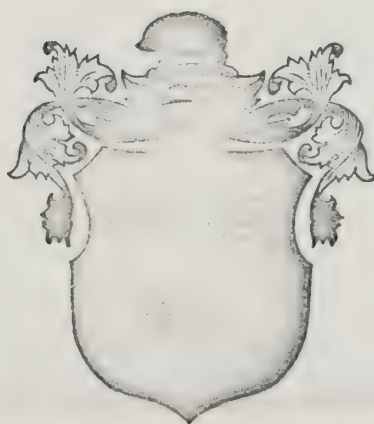
Richmond



Winthrop



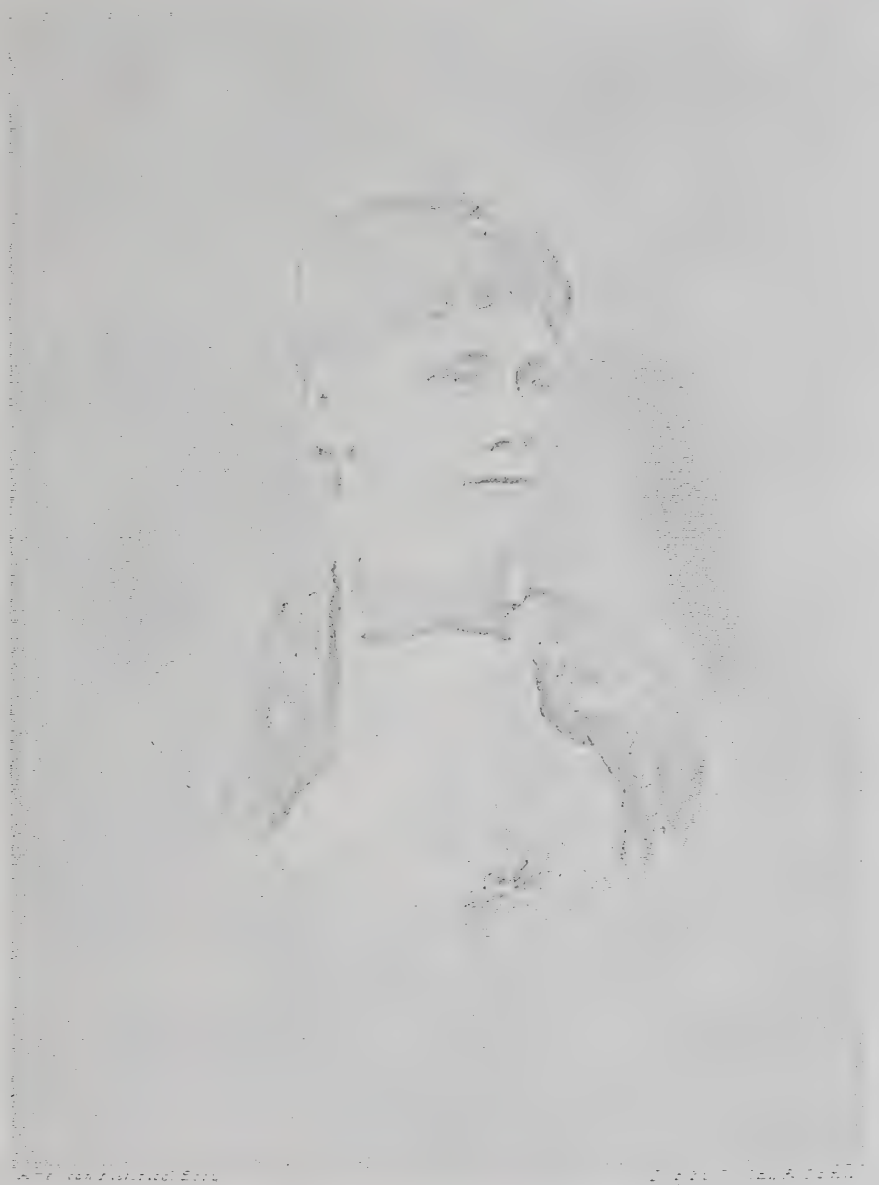
Gorlon



Harris



Commander Sullivan Dorr Ames U.S.N.



Mary Townsend (Bullock) Ames



Thomas Wilson Derr

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In 1865 he was commissioned as an executive officer of the "Colorado," attached in that year to the Mediterranean squadron. From this time until shortly before his death, November 22, 1880, he was active and prominent in United States naval affairs.

Commander Sullivan Dorr Ames married, February 21, 1870, Mary Townsend Bullock, daughter of William Peckham Bullock, of Providence, and Phila Feke (Townsend) Bullock, of Newport, his wife. Their children were: 1. Mary Dorr, born January 16, 1871, who became the wife of the late Frank A. Sayles, of Pawtucket. (See Sayles VIII.) 2. Sullivan Dorr, born January 5, 1878, died February 22, 1903.

The Ames line thus runs back from Mrs. Frank A. Sayles as follows:

(VIII) Mary Dorr (Ames) Sayles, of Providence and Pawtucket.

(VII) Sullivan Dorr Ames, of Providence.

(VI) Hon. Samuel Ames, of Providence.

(V) Samuel Ames, of Groton, Massachusetts, and Providence, Rhode Island.

(IV) Nathan Ames, of Andover and Groton, Massachusetts.

(III) Samuel Ames, of Boston, Andover, Lexington, Natick, and Groton, Massachusetts.

(II) Robert Ames, of Andover, Boxford, and Boston, Massachusetts.

(I) Robert Ames, of Andover and Boxford, Massachusetts.

Turning from the direct Ames descent, many interesting Colonial lines are found in the ancestry of Mrs. Frank A. Sayles.

In common with her husband, she traces descent from many prominent Rhode Island families, touching Mr. Sayles' ancestry on a number of lines, as the Whipple, Smith, Barker, Holmes, Angell and Field families.

A line replete with historical associations is that of Dorr. There is no other name in Rhode Island history which has more dramatic interest. The family is not one of the founder families of Rhode Island, although closely allied by marriage with several of the most influential and notable in the State, but the name is written indelibly for all time, not only in the history of the State but of the Nation, through the immortal deeds of Thomas Wilson Dorr, the apostle of civil equality and universal manhood suffrage.

Editorial—Literary Notes

“WOUNDED AND A PRISONER OF WAR,” By An Exchanged Officer. William Blackwood and Sons, Edinburgh and London, 1916.

To the chance reader of this magazine there would seem to be little point and less necessity in reviewing, or even mentioning, a volume eight years old, treating of a subject that is almost universally shunned by those who were in closest touch with it,—The World War. But the regular follower of “Americana’s” pages will recognize the book as that referred to in the number just preceding this, the war experience of Major M. V. Hay, of Seaton, of the 3rd Battalion of the Gordon Highlanders, the author of a most interesting article on “The Missing Howe Order Books, 1776-1777” in “Americana” for April, 1924.

“Wounded and a Prisoner of War,” published as the second year of the great war was drawing to a close, came out, not as a purely literary effort, excellent as it is, but as a book with a purpose,—the stimulation of voluntary enlistment in the British forces. Toward this end the author progresses in a manner that glosses over no fact, that softens no shocks, that draws no glamorous pictures, but that never fails to strike home when his verbal sword flashes. There are given his personal experiences,—the German advance, a head-wound from a machine-gun bullet, German hospital prisons at Cambrai and Wurzburg, and finally his exchange. His estimates of his captors are given calmly, fully, and, in large degree, dispassionately, with generous recognition of every act of kindness or courtesy performed by them. He writes of hardships and sufferings, natural and imposed, but does not attempt to inspire a frenzy of hate in his readers. Rather does he try to lead them to arms by a delineation of duty and scorn of him who would shirk it. For instance:

“Though the land under German occupation is a place of misery and desolation, it has one redeeming feature—there are no pseudo-conscientious objectors. German invasion and occupation

EDITORIAL—LITERARY NOTES

of Britain would not be too high a price to pay for the extirpation of this national dry-rot.

* * * *

"I do not envy the man, be he ploughman, starred tradesmen, or merely possessed of a sickly conscience, who can apply for leave to stay at home, while old men and little children till the fields of Northern France without horses, oxen, or ploughs, under the hard rule of the Hun."

Again, advocating the relinquishment of the English voluntary system and the adoption of regulations that will mobilize the full strength of the nation for the great, the almost superhuman, effort that alone will bring victory, he writes:

"The day when England consents to the great sacrifice and faces the stern discipline of conscription, the present unshakable confidence of the German people will be changed into apprehensive despair. * * * Those who have felt the power of the enemy know also that if we are to be successful nothing less than the maximum effort is demanded. What this means Britain as yet does not begin to understand."

That Major Hay's pen is pointed not only with a bitter loathing for him for whom the word "slacker" was coined, but with the ability to etch a picture that prints itself upon the mind, these paragraphs show:

The nurse always tried to hide from me the large number of deaths that took place in the early days, but I knew all about it from studying the glazed window through which the outlines of passers-by could faintly be distinguished. One man followed at a short distance by another meant a stretcher was being carried past. It is not hard to guess what is the burden of stretchers which are carried out of the ward when the dawn is just breaking. At this hour the hospital is at its quietest. But in the garden the sparrows twitter and chirrup that it will soon be time to get up. An early and hungry blackbird will sometimes whistle one or two impatient notes to hasten the coming of day. When the new daylight enters my room with its fresh, clean morning air, the first picture shown on the glass door is that of two men marching, with an interval between. They wear slippers and make no noise. And many months after the name of the burden they carry on the stretcher will appear on the Roll of Honour—"Previously reported missing—now reported died of wounds as a prisoner of war."

* * * *

EDITORIAL—LITERARY NOTES

There is a corner of the hospital courtyard where in December the rays of the sun will fall for the space of an hour, illuminating first the big high wall which shuts off light and air from the northwest, then throwing upon the ground itself a triangle of light which gradually broadens, loses shape, and fills at last the narrow passage between the courtyard and the dead garden, but stops short of the broken wooden paling, throwing no cleansing ray on the dismal rubbish-heaps, leaving undisturbed the sepulchral clamminess of the shadows beyond.

In Major Hay's book we have turned back for a time to a period that left cruel scars upon a world that has ever since tried unavailingly to reach again the plane of righteousness, justice and peace. A glimpse of the shadow makes the light seem more bright, and in addition we have drawn a little closer the ties of friendship and sympathy with our contributor from overseas.

More than once under previous editorial regimes "The Yale Review" has won enthusiastic commendation, both for single articles of outstanding merit and for the pleasing, satisfying literary repast it spreads before its readers. "Americana" continues its editorial appreciation of this regular visitor upon our desk, and in the April number singles out the article "What India Wants," by Philo M. Buck, Jr., for special comment, with passing tribute to the character study, "A Sussex Man," by E. L. Grant Watson.

In "What India Wants" Mr. Buck presents in clear, succinct style the physical and mental condition of the Indian masses, the concatenation of events and influences of which they are a result, and the aspirations of the various groups, and successfully attempts a statement of what the people want from the angle of what best suits them rather than from the viewpoint of the most perfect theory or ideal. Mr. Buck's qualifications for the interpretation of a problem so vastly far-reaching in its effect upon the entire civilized world are attested by the facts that his parents are missionaries in India, that he has spent a part of his life there and learned some of the Indian languages, and that he was sent to India last year by the Carnegie Institute of International Education as an exchange professor in the University of Bombay. In addition he is Dean of the College of Arts and Sciences in the University of Nebraska.

EDITORIAL—LITERARY NOTES

No American who rejoices in the measure of success of representative government as worked out under our system and has vital concern over its failures throughout one hundred and fifty years can fail to be deeply interested in the Indian attempt to travel alone the rough and tortuous path of self government. That India must solve her problem with Great Britain, as did we, is as far as similarity in the two cases can be pursued, but it is fortunate for India, and indeed for England, that calmer minds and wiser brains than those of George III are at Britain's head. The world watches India in its groping after the will-o'-the-wisp of self-government (*swarajya*, as they call it), but that the watching will not soon be over is indicated in these words of Mr. Buck:

“What the *swarajya* party of the intelligentsia do not realize is that if their hearts' desire were instantly fulfilled, the last ship that carried away the British administration would be the signal for their forced withdrawal from participation in Indian public life. Even if the Pathan and the Afghan on the frontier could be induced to look with indifference upon such a political experiment and hold back their invading armies; even if the Bolsheviki, already in Bokhara, could be induced to allow the fair opportunity to slip by unheeded; even if the two or three hundred princes of Native States with armies already trained could be prevailed upon to allow things to go on without expanding their borders, one has still to think of the problem that would be presented by the untrained and impressionable millions. It is unthinkable that unscrupulous demagogues would not immediately arise with dreams of power; and in all the heat of conflicting personal ambitions, where would be the quiet opportunity for the peaceful political experiment of the Congress party, with the apparatus spread from Peshawar to Cape Camorin, and from Karachi to Mandalay? If Mr. Das and his colleagues could only realize it, their very existence as an opposition depends upon the presence of a strong British administration, at least, for the present. And I believe Mr. Das knows all this. He should burn a candle to Great Britain each night after a day's flamboyant indulgence.”

The reader has become accustomed to the excellence and high literary quality of contributions to the Missouri Historical Review, which, as the publication of the State Historical Society of Missouri, naturally and justly confines itself in chief measure to subjects of territorial and state history. In this field, colorful and

EDITORIAL—LITERARY NOTES

interesting, lies essential work for many years to come, and the pages of the Review will be followed with instruction and enjoyment while that field is as assiduously tilled as in the past.

The April number of the Missouri Historical Review, however, contains one of a series of articles by John N. Edwards that would challenge the attention and interest of any reader, whether or not Missouri's past is known to him. This is Chapter XXI, "Shelby's Expedition to Mexico, An Unwritten Leaf of the War," which treats of the decline and fall of the hopes and the imperialistic dreams of Maximilian. Mr. Edwards is described in the list of contributors to this number of the Review as having been regarded by competent authorities as "the greatest master of journalistic writing that the state has produced." The perusal of these articles furnishes convincing proof that, granted that this be so, the palm has been awarded a writer who possessed in bountiful measure the power of vivid description and moving narration, the gift of portraying, with sure, deft strokes, characters and scenes that hold their place in the mind's eye long after the printed page has been left.

The history of Shelby's expedition to Mexico is a thrilling story, offering material for the most romantic novelist's pen, and it is here told by a participant in a manner incomparably fine and strong. One pictures vividly the champions of the American Confederate cause that "rose without shame and fell without dishonor" as they became entangled in the fate of the ill-starred scion of European royalty, men of family and station who went from the battle-fields of the war between the states to the swamps, jungles and mountain fastnesses of Mexico in a cause involving great destinies but that, nevertheless, was not theirs. "One was there because a life of peace had become intolerable. Harcastle, a born soldier, fought for the love of the strife; Inge to better his fortune; Sarsfield to exorcise a memory that made his sensitive life a burden; a few for greed and gain; not any one for hatred or revenge. * * * What they had to do they did, so terribly that none ever rose up to question the act. On guard, they were never surprised; on their honor, they never betrayed; on duty, they never knew an hour of rest; on the foray, they kept a rank no stress had ever yet destroyed, and in the fight, when others halted or went forward, as those who grope, these—grim, silent, impass-

ble as fate—rode straight on. Resisted, very well. Overpowered, still very well. Cut to pieces—that might be. Having shaken hands with life, what meant a few days more or less to all who saw the end approaching.”

Compellingly interesting throughout, carrying in every line the atmosphere of adventure, of conquest and of courage that never faltered, the story ends with words of inspiration, uttered by the Emperor as he gave Shelby a mark of his favor and appreciation, his golden cross of the Order of Guadalupe: “Remember that circumstances never render impossible the right to die for a great principle.”

A Primer of Citizenship, by Mrs. Reginald De Koven, E. P. Dutton & Company.

Mrs. De Koven's recently published book is exactly what its title announces it to be—a primer; and viewed in the light of the educational it occupies, explores, and maps out a hitherto but lightly touched field. It presents, graphically and concisely, a brief history of these United States, and outlines the inception, growth, and progress of our democratic government in a crystal-clear and understandable manner that no similar book has done heretofore. It is, essentially, a text-book for school children, and for aliens who intend to become American citizens, and as such it more than lives up to its design. The book has been widely read and commended, Doctor James Sullivan, of the New York State Department of Education, being quoted as follows:

“The book as it now stands could be very well and profitably used as a supplementary book, both for reading by the pupils and teachers, not only in the elementary schools but in the high schools.”

The present reviewer was graduated from the public and high schools of an eastern state, but he would have learned more of the obligations and privileges of citizenship in one evening's perusal of Mrs. De Koven's “Primer” than he did in the decade or so spent in the midst of New York State's much vaunted educational system. The reading of a “Primer of Citizenship” should be as compulsory in our schools as long division, regular attendance, the L. C. M., the exports of Venezuela, and “New York State is bounded on the North by——” and so forth.

By reason of this slender volume of 200 pages, excellently printed and bound, by the way, Mrs. De Koven has proved herself an ex-

EDITORIAL—LITERARY NOTES

ponent extraordinary of Americanism and a protagonist in the cause of Americanization.

W. C. R.

"Binghamton and Broome County, New York—A History," by William Foote Seward. Lewis Historical Publishing Company, Inc., New York and Chicago.

This three volume history of Binghamton and Broome County has recently come from the press. One's first thought is of the almost indefatigable energy that must have been expended in its compilation. The author of the greater part of the work, and the editor-in-chief and supervisor of all of it, was William Foote Seward, librarian of the Binghamton Public Library, and a *littérateur* of note, contributor to many well-known periodicals, including the illustrious "Bookman," former city editor of the "Syracuse Herald," and former managing editor of the "Binghamton Republican." Proof of the author's unflagging enthusiasm and his tirelessness is the fact that approximately seven years were spent in compiling the data and writing the history proper, the work having been begun before the late World War and having been completed early in 1924. That Mr. Seward was eminently well fitted and equipped to engage upon this monumental task is evidenced by the completed work. The plan, scope, and general execution is admirable in every way. The work has a distinct literary flavor and a unique and pleasing style. It is neither conversational, historical, nor narrative, but a combination of all three, resulting in a new method of historical writing that is a pleasant relief from the stilted majesty of phrase so often employed.

The history has been widely reviewed and commended, the Binghamton and Syracuse newspapers going into detail and devoting much space to the excellence of its many ramifications. The World War section, in particular, is deserving of more than passing mention. This takes up at least a third of the second volume, and its completeness of detail, its authenticity, and its sympathetic, careful treatment reflects deserved credit upon its author, and assures the honored names and memorable deeds of the many Broome County participants of perpetuity.

The history is presented in three royal octavo volumes, well printed on heavy paper, liberally illustrated, and bound in full buckram, cloth sides.

W. C. R.

STATEMENT OF THE OWNERSHIP, MANAGEMENT, CIRCULATION, ETC.

REQUIRED BY THE ACT OF CONGRESS OF AUGUST 24, 1912.

OF AMERICANA, published Quarterly at Somerville, New Jersey, for April 1st, 1924.

City and State of New York, } ss.
County of New York, }

Before me, a Notary Public, in and for the State and County aforesaid, personally appeared Marion L. Lewis, who, having been duly sworn according to law, deposes and says that he is the Vice-President and Manager of the American Historical Society, Inc., publisher of Americana, and that the following is, to the best of his knowledge and belief, a true statement of ownership, management, etc., of the aforesaid publication for the date shown in the above caption, required by the Act of August 24, 1912, embodied in section 443, Postal Laws and Regulations, to wit:

1. That the names and addresses of the publisher, editor, managing editor, and business managers are: Publisher, The American Historical Society, Inc., Somerville, N. J., and 80 East 11th street, New York City; Editor, Winfield S. Downs, No. 80 East 11th street, New York City; Managing Editor, Marion L. Lewis, No. 80 East 11th street, New York City; Business Manager, Marion L. Lewis, No. 80 East 11th street, New York City.

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MARION L. LEWIS, Business Manager.

Sworn to and subscribed before me this 18th day of March, 1924.

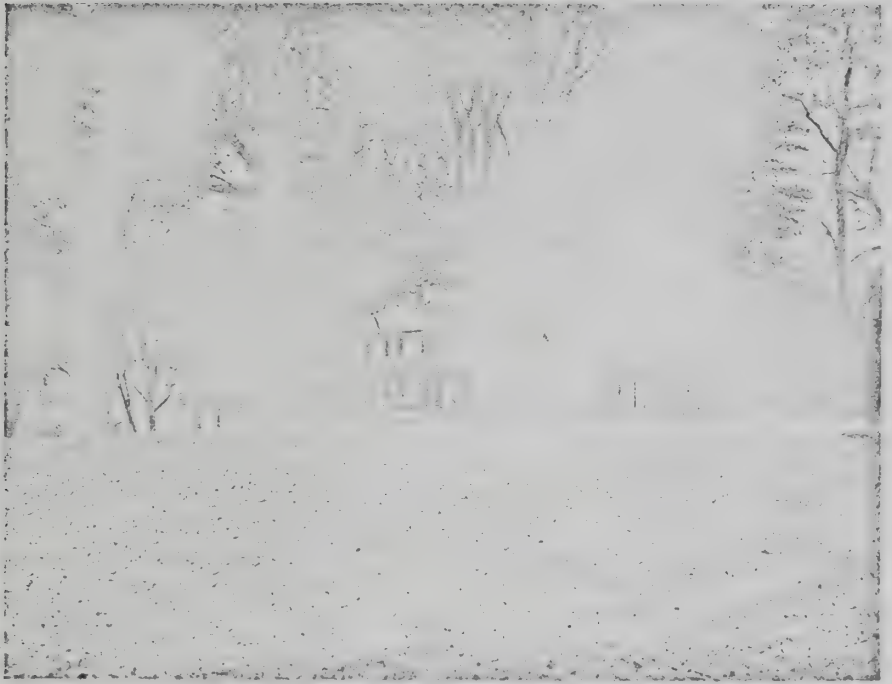
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F. M. KELLER.

Notary Public Bronx Co., No. 84.

Certificate filed in N. Y. Co., No. 482.

Commission expires March 30, 1924.



KINLOCH, FAUQUIER COUNTY, VIRGINIA

Built in 1823. Early in Civil War the refuge of General Lee's wife and daughters.

AMERICANA

OCTOBER, 1924

A Virginian's Diary in Civil War Days

BY ORLIN M. SANFORD, LL.B., BROOKLINE, MASSACHUSETTS



EDWARD CARTER TURNER, of Kinloch, Fauquier County, Virginia, near The Plains, was a man of ability, affairs and influence. He was born August 6, 1816, and died March 3, 1891. A part of the diary, hitherto unpublished, kept by him during a portion of the Civil War, here follows. It gives a graphic picture of how Virginia as a border State, and his section of it, suffered through being repeatedly raided and fought over by both forces. It also reveals that Mr. Turner was a Unionist rather than a Secessionist, who used all his influence against the action of the Charleston Convention, favoring an honorable settlement between the North and South, though opposed to any disgrace to his State. He freed his slaves before the war. He had friends and relatives on both sides, and a brother, Thomas Turner, who became a rear-admiral in the Federal Navy.

Mr. Turner was related to some of the leading families of The Old Dominion, including the Lees, Randolphs, Fauntleroyes, Carters, etc. His grandmother and General Robert E. Lee's mother were sisters. For some time during the early part of the war General Lee's wife, and their daughters, Mary and Mildred, who had driven to Kinloch when they left their Arlington home, made that estate their refuge and headquarters. Mr. Turner was one of the closest friends of John Augustine Washington, 3rd, the last of his family and name to own and occupy Mt. Vernon, and who appointed him his executor, although circumstances prevented his serving.

It is not generally known that the Mt. Vernon silver and plate, which Col. John A. Washington (early on the staff of General Lee), was heir to, was taken away from the home he established after leaving Mt. Vernon, known as "Waveland," near Salem, now Marshall, Fauquier County, at night, in an ox cart, and carried to Kin-

A VIRGINIAN'S DIARY

loch, where it was securely hidden in a pigeon loft in its old-fashioned garden. It remained there in safety during the four years of the Civil War, although Kinloch was repeatedly occupied by Northern and Southern soldiers, and often searched by the Federals. When it was removed after the war the sacks were so rotted that they fell to pieces, but the silver was intact. No one had apparently thought of climbing up to and looking among those innocent birds that had thus become its unconscious but effective guardians.

The original stone mansion at Kinloch was built in 1816, by Thomas Turner, known as Major Turner, the father of Edward, the writer of this diary. It is said to have been designed after "Chatham," near Fredericksburg, which was built by William Fitzhugh, in 1728. It had two well balanced wings and a fine entrance. After it was burned, in 1823, Major Turner rebuilt it on a smaller scale, with one wing, although with about sixteen rooms. Several of the big bedrooms accommodated two large four-posted beds. The estate comprised 1000 acres.

The extensive grounds of Kinloch's hill-top situation contains many large and handsome trees. The views therefrom of the surrounding country are far reaching and beautiful, especially that of the Blue Ridge to the west and southwest, beyond Marshall, including the comparatively near but prominent elevations known as the Big and Little Cobbler, with numerous other peaks and several ranges beyond, while blue in the distance of fifty miles stand Mary's Rock and Stony Man, the former 3525 feet and the latter 4031 feet in elevation. Three miles to the east are the white cliffs of High Point and the range of the Bull Run Mountains, which, at five miles distance, is broken through by Broad Run and Thoroughfare Gap. Through the latter in particular, as well as in Hopewell Gap, several miles to the north, and in adjacent territory, there were many contests between the advancing forces of the contending armies.

Mr. Turner kept farm diaries throughout his life. That only this war time diary, from August 17th to December 31st, 1862, inclusive, should have been discovered among his effects, is supposed to be due to the others having been appropriated in the raids and searches that were made during the war, of which there was evidence. Some may have been lost or destroyed afterwards.

On August 26, 1862, he records: "I am waked up at two o'clock in the morning by Mr. Adams, who comes from home to apprise me

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of the arrival of Jackson's army in our neighborhood. This wonderful man is rapidly advancing towards Manassas, to place himself in the rear of the Federals now on the Rappahannock river, to destroy the railroad and cut off their communication with Washington. . . . At an early hour the head of the column comes in view, advancing rapidly from towards Salem. All day long our house and yard are filled with soldiers hungry, thirsty, barefooted and some of them almost naked, but bright and buoyant, asking only a mouthful to eat and to be led against the enemy. The people everywhere relieve them to the utmost of their ability, but having been severely plundered by the Feds little and in many instances nothing is left to feast them on. They take gratefully, however, whatever is given and go on rejoicing in the prospect of speedily driving the enemy from their soil and the return of sweet peace. Among others who arrive for a scanty meal are our two sons Tom and Beverly, our nephew Wilson and several of our Randolph cousins. We thank God from the bottom of our hearts for the return of our dear boys and for his kind protection of them during their absence. In a day or two they are to meet the enemy in deadly conflict. How many now passing with light and careless hearts will in another week be citizens of the unknown world. May God have mercy on their noble souls! . . .

Aug. 27: "Stragglers continue to call in for something to eat. The last of Jackson's division pass this morning. All light hearted and hopeful. Yankee cavalry appear in force at The Plains. They pick up many stragglers. . . . Country is in great commotion. People nearly wild with excitement. Longstreet's army arrives at The Plains. Gen. Lee accompanies it. The neighborhood is swarming with soldiers and the scanty stock of provisions on hand, barely enough for the people, is being rapidly devoured. The soldiers are as considerate as under the circumstances could be expected, but they are starving and will be fed as long as there is left anything for them to eat. Oh what a gloomy picture does the future present! The heart sickens and hope departs to contemplate it.

Aug. 28: "Crowds of men and horses are pouring into our gate by sunrise to be fed. The prospect of having our limited stock of provisions devoured alarms us. They continue to come all day and the stream increases as night approaches. I visit Gen. Lee's camp this morning and find him looking very well. He is cool and they say

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confident. While in the General's tent a citizen arrives with the information that the Feds are advancing from the direction of Warrenton. They are doubtless making for Thoroughfare Gap, which if they reach and possess themselves of will give them a great advantage. I communicate my views to the General. At noon we understand that the Feds have taken possession of the Gap. The Confederate forces did not arrive in time to prevent it. Skirmishing occurs at the Gap.

Aug. 29: "The army is still passing and crowds of soldiers are still arriving at this house. They seem weary and hungry and painful. As it is many of them are obliged to pass on without being fed. The country is covered with able bodied men who purposely straggle in the rear to avoid battle. It seems bad management on the part of our officers to allow these unprincipled fellows thus to escape their duty. The Federal officers are more particular and keep cavalry behind their brigades to force stragglers up. I ride to the battle ground at Thoroughfare Gap. The dead are still unburied. From 20 to 30 Feds fell and were left. Others may have been killed and were taken off. Our wounded are at Stover's Mill. Six have died during the day. Others are not expected to live through the night. The fight has been going on in the neighborhood of Centreville all day. At night our son Beverly is brought home wounded in the left shoulder by a pistol shot and in the head a saber cut. The ball has not been extracted. His wounds are said not to be dangerous, for which we sincerely thank God. He was wounded in the charge of his company at Centreville."

On Aug. 30, he again comments on the thousands of stragglers and deserters who are skulking behind the Confederate army, observing that the country is swarming with them, and adds: "Very few Virginia troops are among them. They are nearly all from the South, mostly from S. Carolina and Georgia. Our poor Virginians are in the front of battle striving to deliver their homes from the ruin for which they are indebted to S. Carolina, the land of stragglers. Poor victimized Virginia! Overflowing with patriotism and chivalry but ruinously blind to her interest. Whose fault is it?"

Sept. 1: "I learn this morning that my nephew Wilson was killed on Friday, and buried on the field of battle. This information gives us all the deepest pain. We are comforted, however, with the knowledge that he was a youth of the greatest purity of character

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and as gallant and true a soldier as ever drew a sword. He has gone to receive guerdon of his devotion and fidelity, and this noble spirit is at rest. We therefore do not grieve for him. Our sorrow is for those to whom he was most dear and to whom the privilege of attending him to his final resting place is denied. . . . I understand that he was buried by his comrades to whom he had by his manly virtues endeared himself. They gave him all that under the circumstances they were capable of giving, a decent burial in a soldier's grave. I go to the battle field in quest of his grave. Search all day but do not find it. Witness many evidences of the awful battles of Friday and Saturday. Ground literally covered in many places with dead men and horses. Do not succeed in finding the grave. Night approaches and I am obliged to relinquish the search. Return to Kinloch at night. A hard rain overtakes me and I am drenched to the skin. Find my house full of stragglers and others.

Sept. 2: "After breakfast I return in company with William Turner of Baltimore, to the battle field to renew the search for poor Wilson's grave. We find it on the farm of Mr. Thos. Leachman, who kindly undertakes to protect it until the body can be removed.

Sept. 3: "Rev. Mr. Norton has been here sick for a week. He has typhoid fever. There are four or five cases of it among people who have fallen in here after the army. It will be a miracle if it is not communicated to the members of my own family. May God in His mercy protect us. Every breath we breathe is big with terror in some shape or other. Time was when we were well off and happy. Would God our people had been aware of it! Those who survive these troubles will know how to appreciate God's blessings and how to thank Him for them in the future.

Sept. 6: "After dinner Landon Mason and I ride to Falkland to see Steny Mason who is there wounded. Almost every house in the country has one or more wounded soldiers to take care of. We find Steny doing well."

Sept. 7: In his entry on this date he reasons that the reported invasion by the Confederate army (Longstreet's division) of Maryland will probably arouse the North, which, with its greater wealth, resources and numbers, will raise and equip an army superior to anything they have yet done, to repel such invasion and in turn again invade Virginia and develop further drastic measures and indefinitely protract the war. He holds this although he says the more

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general Southern belief is that the Maryland invasion will lead the North to sue for peace. He remarks: "Why should they any more than ourselves tamely submit to invasion?"

Sept. 10: His observations about the sincerity of the Confederate view held by Gen. Richard Stoddard Ewell, who had lost a leg in the battle of Groveton, Aug. 28, '62, are significant and interesting. He wrote: "I ride with Alfred Randolph to Dr. Ewell's to visit Ge. R. S. Ewell, who was severely wounded in one of the late battles and whose leg has been amputated. The General seems quite feeble but does not complain of pain. He thinks himself better. God grant that this truly good man may recover. (Note: He died Jan. 25, 1872.) Whether the cause in which he was engaged is right or wrong 'tis certain that he thought it right and that he was conscientious in espousing it. Without stopping to discuss the correctness of his views, 'tis the part of humanity to sympathize with a good man whom trouble overtook when in the pursuit of what he conscientiously believed to be his duty.

Sept. 15: "The sick men who for the last three weeks have been here are better and go off this morning on a railroad car loaded with muskets, drawn by oxen and mules, to the hospital at Salem."* Under this date he attributes to his lack of salt the large number of sheep he has lost.

On Sept. 17, he rather significantly records: "House and stable constantly full of men and horses—ostensibly belonging to the army, but who appear to be very little with it." He also remarks: "My hands, a man and a boy, continue to haul wood, laying it in against winter."

Sept. 18: "Gen. Ewell arrives here to dinner, on a litter. They are conveying him to the interior for safety. Report reaches us at night that the Feds have arrived in the neighborhood, a mile or two below Waterfall. It is supposed that they are in search of the General, as he came this morning from the same neighborhood, from Dumblane, the residence of Dr. Ewell. The General was doing well until the arrival of this messenger at about 10 P. M., after which he sleeps but little and spends a restless night. House, yard, stables, full of men and horses. Corn flying!

Sept. 19: "By light the General is placed on his litter and con-

*The name of the place then called Salem, five miles west of The Plains, was later changed to Marshall, after the Chief Justice, who was born near there.

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veyed away in the direction of Culpeper C't H. They go by the way of Salem. Account of last night concerning the Yankees confirmed this morning. They are said to have gone towards Aldie.

Sept. 21: "Servant arrives from Dr. Ewells with a letter stating that the night after General E. left Dumblane the house was surrounded and searched by Federal cavalry for the General. Had he remained there one day longer he would have been captured and hurried off to Washington, where in all probability he would have died of his wounds. His escape seems Providential." On this date he remarks, in contradiction of the report he chronicled and doubted on Sept. 13, of the city of Cincinnati having surrendered to Gen. Kirby Smith, that Cincinnati had not been taken.

Sept. 22: "Hear today that the Feds have passed up the Little River Turnpike in force. Skirmishing occurred to Upperville, in which they were twice driven back. Some think their object is to get possession of about three thousand army cattle grazing in that neighborhood, others that it is a movement towards Winchester, to get in the rear of Lee's army. I sell the remnant of my cattle to Anderson Smith. I get \$45.00 for eleven at Rockley and \$32.00 for eight at this place.

Sept. 23: "I sell my dam mare Fanny to Cassius Dulany, for \$450.00. This is nominally a great price, but, paid in money that may prove worthless, I would willingly give it all for one half that sum in gold. The country is literally flooded with new Confederate notes. Everybody's pockets are stuffed with it, and all being jealous of it, are anxious to dispose of it and offer fabulous prices for every species of property. Horses, for example, are bringing in this money fully three times as much as they were worth before the war and the same is the case with almost every other description of property."

On Sept. 25, he starts for Brown's factory, in Frederick County, Md., and there buys cloth for his family, selling the residue of his wool for \$1.30 per pound, and was paid therefor in cash, in Confederate money, \$1,975.35. Upon reaching home, at Kinloch, at dusk on the 27th, his diary for that day chronicles: "Find my son Tom here. He gives an account of his capture by the Feds. In his endeavor to escape they shot his horse, and his own deliverance from death was miraculous." He also adds: "A queer fellow who calls himself a spy for Gen. Lee, spends the night here. He is probably crazy."

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Oct. 1: "I understand that Lincoln has declared his intention to liberate all slaves in the South as far as his lines extend and confiscate all rebel property, and the work is to begin the first of January, 1863. Our hope is that a just God will thwart his designs, at least so far as the innocent are concerned.

Oct. 3: "Rev'd Mr. Baker gives up the parish and comes to take leave of us. We are now without a pastor, even nominally, and the churches are fast going to ruin. One of the bitter consequences of this most unnecessary and iniquitous war. Another one of its cruel consequences is the total neglect of the education of the rising generation. No schools public or private in the country, and the neglect of educational advantages to children, formerly considered so lamentable, is now scarcely thought of. We hear that our cousin Mittie Randolph wants a situation as governess and we are endeavoring to engage her.

Oct. 5: "Mr. Henderson goes to Richmond today. I send by him \$2,901.00 to be deposited to my credit in the Farmer's Bank. I also send \$905.00 of W. F. Randolph's to be deposited to his credit with Owen & Sons.

Oct. 13: "Received a letter from Mittie Randolph accepting a situation in our family as governess, at \$200 per annum. (Note: In 1867 she became his second wife. She was his first cousin.)

Oct. 18: "Two (Federal) soldiers visited Avenel to get corn and finding a horse in the stable branded U. S., proceeded to halter and lead him off. This horse was captured from the Feds at H. Ferry and by some means became the property of my nephew St. Louis Tom. He was visiting at A., and being informed that the soldiers were taking his horse ran down to the stable and fired on them with his pistol and put them to flight, saving his horse and the Yankee's halter. Tom made his escape. In a short time three Yankees returned and supposing that it was the owner of the property who had fired on them, rode their horses into the house and otherwise insulted the family. They also searched the house to find the offender, but finding no one and being assured by the servants that Mr. Beverly had been absent from home for several days and that it was a Confederate soldier who had fired on them, they departed, taking with them a good mare, the property of Mr. B.

Oct. 30: "A company of Feds come along this morning & take me from my own farm. They keep me about an hour and release

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me near Rock Hill. I cannot account for their conduct. They were civil, but not communicative. They took two other citizens whom they released with me. Our position at this time is of all others the most unenviable. We occupy the skirmishing ground and are liable to daily visitations from scouting parties of both armies. . . . Our situation is truly distressing.

Nov. 2: "Frequent reports of cannon in the direction of Snickersville. We see smoke from Fishback's hill.

Nov. 4: "Some Fed soldiers appeared here last night on horseback & I find this morning that my stable was broken into & my horse Waggonian and my saddle were stolen. I go, after breakfast, to the Federal camps near Thoroughfare, for the purpose of recovering my property. I am detained in the camp all day. In the afternoon I see my horse in the Federal Cavalry. I show him to Capt. Hartung, of the 74 P. V., who undertakes to speak for his release. The horse is returned to me but the saddle I do not recover. This division of the army seems almost entirely composed of Germans, & is commanded by Gen. Shurtz.* Some of them are gentlemanly & reasonable, others rough & brutal. Capt. Hartung is particularly courteous & is unquestionably a kind hearted good man. He treated me with the utmost politeness. I reach home with my horse late at night.

Nov. 5: "Federal troops passing all day, going in the direction of Salem. Heavy firing heard towards the West.

Nov. 6: "Federal army arrives in large force & encamp in Mr. Beverly's woods, near Mr. Welches. The soldiers spread all over the country & commit all manner of depredations. They begin on me by taking two of my most valuable horses, the horse that Gen. Shurtz returned to me on Tuesday being one of them. I go to headquarters at Mr. Welch's & ask Gen. Newton for a guard, which he readily orders to be furnished. I go to Salem to beg of Gen. Stoneman, by whose men my horses were taken, to have them returned. On my arrival there I find that Gen. S. has moved off in the direction of Orleans. Being very uneasy for the safety of my family I am afraid to follow him & return to Kinloch. On reaching home I find hundreds of men on the place killing my stock. The guard was protecting my interest about the house, but was not strong enough to prevent the destruction of my cattle in the fields! Night sets in

*Evidently Carl Schurtz.

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with a multitude of thieves all over my farm, around my barn, in my garden and in every out-house not immediately under the eye of the guard. A most black and miserable day is followed by a restless night. All night long the work of destruction goes on.

Nov. 7: "This morning the work of destruction is renewed with increased spirit. Several officers, among whom is a Capt. Scott, of N. Y., come to the house, and seeing our situation are kind enough to exert themselves in our behalf. The guard is increased, & a provost marshal, a Mr. High, is exceedingly active with his guard to give us protection. We gather the sheep, cattle, horses & colts in the yard & succeed better in guarding them than on yesterday; still they are occasionally stolen or killed before our eyes, so great is the multitude of thieves that visit us.

Nov. 8: "Find this morning that two more of my horses have been stolen—my Cobham Stallion & a valuable young mare. All day long the soldiers continue to destroy property not strictly guarded. Many hundreds of sheep, cattle and hogs & every description of poultry are destroyed. People generally are entirely stripped of their subsistence. God only knows what is to become of them! Provost Marshall, Mr. High, is kind and attentive. He does all in his power to save our property & but for his activity nothing would be left us. I shall never cease to thank him. At night the thieves return into the yard to steal my calves & one of them is shot by the guard—severely wounded in the arm. A surgeon comes & his wound is dressed.

Nov. 9: "This morning at an early hour the army begins to march & by the middle of the day have all disappeared. The wounded man and a nurse is left here for us to provide for out of the scanty remnant of food left in our possession. 'Tis hard to estimate my losses. As well as I can judge I have lost 100 sheep, 34 hogs, 5 yearlings, 4 very fine horses and a large quantity of poultry.

Nov. 14: "Charlie goes to Warrenton today & brings a report that my name has been mentioned in a letter published in the N. Y. Herald & written from The Plains, as a thorough-going Union man. The author of this letter, whoever he may be, had no authority from me to publish any such thing. If he supposes that I am a Union man in the Northern sense of the word, or if he thinks I could wish to have the Union restored with refraction of the Constitution or disgrace to the South, he is egregiously mistaken. I was a Union

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man for several reasons. In the first place I had no confidence in the party that advocated secession. I saw as its leaders men whom I had always considered erratic, unprincipled & dangerous; men who were the authors of all the political heresies that for several years past have been disturbing the peace & endangering the safety of our country & I did not choose to act with them or to be found in their company. The Charleston Convention was composed of such men. The edict of secession was the work of its head. I had no confidence in its virtue, wisdom or patriotism and did not choose to be governed by its action. In the second place my border locality would ever deter me from being a secessionist, because I knew that ruin to myself my friends & State must be the inevitable consequence of a dissolution of the Union. In the third place I had many friends & among them two brothers, one of them an officer in the Federal Navy,* on the Northern side & I did not desire a state of things that would separate and make us enemies. Fourthly, I had a holy horror of seeing the government which our fathers established and cemented with their blood, & as the richest of all legacies bequeathed to us, disrupted and destroyed by a party destitute entirely of virtue, principle or patriotism. These were the principal reasons operating to prevent my being a secessionist & to bind me to the Union as our fathers made it. I opposed the Ordinance of Secession with all my influence & do not regret having done so. Indeed, in view of the ruin that surrounds me, the fruit of the measure, I am proud that I did oppose it and am comforted to think that I am not responsible for one particle of the trouble that our unhappy people, myself among the number, are at this moment suffering. In conclusion, I aver that while I would rather see the last man of my section stretched in death than see the Union restored with disgrace to my State, it is the wish nearest my heart that an honorable settlement may at length be effected, & the States, one and all, North & South, cluster again around a common government and resume their march upon the road to prosperity & power.

Nov. 13: "The 33rd Mass., arrive in the neighborhood. My house is twice searched in the same hour by different parties of the same Reg't, Col. Maggi, a bull headed Italian. Myself and son Thomas are arrested without charge & taken to the Thoroughfare camp. Am released at 8 P. M., without a question being asked us,

*Rear-Admiral Thomas Turner.

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to return through the dark (my son on foot) home. Other most worthy & excellent citizens are likewise arrested & treated in the same way. The troops have today committed no robbery or outrage other than searching the house.

Nov. 18: "Count my sheep & from 800 have been reduced to 600. My losses by the Federal army during its three days visit in this neighborhood was from three to four thousand dollars. . . . Our dear son Tom takes leave of us today to join the Southern army. We give him up with sad hearts and with earnest prayers for his safety, in soul & body commend him to Almighty God! . . . Mrs. R. E. Scott we learn is reduced so low that she has been obliged to ask food at the hands of the Federal General in Chief commanding at Warrenton. Application was made by the Hon. S. Chelton to Gen. Burnside, to supply Mrs. S. and her children, whom the Federal soldiers had robbed of everything, with bread. Gen. B. replied to Mrs. S. that starvation was one of the consequences of Civil War. That the people had brought it on themselves & that he, Mr. C., being a lawyer, was too well informed to suppose that he, Gen. B., had any right to give Government provisions to starving rebels, or words to that effect. Mr. Chelton replied that he had not considered the application in a legal light, but made it in the name of common humanity. When the army departed the General ordered some stores that could not be removed to be left for the benefit of Mrs. Scott.*

Nov. 22: "Hear every day of outrages perpetrated on our poor people by the Federal soldiers. . . . Our most amiable relative, Cassius Dulany, was robbed of \$2,500.00 in cash & suffered greatly in other respects.

Nov. 24: "One-half of the people of this truly unfortunate country have been robbed to destitution & the other half have nothing to spare for their relief.

Nov. 25: "We begin today to house corn. We put it in rail pens in the cornfield. The pens will be covered with fodder & surrounded by rails set on end so as to hide them, and unless some traitor gives information will doubtless be secure from the Yankees, should we be so unhappy as to have another visitation from them.

*It seems that Mrs. Scott's husband had been shot by Federal soldiers—"murdered," it was said, at his own door, or upon his doorsteps.

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Nov. 27: He attends the funeral (natural death) of his "old and very dear friend, Dr. Alexander Chapman." . . . "He was buried at the Thoroughfare, in his familie's graveyard, and in the midst of a Federal encampment recently abandoned, on the ground where the skirmish* of the 28th August took place & near the spot where many Federal soldiers lie covered in the shroudless graves."

Nov. 30: ". . . We look upon a country wasted, ruined & disgraced. So much for the diabolical work of the Charleston Convention.

On Dec. 9th and 10th he records the arrival from Washington of his brother Henry, "for the purpose of removing the remains of his son Wilson, who fell at the battle of Bull Run, on the 29th of August last.

Dec. 11: "I start with my brother after an early breakfast for the neighborhood of Groveton, where lies the body of his poor boy Wilson. We arrive at the grave on the farm of Mr. Thos. Leachman, at about 11 o'clock. Assisted by the kind people of the vicinity we without much trouble exhume the body from the shallow grave in which it was hastily placed, without shroud or coffin, by his mournful comrades, & put it in a box furnished by the undertaker for the purpose. My brother starts with it for Washington, where it will be put in a metalic coffin & sent to its last resting place, in St. Louis, Mo. I return to Kinloch.†

Dec. 12: "I omitted to state in my record of yesterday that I had sent by my brother Henry, to St. Louis, \$3,000 for investment. This money is obtained in the way of interest on my funds already loaned in that city & which since the commencement of the war has been accumulating.

Dec. 23: "I get a letter from Jno. D. Rogers . . . (who) mentioned in his letter that our son Thomas had been taken prisoner in the Fredericksburg engagement. He was left in the custody of a guard, whom he killed, thus making his escape. This is spoken of as a handsome achievement, & so it may be, but to me it is alarming to see how reckless our young men are becoming of human life. No more is thought of destroying a man's life & launching his immortal soul into eternity than of killing a dog. It is doubtless the right of a soldier to make his escape by killing his guard. No one can blame

*As to this skirmish and the Federals killed, see diary, 8.29.

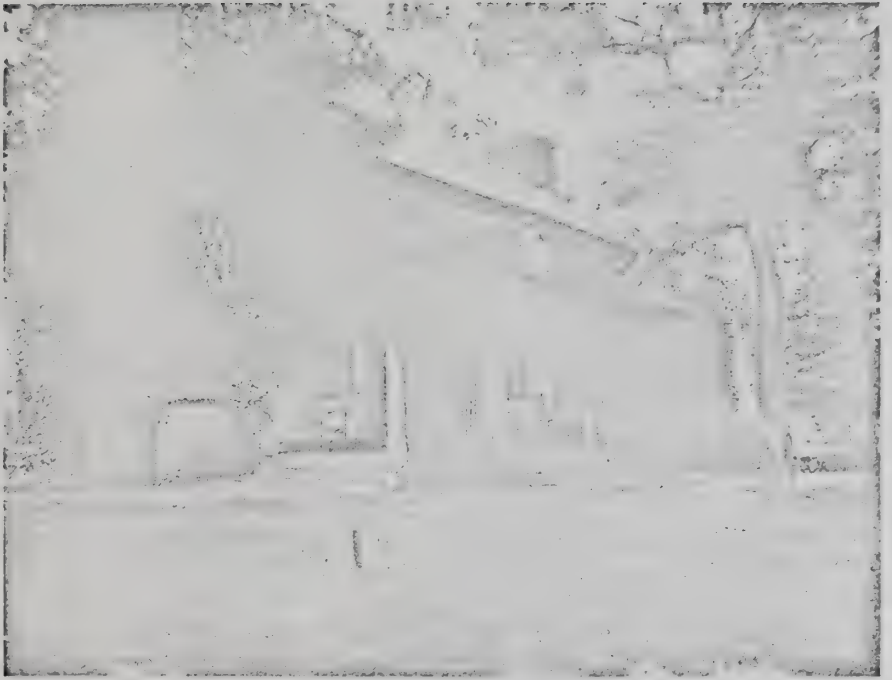
†See diary entries of Sept. 1st and 2nd, about Wilson's death and temporary burial.

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him for so doing, but will not such things result in petrifying the heart and freezing to death every feeling of humanity? How much to be lamented is it that our young men should be exposed to such poisonous influences, undoing in the twinkling of an eye the pious work over which God loving & God fearing parents have laboured for years. But such is war! May God have mercy on us!

Thursday, Dec. 25, 1862: "A beautiful Christmas morning. Ther. 33°. A most quiet Xmas. No merrymaking as of yore. Stagnation, even among the negroes. Too few are left to get up a frolic & their thoughts are probably occupied with matters more serious. The day has almost arrived when President Lincoln says they are to be free. The first day of January, the great hiring day, when all the negroes of the county, & the white people too, used to assemble at Warrenton to settle accounts of the past year & make arrangements for the new, is the day on which Mr. Lincoln has proclaimed all the negroes shall be free. That a large proportion of the few who remain are looking forward to that day with hope that this promise will be realized and that as freemen they will remain here and do for themselves, I do not doubt. Others & in my opinion much the smaller number, have no desire to change their condition & probably will go on as usual, with contentment to themselves & satisfaction to their owners. What will be the state of things with the expectants after that day is an interesting question. *Nous verrons*. Weather singularly pleasant. Rumors afloat today that the Yankees have returned to Warrenton, Winchester, etc., etc. Firing of cannon heard towards the South. "Farewell to sweet sunshine." Christmas day closes in a cloudless night. The clouds are upon the hearts of the people!

Dec. 27: ". . . I am riding all day & scarcely meet a single individual on the road. The country is almost deserted. On former & happier times Christmas week was a time of general hilarity. Merrymaking was going under every roof in the neighborhood. The air was filled with joyous sounds. At every public place the people, white & black, were assembled, & with laughing, singing & dancing beguiled the time. At present there is scarcely to be seen a sign of human life, much less of human enjoyment. At the cross roads & public stands you look in vain for the usual throng, you listen in vain for the sounds of mirth. A solemn silence reigns on all the surrounding ruin. Gracious God! what a melancholy change has



MONTROSE, NEAR THE PLAINS, FAUQUIER COUNTY, VIRGINIA

•A typical example of an old time Virginia home. Note the locust trees and the luxuriant growth of ivy and Virginia creeper.

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come over our once happy & prosperous country! When will the spell be broken & things resume their wonted channels? There are no reliable signs as yet of approaching peace! And will peace when it comes be able to restore our vanished felicity? Years upon years must pass before the traces of ruin can disappear from the face of our devoted country and the clouds of sorrow from the hearts of the people! No one now living will be here to see that day!

Dec. 28: “. . . Our poor wounded boy Beverly leaves us this morning to resume the arduous & dangerous duties of a soldier. His wound is far from well. He can make no use of his left arm. He expects a place on Gen. W. F. Lee's Staff. It has been promised him. The duties in this position he thinks he can perform & is anxious to do what he can. . . . We take leave of our dear son with heavy hearts & pray to God for his welfare & preservation. I ride as far as Huntly with him on his way. The army is near Fredericksburg & he expects to find Gen. Lee somewhere in that neighborhood.

Dec. 29: “Our son Tom arrives at night. He is just from Gen. Stewart's headquarters, near Aldie. He is sent to ascertain if there be any Feds in or about Thoroughfare Gap. . . . It is reported that I have been to Washington and received payment for the damage done me by the Federal army while in this neighborhood in November. The old report that I had taken the oath of allegiance to the Lincoln Government is no doubt revived. These reports are circulated by enemies, men whom I have never injured in thought, word or deed, but on the other hand have at various times been of essential service to. If it does them any good or affords them any pleasure thus to slander an innocent neighbor, let them indulge their ill will. I hope I shall not suffer seriously from their calumny, but, by pursuing, as I have always endeavored, a just and honorable course, outlive the prejudice it may engender.

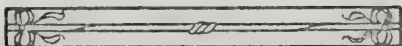
Dec. 30: “Gen. Stuart's command arrives in this neighborhood tonight. This wonderful man is returning from another raid upon the Yankees. He attacked them at Occoquam, captured a large quantity of their property, took many prisoners and is now returning with his booty. Several of the officers, among them Gen. Rooney Lee, his brother Robert and Hill Carter, Jr., of Shirley, came here to spend the night. The army seems to be in finer health & spirits than it has ever been. We hear of no sickness of consequence & the robust & ruddy appearance of the men & officers present a pleasing

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& striking contrast to the attenuated forms & cadaverous complexions so commonly seen in the army a year ago. The soldiers so far as I have seen are well clothed & well shod. Wonderfully well provided for in these respects considering the great difficulty with which such things are obtained. They get corn & hay of me for which they pay in cash a high price: \$7.50 per bbl. for corn, \$1.50 per hundred for hay.

Dec. 31, 1862. . . . "This is the last day of a year more pregnant with great events than any other of this country's history. . . . Any lying negro who felt disposed to do so could involve in the most serious difficulties the first men in the land for worth & responsibility. It not infrequently happened that excellent & worthy citizens were stripped of property & otherwise shamefully treated upon the testimony of some unprincipled slave who gave information that he was not loyal to the Government of the U. S." . . . He then writes along the line that if the North had treated the Virginia non-combatants differently thus far during the war, Virginia sentiment would have been different and a reconciliation more possible, adding: "There is no doubt, so far as the State of Virginia is concerned, that the people who in February, 1861, proved their devotion to the Union by sending to their Convention 121 Union members out of the 151 delegates that composed the Convention, would long since have returned to their allegiance, for no revolution so suddenly brought about, & with so little sober thought & reflection, could be deep rooted and sincere. Under the present exasperated state of feeling, & burning for revenge for insults & injuries received, it would be next to impossible, with any compromise that the North could propose, to induce the South to agree to a reunion with them."

After the Civil War, Mr. Turner removed from Kinloch, the scene of tragic incidents and sad memories, to Montrose, where he passed the remainder of his days.



The Story of The "Desert Sign Post"

BY CLYDE F. RYAN, LOS ANGELES, CALIFORNIA



IN a career which has been productive of successful effort along many lines for the good of his fellowmen, individually and collectively, George Whitwell Parsons has brought to completion one monumental undertaking which, in impressive scope and potential benefits, is entitled to rank as one of imperial importance in the long list of his accomplishments,—the charting, marking and development of the watering places in the southwestern deserts. It is difficult to choose from a life devoted to high aims one project to represent the essence and spirit of a man's service to his time, but the plainly marked guides to places of water supply in the Great American desert, directing the traveler or prospector to the life-giving element, each bear eloquent testimony to the dogged persistence and unwearying courage with which Mr. Parsons pursued a course filled with obstacles surmountable only by infinite patience and unflagging determination. He knows the desert regions as the average man knows his own neighborhood, and he knew of the death that stalked among the sands, burning heat, and cactus,—knew, too, how easily that death might be cheated of its prey if men, through the cumbersome machinery of legislation, could be brought to a performance of their duty toward those whose necessity took them abroad in these uninhabited wastes. First through a local organization of business men, later through the California State Legislature, then, years afterward, through the Congress of the United States, he worked toward his great end, accepting disappointment, official delays and disheartening lack of interest, until finally the goal was gained. The following paragraphs give the story in its wealth of interesting detail. During the years that are to come, long after Mr. Parsons has followed his last trail and has drunk of the water that forever quenches thirst, his name will be inseparably linked with a work whose results are measured in freedom from suffering and lives saved.

George Whitwell Parsons is a descendant of early New Eng-

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land ancestry, and that the members of his line were loyal to the best of American principles is attested by the inscription on the tombstone of his great-grandfather, "Capt. Josiah Parsons, a patriot of Bunker Hill." Mr. Parsons was born in Washington, District of Columbia, and his acquaintance with the West dates from August, 1876. In the early part of 1880 he went to Tombstone, Arizona, which was then beginning to develop as a great mining camp, and for seven years he was one of its foremost spirits in the promotion of law and order, being one of the council of ten when the first vigilance committee was formed. His experiences of this time were of the colorful nature that have made the old West live in thrilling story, and he was always in the saddle when the Apaches grew bold in their depredations. His mining interests took him into old Mexico much of the time but, after losing many friends and several times being reported killed by the Apaches, the raids of Geronimo and Chatto also hindering him greatly, he was finally obliged to abandon his undertakings.

While Mr. Parsons' acquaintance with the south-western desert dates to an earlier time, his campaign in connection with water holes dates from 1901, when he made a trip across the desert regions of California with W. L. Watts, State mineralogist, his return marked by the placing before the Los Angeles Chamber of Commerce of the necessity of placing guide posts and of developing water holes in these districts. Mr. Parsons' "Thousand Mile Desert Trip and Story of the Desert Sign Post," published in 1918, are here extensively quoted:

In the winter of 1901-2, I put into effect a long cherished plan for an examination of those desert areas located in the southeastern part of the State of California, and southern portions of Nevada, with a view, principally, to their mineral possibilities. Associated with me was Professor W. L. Watts, well known in mining and oil circles, a special appointee by the Governor for such work. I was satisfied that it would not be long before the eyes of the mining and commercial world would become focussed upon the territory to be opened up, and the varied opportunities so excite the public interest, with the advent of the new Salt Lake railroad, that it would be well to examine the country in advance of the popular interest, so sure to follow.

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Accordingly, in December, 1901, my expedition, being thoroughly organized, the railroad was used as far as it would carry us, to Manvel, not many miles from the Nevada State line, where we established headquarters and prepared for a winter campaign.

It was decided to lay a course a little north of east which would bring us into the Colorado river basin, to follow it between the mountains on one side and the Colorado river on the other, as far as it might be deemed practicable, and then to return to our base and, after refitting, extend our researches into the desert country lying to the north and west as far as the Death Valley region.

The difficulties of travel (thus far, a baggage Pullman, holding all of our plunder including the Professor, myself and the two necessary mules) were enhanced after we left the main Santa Fé line at a station with two names, "Blake" being the railroad name, and "Goff," Uncle Sam's. Here we were connected with a wood-burning locomotive. The up-grade pull for Manvel, 35 miles distant, was a stiff one, and ignited fuel flew. The Professor and I certainly had our hands full at both ends of the car, watching our hay and provender and putting out incipient fires caused by flying sparks which seemed to find every crack and crevice in the sides of our car. We occasionally caught a spark ourselves. A kodak of the Professor and myself in dishabille, as the two guardian angels of our mules, rushing madly about in efforts to prevent a large-sized conflagration, I am sure would have been appreciated. Thankful we were to at last reach our destination and escape what might have been a fine old combustion of men and mules, hay and grain, chemicals and groceries, etc. The excitement at last subsided and with the business ends of the mules in repose, a much needed rest was taken.

From Manvel we traveled easterly through the Mojave desert country to the mining town of Searchlight. Much of the way led through yucca palms or "Joshuas," as the natives call them, making our drive in the intense omnipresent silence under a full moon—a ghostly performance.

The next morning we were well into the Colorado river basin with our outfit and continued our course until a section of mining country was reached, which it was thought desirable to explore. We there made camp for the night, uncomfortably near some Chollas,

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(pronounced Choyas). An Arizona legend refers to this remarkable desert plant in the following words:—

The devil was given permission one day
To select him a land for his own special sway,
So he hunted around for a month or more
And fussed and fumed and terribly swore.
But at last was delighted a county to view
Where the prickly pear and mesquite grew;
An idea struck him and he swore by his horns
To make a complete vegetation of thorns.
He studded the land with prickly pear
And scattered the Cactus everywhere,
The Spanish Dagger, sharp pointed and tall,
And at last the *Cholla* to outstick them all.

The cholla certainly stands at the head of the cactus family for ability to enter the epidermis of the human family upon the most slender invitation. A thorn over an inch long I extracted from the Professor's anatomy where it was embedded nearly its full length. It has its uses, though, as well as abuse, as very pretty and attractive furniture can be made from the wood of the cholla.

Some days were passed in a reconnaissance of this part of the Colorado river basin, all being full of geological interest and attractive in many ways.

Christmas day proved to be clear, bright and beautiful, with the air just bracing enough to be thoroughly enjoyable and make us fully appreciate our coffee and bacon.

We started afoot for an inspection of some mining properties several miles off, over a very rough bit of country, but our guide had become well lubricated in some mysterious manner the night before and his attack of "dipsomania garrulosis" as the Professor called it, did not contribute much toward the acquisition of valuable information along the lines we were pursuing and little was accomplished.

It was a picturesque scene, this grand Christmas night with the group of prospectors gathered about the camp fire telling tales of the hills and desert, the stillness of the night being occasionally broken by that jackal of the plains, the coyote. His plaintive notes at times would seem to give an orchestral effect of a dozen instruments or more.

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I must not overlook the Christmas repast which consisted of the dishes known as "Mulligan Alamagoozalum" and "Guess Again" with a good sprinkling of clean desert dirt. Unfortunately, the desert, a fine plum pudding, prepared especially for the occasion by my sister, had been spoiled early that morning. During the night I occasionally heard suspicious sounds from the vicinity of our mules, but it was not until blankets were left that I saw a wicked-looking mule who winked languidly at us as much as to say:—"I have one on you now" and he had it, also some jelly. I felt compelled to suspend my Christianity for a little while during the ensuing discussion.

The Colorado river at this point, about 75 miles above the Needles, was hardly waist deep, but full of interest and attraction with its pretty banks, vari colored formations and wonderful outlook in all directions. Here a stone could be thrown from shore to shore and the river looked inviting for a bath, but the speed with which we emerged after a trial of its icy depths nearly smashed a camera to atoms. We forgot about the ice and snow above in our desire for a bath below.

Back from the river a few miles to where our several camps were established, Dame Nature seemed to have "thrown a fit" as the expression goes, the way boulders and rocks of immense size were scattered about with a great disarrangement of the correct order of things.

The nights are wonderful for sleeping away out on a desert. The air is not chilly at night and is filled with ozone, pure and life giving.

We returned quite fatigued to our attractive camp, so picturesquely situated on the cactus plain, sloping toward the Colorado river from the mountain above, and with animals, equipage, etc., forming a pretty picture. On the last day of the old year on our return trip from the Colorado we camped at a beautiful spot, the camp of a son of the hills and plains and veritable "desert rat," who was anxious for our visit from a mining point of view. We found only a general mineralization of the country here with nothing distinctive and did no more than secure several good photographic views.

The dead silence at night away out on these desert wastes is something profound. One can almost feel it; not a sound nor

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a sign of life anywhere, reminding one of the words in "Thanatopsis" when referring to the "Oregon" which "hears no sound but its own dashing," only we did not have any monotony of sound; it was monotony of silence.

When we reached Searchlight again on our return a sad tragedy had occurred in the death of all of the four bright children who had given us our breakfast the morning of our outgoing trip. It was one of those happenings hardly looked for in desert life and rarely occurring. The large tent, covering home and all, caught fire, penned the inmates and burned them to death during the absence of their father, a freighter, who was now bereft of his entire family, the wife and mother having died some time before. Little do we know of the heart rendings and aches of those who are sand-bound and ice-bound and far away from human aid and sympathy. In the material progress of the world much has to be endured, about which it knows little or nothing and cares less.

Coyotes sang the old year out and new year in with great unction and hearty choruses, the burden of their refrain seeming to reflect the words of the old anthem "All we like sheep" and today, the opening day of the New Year 1902, we "struck camp" for Manvel, 27 miles distant from Searchlight. The trail was well marked with "dead soldiers"—empty bottles of those gone before, not *in* spirit, but *with* spirit. Arithmetic failed after a count of 500. This is probably the thirstiest trail on record. In the distance a number of needle-pointed mountains clearly outlined against the sky, marked the line between California and Nevada. These mountains are not to be confounded with "Needles" on the Colorado river.

A side trip, made from Searchlight to "Newberry" or "Spirit" mountain not far from the Colorado river, thus called by the superstitious Majove and Piute Indians who give it a wide range because of more or less seismic disturbances, was not devoid of interest, as we had a sample earthquake at midnight to insure regularity of the earth's irregularity in that section. A matter of interest was a river Nile irrigation system followed by a river-bottom rancher who claimed fair success. Surely there is nothing new under the sun when far eastern antiquated methods can be successfully introduced to our far vaunted western civilization in the matter of irrigation.

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The "bad man" of the plains is rapidly losing prestige. In the early eighties at Tombstone, Arizona, he held sway for a time until necktie parties were too frequent, but the tribe was discovered to be not entirely extinct in these parts. Although we had not exactly lost any bad men, an interview would not have been avoided when one night a challenge to our chivalry was made and protection requested and freely given. No coroners were around to make troublesome investigations.

Desert air, we discovered, extracts all moisture, drying up shoes and all leather goods in the stores, so that they have to be kept under ground, and cellars are necessary. Tobacco is too powdery for use unless tightly canned and cellared. It is a wonderfully hard climate on all wagons, and wooden material, especially. The extremely dry air gets in deadly work a hundred per cent. greater than any swelling in a wet country, so that in reality there should be two sets of wheels, one for dry and one for wet weather, as wheels will be surely dished, notwithstanding all efforts and ingenious contrivances to prevent it.

A wonderful health-giving and restoring, lung-curing and all ailment-healing atmosphere is this bracing desert air and it would seem as though no ill that flesh is heir to could exist under its benign influence. Human beings simply dry up and blow away.

A word for that forerunner of civilization, the "burro," a patient, long-suffering, long-eared animal, as necessary to the prospector as the prospector is to him. For speed, though, there are no time limits for the burro and so we used mules and found them to be first cousins in most every other respect. A pair of sound 800-pound mules, broken to harness and saddle, are quite indispensable for desert travel and transportation. Their burro and jack rabbit proclivities call for little water and any old grub, including sage brush, quiete (a desert grass), newspapers and U. S. mail if within reach, thus enabling them to defy hunger and thirst, and their hardihood is such that the horse stands no chance in matter of preferment for a desert trip.

On January 17th we took a northwesterly course, zigzagging the state line of California and Nevada, towards the Funeral Mountain range, and Death Valley, where the bottom drops to 337 feet below sea level. The desert does not blossom as the rose in those parts. A comfortable camp was made, but it was certainly a nip-

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ping and an eager air which greeted us in the early morning when we got from under canvas and blankets, and the big near stars were wonderfully clear but looked too cold to handle. Water kegs were filled here and on we rushed paralleling and crossing at times the Dry Lake region, an immense watered area at one time.

It was a long, dreary drive over the desert today, varied only once when the Professor photographed some very interesting formations in what was called "The Devil's Playground," where the mild winds had piled up mounds of sand using mesquite bushes as a base until the whole resembled gigantic hay stacks. For quite a distance this curious freak and plaything of the desert winds was to be seen. Upon reaching next water it proved too offensive for man or beast. *The accumulation of decayed animal and vegetable matter with consequent pollution of waters is a shame and disgrace, showing marked indifference on the part of state and county authorities to the sufferings of desert wanderers.*

Pushing on some miles further we finally reached fine camping ground with plenty of wood and water, the latter having to be raised 70 feet, however, and taxing our ingenuity to the utmost to reach it. Human skeletons within a short distance of unavailable water are frequently found.

Our course the next day led us from a warming sun to clouds and rain accompanied by a cold north wind. It was very disagreeable to have to face such a storm, our course being northerly, but the directions said "Take it" and we did so. At last we drove into bright sunshine and were not long in sighting "Timber Range." Charleston peak of this range towers 11,000 feet high. At last we turned westward for our terminal point and the nigh mule seemed to anticipate an early conclusion of his travels in his eagerness to outdo his mate.

Possibly his nostrils detected the good water near "Tecopah," our destination, an old deserted mining camp of years ago.

It seemed to me on our arrival as though I had been dropped into some old Mexican pueblo with the adobe houses, remains of others, walls and detached portions of buildings scattered hither and yon over a pretty section of broken country, and an old smelter standing in the creek bottom. Tecopah's glory departed years ago with the closing down of all activities to await the coming of the "Black Cavalry of Commerce." Very interesting was our stay

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here of several weeks, during which time not a day was lost in exploring, sampling, testing and surveying mining properties.

Away out here at a point called "Resting Springs" were several bright, interesting, half-breed Indian children, eagerly wanting to attend school but entirely unable to do so as the 72 mile trip there was prohibitive. It was too bad, as everything about them betokened a living superior to that of the average white man under similar circumstances. A few miles distant could be seen the outlying buildings of large borax works and the entire surface of the country for miles was covered with saline deposits mixed in places with nitre and borax. One drives through a substance almost snow white in appearance which lends a peculiar aspect to the face of the country.

This desert life does not conduce to the best. Deadly silence and dearth of news invite carelessness and growing indifference which work harm. I have seen their workings in Alaska, the Antipodes of this country, and the result is the same. Deterioration sets in and thoughts and ideas are not kept up to the usual standard unless one is constantly on the alert. The aphorism that "he who lives alone is either a god or a wild beast" obtains here.

It was necessary to send our mail matter, so an associate, a fine fellow from the University Club, New York City, Chas. L., who would not be denied the desert experiences, joined me and we safely delivered the packet to some campers to be mailed by them at Daggett, California, 110 miles distant over the desert, where the mercury rises to 130 or more in the shade and no shade! It was a rather hard jolting the mules gave us on our long saddle trip, but we were well repaid by the romantic ride through a long canyon, and the beautiful scenery everywhere. Great walls quite enclosed us at times, and often the formation was wrought by the elements into many fantastic shapes well worth journeying a long distance to see. While resting the mules, we walked a mile to the Amargosa river of legendary name and fame, a stream which almost describes a circle in its course from start to finish until it finally empties into Death Valley a few hours' ride farther on. Its water is unpalatable because of nitre and other minerals and, though bitter, as its Spanish name signifies, will save from perishing. A singular feature of the general streams in these parts, many of them turned upside down, is the volume of water at their source and scarcity at terminal

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points; quite the reverse with eastern streams. A short distance off was a beautiful hill, stained with all the colors of the rainbow, while to the left and east were the main nitre deposits in this region, all in a very light, grey-colored and smooth formation.

The various colors showed in most vivid contrast to the dark mineral-stained hills, the whole forming a most wonderful picture never to be forgotten. Nitre is located as deposits in the same manner as are our gold "placers," and comes under the same U. S. mining law. It is mined only to a depth of 4 or 5 feet and is said to possess a 45 per cent. efficiency as a high explosive. There is a constantly-increasing demand, owing to its apparent scarcity in the Peruvian field. We finally returned to camp and to the rodents, which infest the entire country, it would seem. All uncanned eatables are suspended in mid-air and the canned have to be watched, as these persistent pests are so learned in various methods of getting to the "inside," they may yet use the can-opener. A mystery was in camp. A well-walled dungeon had been discovered below the dirt floor of one of the old adobe buildings now in ruins, but we could not determine whether the place was used for hiding stolen bullion in the old days, or whether the silent stones conceal a story of some dark crime in the past.

Eighty miles for a bath would seem to proclaim a dire necessity. In my nosing about the desert I had discovered a pretty oasis with artesian water of 72 degrees Fahrenheit, in a circular basin of 30 feet in diameter, 10 feet deep. The Professor was profoundly impressed, and I thought I could stand a second application without danger to my system, although desert dirt is very clean, and so the trip was made with great profit to all.

Another section of the country almost directly east and over the state boundary line into Nevada some distance, commanded attention, so we left our city of dead hopes of the past and negotiated the Kingston range. We crossed, floundering in snow at the summit and having some mishaps, but finally descended into the desert below just before dark, and through field glasses could faintly discern the little settlement of "Sandy," well named. Late that evening we attacked our three weeks' mail and became acquainted once more with family and friends in Los Angeles. The next day "Windy Bill" and "Chuckwalla" were quite hysterical in their "Yellowstone" brand greetings, and the country was ours. Dis-

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tances do not count in the desert, and for a good brand of liar commend me to the cheerful denizen of the desert, who will tell you with prompt exactitude your very close proximity to the desired point, when it is 10 to 15 miles away to grub and water, and a tighter "cinching" of both man and mule become necessary.

"Good Springs," a small settlement with the usual store and post office combined was our objective point and so another mountain range was crossed and a comfortable camp made with a Mr. K., a very kind and courteous mining man, largely interested in some zinc properties close at hand. An old Cunard S. S. captain had expended a fortune here in efforts to extract values by a new process, but our mules were the only beneficiaries so far as known, as they had a delightful housing in the wreck of blasted hopes. We were comfortably housed and were enabled to do laboratory work in several of the buildings. In justice, though, it should be stated that present conditions have quite reversed the former, and things are booming for Mr. K. and his associates, who are reaping the advantages of persisting along their line of action.

Snakes were not abundant, but the thought of what might occur with no elixir of life at hand preyed on our minds to such an extent that the Professor was constituted a committee of one in the matter and produced a most remarkable concoction from material at hand and several ingredients unknown to us, and about which no questions were asked, labeling it "The stuff that killed father." It certainly was a paralyzer, but the dog lived and we were able to get about in several days.

Here was an interesting country to cover from a mining point of view, and it required three or four weeks of hard work to do it justice. It is not until a systematic line of investigation is pursued that one realizes the immense number of mining propositions there are which have not sufficient value to warrant investment, although their owners think them bonanzas, and it is only by patient work and unremitting endeavor that one can separate the wheat from the chaff. The Piute Indians held sway at one time in these parts, but were seen only once, returning presumably from a grand pow-wow, one, evidently big chief, judging from his plug hat with rosette on the side, this part of the body having the preference for dressing. The days are evidently gone when the ring-nosed savage considered missionary meat his turkey, indifferent to its being white

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or dark meat, while the little pickaninny called for the wish bone. Such is the stride of civilization.

In California there are two principal desert regions of large area said to aggregate 40,000 square miles and known under the general names of the Mojave desert and the Colorado desert. On the desert map, a line from east to west marks the division between the two deserts, over parts of which, for a distance of more than a thousand miles our little mules safely carried us and themselves.

That much vaunted word "civilization" supposedly carrying "protection," is a badly mangled collection of letters at times, where woman is concerned, and it may upset the ordinary idea to know that in a mining camp or away out on the desert, a woman is as safe as she would be anywhere. After 20 years' experience I don't know of a single case where a respectable woman has not been respectably treated by miners, even the roughest of them.

Evidences of suffering and death from thirst on the desert were so tremendous, in one instance 30 skeletons reported discovered on the Salt Lake railroad survey in Lincoln county, Nevada, that upon my return from this trip I felt it to be my duty as chairman of the mining committee of our Los Angeles Chamber of Commerce, to see what could be done towards ameliorating the condition of man and beast on our great desert, and lessen the annual death roll.

As the result of my agitation a very valuable map was contributed by Professor Gilbert E. Bailey of the University of Southern California showing the location of desert water supplies in Southern California, and action soon came from the State Legislature aided by State Mineralogist Aubrey, with an appropriation of \$5,000 for the erection of desert sign-posts directing to water supplies. Great assistance also came during the record of my State work from C. A. Pinkham and L. W. Beck, who did yeoman service, the latter having an efficient helper in his big dog "Rufus."

Strange as it may seem there was a marked indifference on the part of many supposed to be greatly interested in the life-saving work and this retarded its progress. Mr. Beck, after returning from a desert trip instanced the story of a "desert rat" who, upon being questioned by him as to the cause of the unusual activity then being displayed in erecting a sign-post at that point away out on the desert said, "Someone in the Chamber of Commerce has been after us." "Was his name Parsons?" asked Beck. "Yes," was the

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reply, "and he has been giving us hell." The warm compliment from a warm country I appreciated highly.

Conditions were so unsatisfactory that I subsequently appealed to the United States Government for better and more extended work, but was there told that mine was a species of special legislation, a state matter, and not a national proposition. I contended that the saving of life and helping to ameliorate the condition of man and beast on our great American desert extending into three or four more states was a national issue. I refused to be turned down and at last, after several Congresses had denied my many appeals, victory for the prospector and miner was achieved. After a long fight, by the assistance of many friends of the cause from all over the United States, a bill was finally passed by Congress and signed by the President which empowers the Secretary of the Interior, among other things, "to discover, develop, protect and render more accessible for the benefit of the general public, springs, streams and water holes on desert arid public lands of the United States and in connection therewith to erect and maintain suitable and durable monuments and sign-boards at proper places and intervals along and near the accustomed lines of travel and over the general area of said desert lands, containing information and directions as to the location and nature of said springs, streams and water holes, to the end that the same may be more readily traced and found; also to provide convenient and ready means, apparatus and appliances by which water may be brought to the earth's surface at said water holes for the use of such persons; also to prepare and distribute suitable maps, reports and general information relative to said springs, streams and water holes and their specific location."

U. S. Senator John D. Works, Governor William D. Stephens, then in Congress, and present Congressman H. Z. Osborne were most indefatigable in their efforts for the desert sign-post cause, and among other strong friends were W. C. Mendenhall of the U. S. Geological Survey, and Dr. William T. Hornaday, Director New York Zoological Society, besides many organizations within and without the State. The main provisions of my original resolutions, endorsed by the Los Angeles Chamber of Commerce in 1902-3, are embraced in the act under which the United States Geological Survey began its commendable work. Congressman Osborne, at time

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of passage of the bill, kindly telegraphed me "congratulations" on the success of my many years' efforts directed toward the accomplishment of this purpose, and even in farthest India the press has published items praising the efforts, as originated here, toward eliminating the terrible hazards of desert travel.

The Los Angeles Chamber of Commerce, the Chamber of Mines and Oil and the press generally, notably the "Los Angeles Daily Times," which had printed the valuable Bailey map at its own expense, showing the various water holes, all did splendid work in impressing upon indifferent minds the absolute necessity of this great enterprise.

Director George Otis Smith, of the United States Geological Survey, outlines the work as follows, his statements giving an idea of the magnitude of the task:

The region that has been covered lies in Southern California and Southwestern Arizona. In California, it includes the Colorado desert, the Mojave desert, the southern part of Death Valley and adjacent regions. In Arizona it includes the little known and sparsely settled region west of Tucson and Phoenix and south of Wickenburg and Parker. It was selected not only because of its aridity, but also because of the strategic importance of obtaining information on the water supplies along the three hundred and fifty miles of our National frontier, which it includes. The entire region that is so arid as to require guides to watering places and sign-posts directing to these watering places, comprises a fan-shaped area covering approximately five hundred and seventy thousand square miles or nearly one-fifth of the country. The handle of the fan is in Southern California; one side is formed by the Sierra Nevada and Cascade mountains; the other side extends eight hundred miles along the Mexican border, while the outer edge is traced by a line extending from Eastern Oregon through Salt Lake City and Santa Fé to the mouth of Pecos river. The highly developed coastal section of Southern California is situated, so to speak, at the handle of the fan, and the railroads and automobile highways that extend eastward and northeastward from this section may be regarded as the ribs of the huge fan. On the basis of the work already done, it is estimated that the rest of the region of five hundred and seventy thousand square miles can be covered after the manner of this year's work for one hundred thousand dollars, which is only about eight dollars per township. Obviously the result will be very large for the expenditure involved, and it is highly desirable as soon as possible to carry the project to completion.

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The above is the statistical aspect of the work, but the following words of Mr. Parsons strike a deeper, more vibrant note:

To one who has labored fifteen years for the sake of humanity to save from the horrible tortures of thirst and ensuing terrible death—to one who has experienced just enough himself to *know*; it is with a feeling of intense satisfaction that he at last sees the practical results of his labors and knows from grateful hearts of life saved and suffering relieved. Thank God that when desert sign-posts dot the entire desert country there will no longer exist the awful conditions set forth in the following lines:

"Noon. Into the unshaded wilderness the mounted sun pours his intolerable rays, making the thin air dance. Myriad infinitesimal shadows lie shrunken in under the innumerable clumps of brush—even the gray-backed lizards have ceased their darting and sought shelter from the mid-day blaze. Nothing moves. Nothing disturbs this desolation of silence but a lost man, crazed, bare-headed, semi-blinded, moaning for water, water, in that scorched and barren waste. Anguish of thirst, the like of which may be only once endured, has drawn back his lips and the sun has cracked and baked them. His blackened tongue protrudes. Crouched in the desert there drifts to his dying ears the music of splashing waters; to his dimming eyes appear a perfect vision of fountains and marble fonts and fern embowered shade—and oh, it is so near. Leaping, uttering delirious sounds, stopping to divest himself, now of one frayed garment, now another, naked he runs to cast himself into his Eden of moisture, into his palace of shadows, and stumbles into the Paradise of the grave."

The New York "Sun," in a special article in the issue of Sunday, August 10, 1919, carried the complete story of Mr. Parsons' work, in its editorial column, and described the method pursued in placing the plan in practical operation. From this article the following is quoted:

During the year gone practically all watering places in the region were examined and about one hundred and sixty samples of water were collected and shipped for analysis to the water resources laboratory at Washington, D. C. Signs directing travelers to water were erected at one hundred and sixty-seven localities in California, and one hundred and thirty-eight in Arizona. The sign posts are galvanized iron, 1.9 inches in outside diameter and twelve feet long. Each post is anchored in the ground with two redwood blocks. The signs are of 18 guage steel, galvanized; are white, with dark blue letters. They are two sizes, 18x20 inches, and 9x20 inches.

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Most of the larger signs, of which four hundred and seventy were erected, give the name, distances and directions to four watering places; thus the traveler has a choice of two or more founts of relief and may seek that well, spring or water-hole which lies nearest to his desired route. Because of the height of the post and the vividness of the white signs, these guides can be seen from a long way off.

Under date of April 18, 1919, George Otis Smith, director of the United States Geological Survey, wrote Mr. Parsons:

You will be interested to know that the work proved to be of great Military value, as all of the desert maps were turned over to the War Department and provided the best available information on geography and water supplies for a stretch of three hundred and fifty miles along the Mexican border.

A subsequent letter from Director Smith to Mr. Parsons concluded:

You surely have the right to consider these desert sign posts as monuments erected in your honor for the benefit of your fellow-men.



Glimpses Into Ancient American Discoveries

BY JACQUES J. HEIT, BROOKLYN, NEW YORK



HE discovery of America was not an accident. For thousands of years before Columbus saw the light of western skies, hardened men had been plowing the mighty waters of the "Sea of Darkness," returning with marvelous tales of strange and distant lands. It was not an unknown shore which the bold navigator had discovered, and far from being the result of chance or destiny, its discovery was a definite solution of a pressing problem, based on centuries of voyage, exploration, and colonization—a problem of which man was cognizant long before the sun of Egypt's dynasties had set. Columbus owes the survival of his discovery to the dawn of "printing."* Former voyagers were not so fortunate, for though the path of history is broad, many lustrous names have been forgotten.

That some of the American peoples had attained a high degree of civilization before the age of Spanish discovery is no longer a matter of conjecture. Indeed, it is highly probable that the Mayas, the Incas, and even in the remote past the progenitors of the Aztecs, rivaled Greece in splendor. Their religion, monuments, traditions, art—all point to a great antiquity. Says Prescott:

The grand and imposing relics of the once powerful Maya nation, which were altogether unknown to the Spanish conquerors, have attracted the passionate study of modern antiquarians, and argue a higher civilization than anything yet found on the American continent. ["Conquest of Mexico, Vol. III, p. 389"].

. . . Sculptures of granite and porphyry abound everywhere, remarkable no less for their grandeur of conception than for their accuracy of design and execution. . . . Hieroglyphics, finely chiselled into the hardest kind of rock, cover part of the walls.

*The writer does not mean to imply that printing originated in Gutenberg's day. It is well known that printing, from wooden blocks, can be traced to a remote period. Printing in the modern sense, however, was invented some time in the first half of the fifteenth century. This is in answer to an objection stated by Fiske ("Discovery of America," Vol. I, p. 256).

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Who has not heard of the famous "Temple of the Cross" of Palenque, where a Latin cross, surmounted by a fantastic bird, is the recipient of the adoration and oblation of two personages on either side, presumably in the act of Christian worship?¹

In contradiction to such well-known investigators as Bancroft, Prescott and Sir John Lubbock, Fiske,² in a slightly sarcastic vein, doubts the fabulous antiquity of the Maya monuments, believing it to be merely the play of popular fancy, due to the interest aroused by Stephen's³ work. He admits, however, that the hieroglyphic inscriptions on the sculptured slabs are carefully preserved records in the Maya characters, but agrees with Mr. Stephens that the buildings are not very ancient.

From the existence of chronicles, preserved in one of the most ancient forms of writing, Peter De Roo, a painstaking investigator of the highest order, deduces that the traditions of the Lenni Lenape (Delaware) Indians point to an antiquity of eight centuries before our era. Their accuracy and conformity with general traditions of civilized man are proof that the remote ancestors of these tribes had attained a high degree of civilization, lived at no great distance from the Biblical patriarchs, and that they not only worshipped one God, but that they hoped for a Redeemer. "That the Indians," he says, " . . . were Christians in the broad sense of the word at the time of their landing on American soil (prior to the Great Migration), can scarcely be doubted."⁴

The purpose of this brief outline is merely to lift the shadow cast by darkened centuries. We shall attempt to show that not only was America known to the Old World, but that intercourse between the two continents was not infrequent, and furthermore, that the Roman Catholic church had been actively propagating the faith among the natives before the flag of Spain was planted in the "New World."

* * * *

We may properly start our survey with the half-mythical, vague and meagre descriptions of the ancients. The latter cannot be altogether relied upon, but throughout their mythical allegories, clothed in rhyme and song, one may discern a vein of earnest real-

¹Peter De Roo. V. I, pp. 87, 88.

²"Discovery of America." V. I, pp. 134, 135.

³Incidents of Travel in Central America."

⁴Peter De Roo. V. I, pp. 109-114.

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ism. Not that the ancients intentionally veiled the truth. Quite the contrary. In their pseudo-scientific style they were at pains to express it most forcibly. To our modern ears, however, it is like a far-off, distant echo, lost in the many, now barely audible, voices of the centuries.

Greek literature is replete with references to Elysium, the home of heroes exempt from toil and death. Homer (about 1200 B. C.) frequently refers to Elysium, placing it on the western verge of the earth. He gives it a more or less definite locality, his description seeming to imply tropical America, when he says:

. . . No snow is there, nor yet great storm nor rain, but ocean always sendeth forth the breeze of the shrill west, to blow cool on men.⁵

Although Plutarch's (about 50 A. D.) object was not to write history, his version of the western continent "surrounded by water" may be of interest in this connection. Modern historians ascribe most of Plutarch's historical scraps to an imaginative trend of mind. If what follows is fancy, then Plutarch has unwittingly, yet unerringly, hit upon the truth.

The Island Ogygia lies at a distance of five days' navigation west of Great Britain. . . . Further still, at 5000 stadia* from Ogygia . . . is located the great mysterious continent that encompasses the ocean . . . !

This western continent or "isle" could hardly have been other than the American coast or the islands in the immediate vicinity of our shores. That the early voyagers may have visited the mainland of South America is even more probable. In that day most of Europe was still in the throes of night, but a higher order of civilization existed in the southern lands of Carthage, Greece and Rome. Although lacking in corroborative evidence, a translation of Hanno ("Voyage of Hanno") has come down to us from the Punic in the Greek tongue. He may have visited tropical America six or seven hundred years before our time. He states that:²

⁵Odyssey, Biv. I, 561, etc., quoted by De Roo—Peter De Roo, Vol. I, p. 119.

*Stadia—a form of sighting instrument for measuring distances.

²Gleeson, v. 1, p. 195. Peter De Roo, v. 1, p. 120. Dict. of Classical Literature and Antiquities, p. 769.

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After having passed the Pillars of Hercules, or Strait of Gibraltar, and having left the African Coast, he sailed directly to the West for the space of thirty days and then met with land.

It would be impossible to give all the accounts of unsubstantiated testimony of visits to America. We must be content with merely mentioning the case of one of the Egyptian "immortals" Chnum, Knum or Khnum (Aryan, Heracula; Latin Hercules) who, after his death was deified and became one of the gods. In one of his twelve labors (Twelve Labors of Hercules)* he is supposed to have passed the Pillars of Hercules and come to our shores thirty-five hundred years before the arrival of the Northmen, at the zenith of the Kemian (Egyptian) splendor. It is related that he discovered the Hesperides, or Western Isles. A fragmentary manuscript of the Twelfth Dynasty says:

I set sail in a vessel one hundred and fifty cubits wide (68 feet), with one hundred and fifty of the best sailors in the land of Egypt.³

In an effort to obtain further proof in support of Chnum's journey, a mass of documentary evidence was found, purporting to show that the Egyptians of a later day were well acquainted with our continent, and that their myth of an Atlantis is more than a fanciful tale. Whatever the Biblical account of the Deluge refers to the Last Glacial Age, as some writers maintain, or whether it refers to a sunken continent, as others believe, it is certain that each nation of antiquity had its legend of a violent geographical catastrophe, an upheaval of nature. Almost identical with the story of the Flood as told in Genesis is the tradition of the Lake Tahoe Indians that a tidal wave rose from the sea and swept across the continent, sparing only a few of the inhabitants. Another version of the same story is told by the Chippewayan tribes, who believed that the whole earth was submerged, and only those could be saved who climbed to the top of the mountain. In this manner was saved the hero-god Montezuma.†

*The writer does not agree with Mr. Laughlin as to the meaning of the twelve labors of Hercules. Depuis, in his "Origin of all Religious Worship" has conclusively proven that the number *twelve* in most mythological allegories represents the signs of the Zodiac. In this he is supported by such authorities as Volney and Robertson.

†J. Laughlin: The History of Civilization, pp. 256, 271. St Louis, 1904.
‡Note: For further information, see Prescott—"Conquest of Mexico"—vol. III, p. 360-70 and Nadaillac—"Prehistoric America," pp. 520-30.

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From these accounts it appears that one of two things must be true. Either the early American Aborigines received the tale from the Europeans, or the latter received it from the Americans. Whichever explanation we choose to accept, the co-relation between pre-historic America and the Old World is evident, and a little unbiased reflection, based on such fragmentary historical data as has come down to us, should prove that the fabled Atlantis is none other than the New World.

The great geographer Humboldt believed that the Phoenicians had knowledge of our continent. According to B. F. DeCosta it is quite likely that Phoenician vessels, passing the Scilly Islands (then regular trading posts) had struck the American coast.⁴

Strabo, (about 63 B. C.) a noted geographer, has carefully compiled all the the data of his day. He studied geographical philosophy under Zenarchus of Selencia, and early learned the value of preserving ancient documents. With a care worthy of a modern investigator, he preserved some important documents of Theopompus,⁵ a poet and contemporary of Aristotle. In his "Variæ Historiæ" Theopompus says that:

Europe, Asia and Lybia are but islands surrounded by the ocean, beyond which lies a continent of immense magnitude.

Lack of space prevents the writer from quoting from such sources as Aristotle¹ and Theophrastus. The former speaks in definite terms of a western continent, and the latter is just as concise. We must accept the irrefutable fact that a majority of the ancient writers believed in the existence of a land to the west. That these beliefs were not based on pure hearsay can hardly be questioned. Columbus founded his "empire" upon the groundwork laid by his predecessors. To him "Westward Ho!" was not merely a tradition and a hope. It was a certainty.

Scientific geographers, intent on ascertaining the dimensions of the Old World, fixed their attention more and more on the Hispano-Indian hypothesis. The result of increased knowledge of Asia was to increase its dimensions on the map. As a consequence of this, the

⁴De Costa—"Pre-Columbian Discovery," p. 11.

⁵Odyssey, Biv I, 561, etc. Quoted by De Roo—Peter De Roo, vol. I, p. 119.

¹See also W. Gleeson, vol. I, p. 196. P; O'Donoghue, p. 306. Hornius lib. i cap x, p. 56. Quoted by De Roo. Peter De Roo, vol. I, 1912 ed. H. H. Bancroft, vol. V, p. 127.

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estimated distance of India westwards from Spain steadily decreased. Marinus Tyrius, the most eminent of the geographers before Ptolemy, reduced this distance to only fifteen hours. . . . Eratosthenes, . . . assigned to the *oikoumenê* (inhabited world) one-third of the earth's circumference. Poseidonius supposed the east coast of China to be either way about equidistant; that is, either way about twelve hours of the sun's apparent course, from the west coast of Europe, whether eastwards or westwards. Marinus Tyrius extended the latitude of the *oikoumenê* to fifteen hours, leaving only nine hours of the sun's course to be traversed by the westward voyager. Western Europe was thus stretching forth in imagination more and more towards eastern Asia; the time was approaching when the Columbian hypothesis would be tested. The estimate of Marinus Tyrius was the lowest hitherto made. . . . In after ages Marco Polo described the great island of Cipango (Japan) lying far to the east of Asia. The western world was equally assured of the existence of the great island of Antilia, lying in the Atlantic far to the west of the Azores. With the addition of these two islands, a map of the world constructed in accordance with the belief of Marinus Tyrius presented a singularly inviting aspect. With less than half of the globe's circumference to be traversed, and with these two islands as resting-places, the difficulties of the Hispano-Indian voyage disappeared. . . . Instead of being astonished at the boldness of the conception of Columbus, we shall rather wonder why his westward expedition was so long postponed.²

Ptolemy's view coincided with that of Poseidonius, and this conception was held by a benighted humanity until well past Galileo's day.³

Among the Roman's we find Seneca predicting the finding of new worlds. Acosta considers the "Media" pure fancy, but Payne thinks that Seneca may have derived his ideas from statements of Aristotle and Strabo.⁴ Pliny the Elder (23-79 A. D.) believed in sphericity of the earth and the relatively short extent of the Atlantic. I quote also Peter de Roo's translation of the Latin poet Horace (65 B. C.) ". . . the unknown islands far away in the encircling ocean. . . ." And what are we to think Virgil meant when he spoke of "extending Rome's domain beyond the limits of India and Africa to the spot where far away in the western ocean sustains the column of the heavens?"

²Edw. J. Payne—"History of a New World Called America." v. I. pp. 37, 38.

³Edw. J. Payne—p. 44; v, also pp. 41, 42. Peter De Roo, p. 148.

⁴Peter De Roo, vol. I, pp. 150, 151—Document VI A. Edw. J. Payne, p. 41.

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Regarding belief in the sphericity of the earth or in Antopodal countries, De Roo¹ doubts that the Fathers of the Church either opposed or condemned it. While he quotes Payne¹ to the effect that Loctantius does not deny the earth's sphericity, and that St. Augustine admits its probability, the learned historian does admit that the Fathers denied the possibility of the existence of human beings under another divine dispensation. The learned, whether ecclesiastics or laymen, were almost all in perfect accord as to their belief in the sphericity of the earth and the existence of antipodal countries. "The sole dispute," says De Roo, "was whether these countries had any inhabitants." Many, like Isidore of Seville (seventh century) maintained the negative view, while the Venerable Bede (eighth century) held the affirmative.

It seems appropriate in this place to quote the poem of Pulci (1431-1487). His lines reveal a keen discernment, intense sincerity of purpose, and a knowledge far beyond that of his contemporaries.²

"Know that this theory is false; his bark
The daring mariner shall urge far o'er
The western wave, a smooth and level plain,
Albeit the earth is fashioned like a wheel.
Man was in ancient days of grosser mold,
And Hercules might blush to know how far
Beyond the limits he had vainly set
The dullest sea-boat soon shall wing her way.
Men shall descry another hemisphere,
Since to one common center all things tend.
So earth, by curious mystery divine,
Well-balanced, hangs amid the starry spheres.
At our antipodes are cities, states,
And thronged empires, ne'er divined of yore,
But see, the sun speeds on his western path
To glad the nations with unexpected light."

Despite a mass of material collected by investigators like Cooley (The History), Von Humboldt, Bancroft, La Costa, Gleeson and Prescott, which we cannot here discuss, ancient phases of this outline must come to an end. From evidence often vague and uncertain, yet at times clear and convincing, we must draw our conclusions as to whether or not we are taught a

¹Peter De Roo, Vol. I, p. 153.

²P. 46 seq.

³R. H. Clark—Amer. Cath. Quar. Review, vol. XXII, p. 306. Peter De Roo, v. I, p. 159. V. Also Document VII., b.

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mythical history. All that has been said thus far, cannot detract from the glory of Columbus. His courageous and epoch-making voyage still stands out as one of the greatest achievements of all time. But it was not new worlds that Columbus sought. He could not conceive of a vast continent lying between Europe and Asia. Despite his four voyages to our coast, he believed to his dying day that what he had found was a route to India.

This part of our inquiry is closed with the following from the masterful historian Edward J. Payne:³

It was entirely with the expectation of crossing this sea (between India and Spain), and reaching India from Spain that Columbus concerned himself. Nothing was further from his purpose than mere discovery. He was inspired by the hope of reaching that famous land of gold, pearls and spices, which was now more than ever attracting the attention of Europe. He wanted no new worlds; and if he had been told the fact that western Asia is really about three-fourths of the earth's latitude from Spain, and that the westward voyager would have to encounter, on his way, a vast continent stretching nearly from Pole to Pole, impassible at the north, passable only with peril and difficulty at the south, and mainly inhabited by irreclaimable savages, he would probably have abandoned his design. Other men, Hakluyts, Raleighs and Penns might have been attracted to the new *oikoumenê* (inhabited world). Columbus would never have been stirred to visit it. . . . He was not dominated by that paradoxical passion which impels the human will to accomplish an end. . . . He believed that there were two ways to India, that the westward way was the shorter, the safer, the easier of the two, and that its discovery, therefore, could not fail to pay as a commercial speculation.

Before proceeding with our survey let us digress for a moment and pause before the daring question, "Was the Old World discovered and visited by the American native?" Such a question, flying as it does in the teeth of all orthodox history, staggers the imagination by the boldness of its suggestion. History does not throw much light on this fascinating aspect of our subject, and the few facts gleaned are to be found in Peter De Roo⁴ (Vol. I, Chap. VII), who quotes such authorities as Nadaillac,⁵ Humboldt,¹ Winsor, Whitney and Prescott to substantiate his evidence.

¹P. 47, 48.

⁴Vol. I, p. 162.

⁵Prehistoric America, p. 470.

⁶Examen, l. i., pp. 198, 206.

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We have already spoken of . . . the mound-builders erecting their tumuli and other characteristic monuments in Ireland and Denmark. Farnum admits the close resemblance which exists between numerous earthworks, sepulchral tumuli, implements of flint, and pottery found in the United States and in the North of America, and similar structures and fragments discovered in the countries bordering . . . on the Baltic Sea. Nadaillac is another . . . from whose evidence we might infer that from our continent settlers went over to northwestern Europe. . . . It is not necessary to repeat the statements of Plato, from which it would appear that about twelve thousand Egyptian years before Christ, the inhabitants of our continent, through the medium of their relations with the Atlantic empire, entertained for a long time a regular intercourse with the most important portions of Africa and Europe; nay, that they were the rulers of the Old World, until the courage and military skill of the Greeks and destructive elements of nature combined to drive them back to the West and into relative oblivion.

The similarity in the architecture, monuments and hieroglyphics between the inhabitants of the New World and those of the old can argue one conclusion with absolute certainty, and that is that either Europeans visited our shores in olden times or that the natives of America were visitors to European shores. To say that the philological relation between their languages (peoples of the Old and New World) is the result of chance, or that the almost uniform character of the hieroglyphs as seen in the monuments of the Maya and Toltec Indians is a coincidence, is to defy our conception of logic and reason. The Toltecs, successors to the Mayas, possessed a hieroglyphic system of writing and a knowledge of astronomy superior to that of most of the European nations. Their deterioration dates back to about 1100. The Mayas, their predecessors, by their matchless buildings, paintings and sculpture attest to having attained a civilization of which we might today be proud.² Their decline can be traced to about 200 years before the era of Columbus, and according to Short,³ their glories can be traced to the earliest period in American history—perhaps prior to that of the Greeks. Says De Roo:

. . . and all these evidences of a glorious past lay buried for long centuries before Columbus' discovery, in the virgin forests of

²Peter De Roo, vol. I, pp. 177, 178.

³American Antiques, p. 519.

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Yucatan, Palenque, Uxmal, Copan and several other ruined cities of Central America are as grand and beautiful monuments on the cemeteries of the new World, as are Troy, Babylon and Thebes on those of the Old. . . . They certainly pertain to America's *remotest** period.

The genuine and able critic Humboldt, who combined a vast amount of knowledge with a keen faculty for analysis "does not expressly admit Plato's political relations of the two continents, yet he acknowledges the fact of an irruption into Europe from the west, and of a gigantic war between the peoples of the east and the west side of the Strait of Gibraltar." De Roo⁴ also quotes D'Arbois de Goubainville⁵ as an authority for another great American invasion of Europe. The original author asserts that ten million American aborigines crossed the Atlantic and landed on the shores of the Hyperboreans and conquered them.

Due to resemblances in pottery, monumental and religious rituals, not to mention a close relationship from a philological viewpoint, many historians are of the opinion that America had been settled by Egyptians in the dim and hazy past. De Roo quotes T. C. Heirside¹ who believes that the Egyptians were migrated Americans. "Be that as it may," continues the same author.²

It is, according to linguistic evidence, highly probable that Americans not only sailed to Europe, but established there a settlement which endures to this day; we mean the small, peculiar nation of the Basques in the northwestern portion of Spain. Ethnologists are puzzled at the existence of this tribe on the boundaries of two powerful kingdoms, to which they seem to be unwilling to sacrifice their customs or their language. Linguists almost universally declare that the Basques are Americans, perhaps survivors of Plato's Atlantis, but no Europeans. D'Arbois refers to the authority of Mr. Whitney, one of the most noted linguists of this century, to assert that no European dialect resembles the Basque language in grammatical structure so closely as the aboriginal American languages. Short³ remarks that it is worthy of note that several eminent scholars have observed the remarkable similarity of grammatical structure between the Central American and certain transatlan-

*Italics are the author's.

⁴De Roo, Vol. I, p. 163.

⁵P. 163—see also Dict. of Classical Literature and Antiquity, p. 857.

¹"American Antiquities or The New World the Old, and the Old World the New."

²Vol. I, pp. 164, 165.

³American Antiquities.

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tic languages, especially the Basque and some of the languages of western Asia.*

That the Basques are of American stock is further borne out by Paul Broca who says that the language of the Basque is analogous to that of the American Indian.⁴

It is inconceivable that with the ancient greatness of the Mayas and other early American peoples, they should have been ignorant of the European continent. It is true that their geographical ideas were vague, but in almost every respect they were as intelligent as those of the Europeans who, up to a very late day conceived of Asia Minor as the whole habitable world.†

De Roo quotes from the fragment Cornelius Nepos‡ (100 B. C.) what he calls a "well-authenticated voyage:"

Pliny⁵ says, "the northern circumnavigation is spoken of by Nepos, who narrates how the king of the Swabians made a present to Quintus Metellus Celer, once a colleague of the Consul L. Africanus and proconsul of Gaul at the time of some Indians who had left their country on a trading voyage and had been swept by tempests into Germany." . . . Pomponius Mela quotes the same passage in a slightly different manner. "Besides Homer and the natural philosophers," he says, "who assert that the sea surrounds the whole world; there is also Cornelius Nepos, whose authority is all the greater for being so recent." This writer calls as witness F. Metellus, who told that when he was proconsul of Gaul, the king of the Bavarians gave him certain Indians, and that by inquiring he had learned that they had arrived from the seas of India, and . . . had finally set foot on German soil.¹

When, in 1492, American natives were carried by sea to the shores of the Old World,² they had already deteriorated from their ancient greatness. Nor is this deterioration an unprecedented instance, as parallel examples may be cited in the history of the Old

*De Roo is continually referring to authoritative sources, quoting Maury, Bastian, Prescott and Dr. Farrar, not to mention many others. For a detailed account, see Chapter VII, "History of America before Columbus."

Winchell—"Races of Men," p. 149.

†Naturally referring to the masses. The learned, of course, knew better.

‡That Nepos biographies are of considerable importance from a historical point of view is unquestionable. See Dictionary of Classical Literature and Antiquity, p. 1087.

¹The Elder (23-97 A. D.)

²Vol. I, p. 167.

³Peter De Roo, v. I, pp. 171, 172, 173.

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World. When Egypt had recovered from the Hykos (2100-1600 B. C.) invasions, the infusion of new blood seemed to have a detrimental effect, and we have in the decline of Egypt, perhaps the greatest misfortune in the annals of the Old World. Copious instances might be cited as to Greece and Rome. It is well known that at the fall of the Roman Empire (476) all Europe was threatened with a return to barbarism. As a matter of fact, the principal difference in civilization between the Aztecs and their Spanish conquerors lay in the possession of fire-arms and the horse. The Mexicans, it is true, offered human sacrifices, but in respect to the shedding of human blood, the civilized Spaniards were as cruel as the barbaric Indians. In many ways the ethical and moral system of the Mexicans was distinctly superior to that of the army of Cortez.

Whereas up to this point some of the evidence may have seemed vague and unconvincing, and not all of the testimony capable of corroboration, we are now entering upon a part of our outline which from an historical point of view is practically beyond dispute. Much has been added to clarify the subject by such notable historians as Bancroft, Payne, Prescott, De Costa, and Gleeson. While we shall quote from these as occasion arises we will in most instances confine ourselves to De Roo. It is chiefly owing to his painstaking effort that a great accumulation of evidence is available.

In this section our endeavor will be to show that the Northmen had established colonies in Greenland and America; that regular voyages to America took place from Iceland, Ireland and Greenland; and that these settlements have left ample traces of their previous existence here. So far, we are still on the orthodox path. To that extent we are in accord with the most modern investigators—Payne, Bancroft and De Costa. Though accepting their discoveries as an historical fact, Fiske sarcastically asks why they did not claim America by prior right of discovery, and why the European settlements on American soil do not exist today. The answer is found in De Roo. It seems that Fiske has forgotten the Black Death (fourteenth century) that swept away two-thirds of the inhabitants of the Old World. One might as well ask why the first English settlements on the American coast in later years were wiped out. Indeed, some of these early European settlements more than a century after Columbus, vanished without leaving a trace. The glory of Greenland and Iceland had well faded away at the time

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of Spain's ascendancy, but the memory of the deeds of their heroes still lives in the sagas and other extant writings of these people.

Fiske does not believe that pre-Columbian discoveries have bequeathed anything of geographical value. What is more, he casts doubts on what he calls "rumors of pre-Columbian visitors to America." "We may admit," says the learned author of the "Discovery of America," "that there is no good reason why any one of them may not have done what is claimed, but at the same time, the proof that any one of them *did* do it, is far from satisfactory."³

It appears, however, that his word "pre-Columbian" has been unwisely chosen, for he quickly adds: "But when we come to the voyages of the Northmen in the tenth and eleventh centuries, it is quite a different affair. Not only is this a subject of much historic interest, but in dealing with it, we stand for a great part of the time upon firm, historic ground. The narratives which tell us of Vineland and of Leif Ericson are closely intertwined with the authentic history of Norway and Iceland."

In other words, Fiske reluctantly admits that in speaking of the Northmen we are to all intents and purposes on *terra firma*. He is in a difficult position in asserting that no voyager has added aught to European geographical knowledge prior to Columbus, when, as a matter of fact, the latter, bold as he was, dared not have ventured upon the Sea of Darkness without positive knowledge of those who had blazed the trails. We cannot, at this point, go into great detail concerning the discovery of Iceland and Greeland, although these islands are closely interwoven with our history. Though considered a part of Europe, they were hidden from that continent for many centuries because of distance; and their nearness to the frozen circle. According to the best records, it is almost certain that natives of Ireland visited America centuries before the voyages of the Northmen, with the main object of Christianizing the American natives. Fiske,⁴ who considers pre-Columbian discovery of little value, frankly admits that the Irish ante-dated the Northmen in their discovery of America by about three hundred years. He believes, however, that the disciples of St. Columba visited these far-off lands because of a passion for solitude. This view seems hardly tenable. As De Roo⁵ says: [Vol. II, p. 3]:

³Vol. I, pp. 150, 151.

⁴Discovery of America, v. I, p. 149. See vol. II, Chap. II.

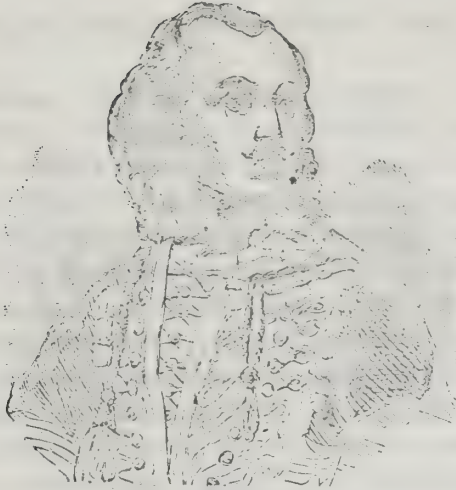
⁵Peter De Roo, vol. I, p. 122. Dict. of Classical Literature and Antiquities, pp. 1500-1567.

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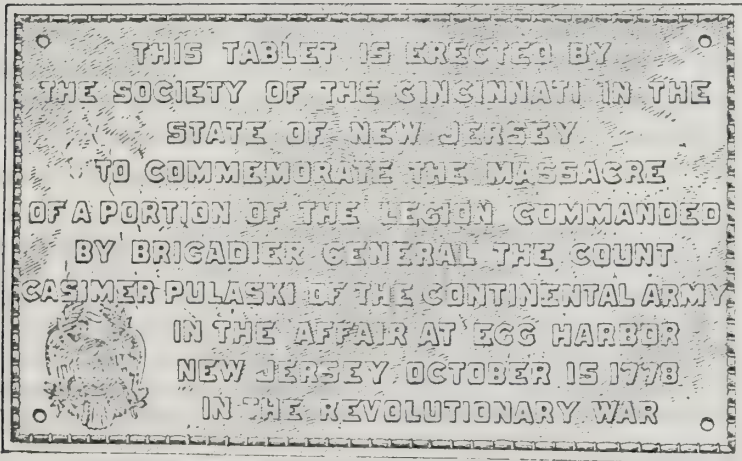
It is beyond all doubt that monks and bishops from Ireland were the first to announce the Gospel to the barbarous tribes. . . . many centuries past.

We have now completed the first part of a very brief outline. We have conclusively shown that the so-called "rumors" of ancient American discoveries are far from poorly founded. An unprejudiced mind will admit that the evidence at hand warrants a far wider search into our continent's past history than has hitherto been attempted. In the next issue of "Americana" the writer will quote from purely historic sources. These will consist mainly of the records of the voyages of the Irish and the Northmen to our coasts, and of the documents of the Secret Archives of the Vatican, which prove that Christianity was not unknown in America centuries before Columbus came.





COUNT CASIMIR PULASKI.



Memorial Tablet erected on the site of the Massacre by the Society of the Cincinnati in the State of New Jersey.

A Partial View of South Jersey History*

BY ALFRED M. HESTON, ATLANTIC CITY, NEW JERSEY.



THE political axiom, "All men have their price," is commonly ascribed to Walpole. It was true of those who manipulated public affairs in Colonial days and it is, unfortunately, true of some men in high places today. Even as these lines are written the daily papers are reporting the embezzlement of \$225,000 by the Governor of a Western State. In the United States Senate, also, at this writing, a former Cabinet officer is accused of having accepted a bribe of \$100,000 to dispose of government oil reserves, from which one of the bribers admitted he would realize one hundred million dollars as his share of the loot. The accusing member said, on the floor of the Senate: "It is far more infamous for a government official to sell government oil fields to private interests than for Benedict Arnold to sell or try to sell a rocky fortress on the Hudson to the British army."

Turning from these recent instances of corruption in high places, we note what an honorable citizen of South Jersey was impelled to say, in very truth, of a man whose name is familiar in the annals of the State, one whose book on the "concessions" is found on the shelves of attorneys and public libraries throughout the State. John Clement, of Haddonfield, long a member of the New Jersey Court of Errors and Appeals, antiquarian and president of the New Jersey Historical Society, said, in 1879:

In 1752 a number of people formed an association to bring about the sale of lands in Cape May County, still owned by the West New Jersey Society, of London, of which Lewis Johnson was the general manager in New Jersey. He lived in Perth Amboy and was a man of more than ordinary ability. The association was too tardy to suit some people in Cape May County, whereupon Jacob Spicer, one of the members, determined upon a plan to obtain title

*This article is from advance sheets of "South Jersey, A History," by Alfred M. Heston, from the press of the Lewis Historical Publishing Company, Inc. Mr. Heston has employed a most attractive style and has presented the history of the region in a new and interesting light.—(Ed.).

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to the lands and then sell them to others at a profit. He proceeded secretly to carry out his scheme. In August, 1756, he went to Perth Amboy and secured an interview with Johnson. In the course of the conversation Spicer discovered that Johnson was given to conviviality, and recalling the saying, "when wine is in, wit is out," he proceeded to profit thereby. While the agent was deep in his cups, Spicer induced him to sign a deed, dated August 7th, of that year, conveying the remaining lands in Cape May County to himself for three hundred pounds—a ridiculously low price. The purchaser returned to Cape May, seemingly well satisfied with his bargain. Subsequently, his neighbors called it "sharp practice." Johnson himself was so ashamed of his conduct that, conscience stricken, he tried to make amends in his will, some years afterwards, by bequeathing one thousand pounds to the London society as part payment of the money out of which it had been wronged. When Spicer's conduct was revealed, there was much ill feeling toward him in Cape May County. He was slighted and even abused by his neighbors, including his former associate, Aaron Leaming. The controversy was long and bitter and culminated in a public meeting on March 26, 1761, in the Presbyterian church, at which time Leaming, on behalf of the people, submitted certain questions to Spicer. These the latter did not answer satisfactorily and a suit in chancery was threatened. Spicer was not moved by this threat and continued to hold the estate until his death, when it passed by will to his son Jacob, who, in 1795, conveyed his rights to an association. Subsequently, the Legislature passed acts of incorporation, strengthening the association's title and enlarging its powers, going far to establish the rights of riparian owners on the coast of New Jersey. The validity of these titles was afterwards questioned and later court decisions and acts of the Legislature seemed to ignore them altogether. Jacob Spicer, senior, never recovered the confidence of the people of Cape May County. His old friend and law partner refused to recognize him thereafter.

Early in 1760, fourteen months before the turbulent meeting, George May was appointed South Jersey representative of the West New Jersey Society. He settled on the Great Egg Harbor River, built a landing and founded the present May's Landing, county seat of Atlantic County. Undoubtedly, duplicity, bribery, corruption, confiscation, theft, overriding of the popular will and other forms of rascality characterized the early politics of New Jersey.

With respect to West Jersey, the disputations began with the convening of the first Legislature on November 25, 1681. The members disagreed with the new Pennsylvania government concerning the ownership of certain islands in the Delaware and it required

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years to settle that dispute. In a little while there was a serious rupture between Governor Byllynge, still in England, and the new Assembly. Deputy Governor Jenings, the personal representative of Byllynge, arrived in September, two months before the convening of the Legislature. With his personal council and an elected Assembly, Jenings formed the first General Assembly, at which time Burlington was fixed upon as the capital of the province, though provision was afterward made for the holding of alternate courts at Salem.

It was not until fifteen years later that the quaint Gabriel Thomas wrote in his little history of West Jersey: "Burlington is the chiefest town, but Salem is the ancientist," adding, on another page: "Gloucester-Town is a very fine and pleasant place, whither young people come from Philadelphia in the wherries to eat strawberries and cream, within sight of which city it is sweetly situated."

Two years after the sitting of the first Legislature, the old question of title and government, with respect to the rights of the Duke of York, Berkeley and Carteret and those to whom Berkeley had sold his proprietary rights, came before the Assembly. In all of these matters William Penn was an interested party and advised with Governor Jenings. Indeed, there is credible authority for the statement that "in her early Colonial days New Jersey learned a lesson of sobriety from Pennsylvania." Penn was accustomed to sail up the Delaware in his barge to his manor house at Pennsbury, above Bristol, and on these journeys he would stop at Burlington to see Jenings. The Jerseymen assembled with Jenings were accustomed to put aside their pipes in order not to offend Penn, who disapproved of smoking. On one occasion he came upon them unawares, "before they had time to conceal the evidence of their dissipation," and noticing their embarrassment, Penn remarked, pleasantly, that he was glad they had the sense of propriety to be ashamed of smoking, whereupon Jenings said: "We are not ashamed, but we desist in order that we may not by our example lead a weak brother into temptation." Jenings could be witty as well as sarcastic.

Following one of these conferences, the Assembly declared that the rights of Berkeley and Carteret had been purchased by Penn and his associates. Jenings acquiesced, whereupon the Assembly, fearing the autocratic Byllynge might remove his deputy, pro-

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ceeded to elect Jenings to the position of acting Governor. At the same time they renewed their declaration of popular rights. This action seems to have been taken in compliance with a previous recommendation by Penn that the people of West Jersey should "secure themselves."

The advice of Penn, however, was not the only moving force in the proceeding. Doubtless the Assembly's action was taken as the result of previous action on the part of Byllynge, who had asserted that as grantee of Berkeley he had become possessed of political power; which power, however, he withheld from his assigns, in spite of the fact that he was a party to the "concessions" under which his rights were conveyed to Penn and his associates.

The conduct of Byllynge affords an instance of the corrupting force of power and of human inconsistency, even among members of the Society of Friends, whose tenets are founded on brotherly love. To avoid conflict with the Governor, the Assembly delegated Samuel Jenings and Thomas Budd to visit England and explain the necessity of having one resident of West Jersey duly clothed with authority as governor to approve of legislative enactments. Reaching London, Jenings and Budd stated their case to Byllynge, who coolly referred the matter to the Society of Friends. The Society in turn submitted it to the "judgment and determination" of George Fox and thirteen other Friends of influence. The award of the referees was made in October, 1684, when eight of the fourteen reported that Byllynge was Governor and that the Legislature had no power to appoint a deputy, nor could a deputy give his approval to legislative enactments. Naturally, this decision did not mitigate the rupture between the Assembly and Byllynge; nor did the death of the latter, in 1687, put an end to the disputations.

Meantime, a new charter, the precise nature of which we are left to conjecture, was given by Byllynge. It was entrusted to Thomas Olive and Thomas Gardner, with instructions to have it recorded, but Dr. C. E. Godfrey, director of the Public Records Office, states that it is not found among any of the parchments at Trenton or Burlington, nor is there any trace of its present existence. This new charter probably restored the government to the footing of the "concessions." At any rate, the Assembly recognized John Skeine, appointed by Byllynge, as his deputy, who served until his death in February, 1688.

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On the death of Byllynge, in 1687, his interests were purchased by Dr. Daniel Coxe, of London, who was already a large land owner in the province.¹ The latter soon tired of his possessions, and in 1692 "despairing of an adjustment of the many complications," conveyed most of his lands to the West New Jersey Society, a corporation formed in London, the consideration being nine thousand and eight hundred pounds. The deed of conveyance included 95,000 acres, comprising almost all of the present county of Cape May; also "all the town lots in and near Gloucester-Town and Egg Harbor, in West New Jersey."

One of the first acts of the West New Jersey Society was to declare themselves organized for the purpose of "mutual benefit, profit and advantage," and "the better and more orderly managing and improving of the said hereditary government, lands and tenements."

Setting forth that they reposed "special trust and confidence in the fidelity, prudence, knowledge and provident circumspection" of Jeremiah Basse, the Society appointed him agent, "to inspect and direct ye selling and buying of goods, and to act, observe and doe all matters as concerned" them in West Jersey. They particularly directed Basse to agree with a French cooper, "now at Plymouth," in the "making of casks, which is the thing we principally aim at, but also in the making of wines and brandy, and when ye season of ye year is fit for it, let him exercise his talents a little in making some wine and send us a cask of each sort, the wine in small casks and the brandy in bottles." In the same letter of instructions they directed Basse to "sell none of ye land that lies convenient for ye whale fishing till ye hear further from us. We mean

¹Under date of September 5, 1687, Coxe communicated with the Council of Proprietors, apprising them of his purchase and explaining his views and expectations. The Council of Proprietors consisted of eleven persons chosen from the general body of Proprietors, with full power to act for their constituency in all matters affecting their affairs. For this they were paid two shillings for each day of actual service. Under their direction the land affairs of West Jersey were conducted for many years, and indeed their "authority" is recognized to this day over all lands belonging to members of the Society. They meet once a year at Burlington and Gloucester and elect officers, whose duties are entirely perfunctory. The first Council of Proprietors was composed of Samuel Jenings, Thomas Olive, William Biddle, Elias Farr, Mahlon Stacy, Francis Davenport, Andrew Robeson, William Royden, John Heading, William Cooper, and John Wills, whose powers and duties, as set forth in the constitution, were the "management of all affairs relating to the landed interests of the Proprietors, the purchasing of land from the natives, the ordering of surveys, the granting of warrants and the inspection of the rights of the several claimants." Meetings were held on "the first and twentieth day of March, by the ninth hour in the morning." Subsequently, the membership of the Council was reduced to nine—of whom five were chosen from Burlington and four from old Gloucester.

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ye land upon Cape May, lying next ye bay or upon ye sea coast, for that we will not sell." Basse is further advised that they also owned fifteen thousand acres, on the north and south sides of Great Egg Harbor River, which land Dr. Coxe had purchased of Thomas Budd, and "said to be the best land in the province."

There seems to have been some delay in Basse's report to his superiors in London, but that he was not idle or thoughtless of his own comfort is evidenced by the royalty which he inserted in each deed—"two fat capons or hens, delivered at Coxe Hall, Cape May, December 24th, yearly." Doubtless the date of delivery was in anticipation of Christmas revels, which in those times extended through several days of feasting and carousal. The cause of temperance had no advocates, while the evils of intemperance were manifest in every grade of society.

It was no scandal to the church if the rector could drink his wardens and parishioners blind, nor anything to his discredit if he played a good rubber of whist or was an expert with the foils. Commenting on these things, the late Judge John Clement, of Had-donfield, said in 1879: "Well it is that such scenes of wassail and debauchery have passed into oblivion." It was not until January 16, 1919, however, that they were outlawed by the eighteenth amendment.

As the title to almost every acre of land in Cape May County goes back to the West Jersey Society and Jeremiah Basse, and as every title is subject to the tenure of "two fat capons or hens," to be paid once a year in perpetuity, it is plain that should the heirs and assigns of the West Jersey Society make demand for accumulated royalties there would not be found in all of Cape May and Atlantic counties a sufficient number of chickens to satisfy the demand!

Dr. Coxe, non-resident Governor of West Jersey from 1687 to 1692 and grantor of the West New Jersey Society, died in 1730, in his ninetieth year. He was the most eminent physician of his day, a prolific writer on chemistry and medicine, and physician to Charles II and Queen Anne. He was a staunch Church of England man and interested himself in attempting the establishment of that church in West Jersey. Although he received his titles from the English Proprietors, he also made a second purchase from the Indians in 1688. The remaining portions of his vast estate

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passed by will to his son, Daniel Coxe, who arrived in Burlington in 1702, and was appointed commander of the forces in West Jersey by Governor Cornbury. He was thereafter known as Colonel. After a short stay here, he returned to England, and in 1705 was recommended by Lord Cornbury for a seat in the Governor's Council of New Jersey. Notwithstanding the hostility of the Quaker's, he was appointed by Queen Anne in 1706, and soon afterwards sailed for America, when Lord Cornbury appointed him one of the Associate Justices of the Supreme Court.

The next year (1707) notwithstanding his hostility to Quakers in general, Colonel Coxe made an exception in favor of Sarah Eckley, the presumably pretty daughter of John Eckley, a Quaker of Philadelphia, with whom he eloped, being married to her by Lord Cornbury's chaplain, who most opportunely happened to be on hand, "between two and three o'clock in the morning, on the Jersey side, under a tree by fire light,"—somewhere within the present bounds of Camden. The gallant colonel is described as a "fine flaunting gentleman." A letter of Margaret Preston, of Philadelphia, written in 1707, thus refers to the elopement of her friend:

The news of Sarah Eckley's marriage is both sorrowful and surprising, with one Colonel Coxe, a fine flaunting gentleman, said to be worth a great deal of money—a great inducement, it is said, on her side. His sister Trent was supposed to have promoted the match. Her other friends were ignorant of the match. It took place in the absence of her Uncle and Aunt Hill, between two or three in the morning, on the Jersey side, under a tree by fire light. They have since proselyted her and decked her in finery.

Colonel Coxe was again named as one of the Council in 1708 by Governor Lovelace, but was removed by Governor Hunter in 1713. The next year he was elected by the Swedish vote and again in 1716 as a member of the Assembly from Gloucester County, although Sheriff Harrison, of Gloucester County, was accused of sharp practice to secure his defeat, by removing the polls several miles from the usual place.

Being subsequently retired from official life, Colonel Coxe directed his attention to literature, and published, in 1722, a description of "Carolina," which was republished in 1727 and 1741. He was appointed Grand Master of the Masons in 1730, being the first in America to be thus honored.

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A grandson of Colonel Coxe, and the fifth of that name, was prominent in West Jersey at the beginning of the Revolution. He was a zealous Tory, and even the burning of his handsome residence, at Trenton, by the British, during their pursuit of Washington, in December, 1776, did not impair his attachment to the royal cause, for in 1777 he went to New York, where he served until the close of the war as chairman of an association of refugees. Christopher Sower, a publisher of the Revolutionary period, maliciously says he "was appointed to the chair to deprive him of the opportunity of speaking, as he had the gift of saying little with many words." In June, 1779, he wrote to Joseph Galloway, the great Pennsylvania Loyalist, then in London, saying:

The current depreciation of their money, at Philadelphia, is fifteen for one; and though there are clubs and private associations endeavoring to support its credit, nothing will do, nor can anything, in my opinion, now save 'em on this point but a foreign loan, and which, though they affect otherwise, I think they cannot negotiate anywhere in Europe, unless all the moneyed nations are turned fools; and if they cannot command a loan, and are prevented from all remittances and trade southward, they must sink, never again, I hope, to rise. . . . In short, they never were so wretched and near destruction as at this moment, and unless some unforeseen event takes place in their favor soon, I firmly expect the next summer must end their independence and greatness. For God's sake, then encourage every degree of spirit and exertion all you can, and quickly; a good push and they go to the wall infallibly.

This letter, written by a Jerseyman, a Tory descendant of old Burlington, took no account of the victories at Trenton, Monmouth, and Red Bank. Said Lord George Germain, in the British Parliament, some years afterwards: "That unhappy affair at Trenton! all our hopes were blasted by that unhappy affair at Trenton."

Daniel Coxe, fifth, above mentioned, married, in 1771, the daughter of Dr. John Redman, collateral descendant of Elizabeth Haddon Estaugh, founder of Haddonfield. Dr. Redman was a surgeon in the American army during the Revolution. Mr. Coxe settled in England after the close of the Revolution, whither he was followed by his wife and children. He died there previous to 1828, for in that year the wife brought suit in New Jersey for her dower rights in his confiscated property and received a judgment therefor. She died in Brighton, England, in 1843.

A PARTIAL VIEW OF SOUTH JERSEY HISTORY
EXPLOITS AND MASSACRES—RED BANK AND
TUCKERTON.

When the British entered Philadelphia, in the latter part of 1777, they found the city in great disorder. The streets were unkept and public property neglected. Homes had been abandoned, on the approach of the enemy, and the Quaker element, representing about one-fifth of the thirty thousand inhabitants, was distressed over the removal of influential members of the society to Virginia. This had been done on the order of Congress, as a matter of safety, suspicion having been directed against them on account of correspondence discovered in New Jersey, and an "address" of the Philadelphia meeting, which was regarded as treasonable.

The enemy troops began pillaging and burning property of both Whigs and Tories. In the suburbs, provisions and supplies were taken from the farmers by raiding parties of both armies. Secret trade was conducted with the Tories in Philadelphia, while all intercourse with New Jersey was prohibited after January 15, 1778, except by the "new" and "old" ferries, which were guarded by British troops. Between Burlington and Bridgeton, during the British occupation, there was an almost continuous raid by enemy troops, assisted by Loyalist regiments and unorganized bands of refugee robbers.

Previous to the British occupancy of Philadelphia, and while the Delaware was being blockaded by enemy vessels, it was impossible to convey merchandise, especially groceries, to that city. Consequently, vessels of light draft sailed up the Mullica as far as "the Forks," at Pleasant Mills and Batsto. At this point barrels of sugar and bags of coffee, boxes of tea, puncheons of rum, and various other articles of trade were unloaded and placed on wagons, to be hauled to Philadelphia. The ingenuity of the teamsters was taxed, as they approached the ferries, to escape detection by revenue officers. Between "the Forks" and Haddonfield every swamp had its secret place of deposit. Indeed, before the occupancy, the loyalty of the Whigs of South Jersey contributed largely to the delivery of contraband goods to the pent-up patriots.

Sometimes a load of salt hay concealed several barrels of molasses or sugar, or a quantity of clams kept from view numerous bags of coffee or boxes of tea. Cedar hoop poles provided a good

A PARTIAL VIEW OF SOUTH JERSEY HISTORY

cover for articles of smaller bulk, and cordwood was an excellent hiding place for other goods, contraband of war.

Occasionally, however, during hot weather, hoops and staves would not hold the molasses, and finding a vent, it left a stream along the road, thus betraying the smuggler to the British officers. The load and team were confiscated, and the driver was fortunate if he escaped into the forest. After several such mishaps, it occurred to the patriotic smugglers that the cool night atmosphere was the time for carrying goods across the country, and when the sound of a loaded wagon was heard along the road "between two days," the country folk knew what it meant. Some of these incidents, illustrating the patriotism of the stalwart sires and sturdy sons of old Gloucester County, have been employed by writers to point a moral or adorn a tale, just as the romantic love-tale of John Estaugh and Elizabeth Haddon, founder of Haddonfield, furnished the incidents for "Elizabeth," one of Longfellow's delightful "Tales of a Wayside Inn." Naturally, a region in which the spirit of patriotism was so pronounced and of whom Lafayette afterwards said: "I found these men above their reputation," were objects of vengeance.¹

The assault at Quinton's Bridge and the massacre at Hancock's Bridge, under direction of Colonel Mawwood and Mayor Simcoe, are instances of unprovoked attack. The enemy order at Hancock's Bridge was: "Spare no one; put all to death; give no quarter." So far as possible, this order was obeyed. The attack was made at night, when most of the victims were in bed and asleep, worn out with watching.

¹Late in November, 1777, Lafayette gave much trouble to Cornwallis, who attempted to cross a body of troops from below Woodbury to the Pennsylvania side. General Greene, with a detachment of American troops, was stationed at Haddonfield, with orders to keep close watch of Cornwallis, then encamped at Gloucester. Anticipating trouble, the British commander had pushed out his pickets for several miles. This movement led to the suspicion that some change of base was contemplated. Lafayette, who had not yet recovered from a wound received at the battle of Brandywine, volunteered to reconnoitre the British and attack them, if advisable. His command consisted of a few dragoons, a company of riflemen and some militia. Making a circuit, he crossed Clement's bridge and passed down the south side of Big Timber Creek. To inform himself of the real position of the enemy he ventured out on the sandy peninsula south of the outlet of the creek and was discovered. A detachment of dragoons was sent to intercept him, but before it got to the bridge, by the assistance of his guide, he had joined his command. Having accomplished his purpose, he passed down between Big and Little Timber creeks, until he reached the king's highway, where he found some of the Hessian artillery. These were at once attacked and driven back to Gloucester, but night coming on, the advantage could not be followed up. The conduct of his riflemen and militia occasioned the complimentary remark by Lafayette: "I found these men above their reputation."

A PARTIAL VIEW OF SOUTH JERSEY HISTORY

The affairs at Quinton's and Hancock's bridges, the assault at Chestnut Neck, the skirmishes above and below Woodbury, the exploits in the vicinity of Camden, Haddonfield, Moorestown, Burlington, and Mount Holly, the wanton attack at Bordentown and the brutal massacre at Tuckerton—these all pale before the brilliant repulse of the Hessians at Red Bank.

Five months after this memorable battle and on the very day of the massacre at Hancock's Bridge, Washington, then encamped at Valley Forge, wrote a letter which has just come to light in Philadelphia, even as these pages are going to press. It throws a flood of light on conditions on the Delaware, below Red Bank, a few months before the evacuation of Philadelphia, in June, 1778, which evacuation was followed by the British march across South Jersey, as described in a preceding chapter. Near Freehold they were met by Washington and the memorable battle of Monmouth followed.

The Washington letter, of which there seems to have been no previous record, has been in the possession of a Philadelphia family for many years. It is dated March 20, 1778, and is addressed to General William Smallwood, then in Maryland.²

The first paragraph deals with Washington's disapproval of the findings of a court martial acquitting Colonel Josias C. Hall, who had threatened to blow out the brains of any officer who attempted to execute an order of General Smallwood to impress horses for military use.

Washington held Colonel Hall in personal esteem and wrote to him explaining the general orders he had issued in the case, saying subordination would be at an end in the army, if orders of a commanding officer were set at defiance. Colonel Hall proposed to resign from the service, but Washington seems to have placated him by advising that the differences be mutually forgotten.

The rest of the letter illustrates the close watch Washington kept on the field of military operations:

I was yesterday fav'd with yours without a date, inclosing the proceedings of a Court Martial held upon Col. Hall of Maryland.

²This letter was found in the family papers of Daniel Graham, a lieutenant under Washington, who had a son, Paulding, named after John Paulding, one of the captors of Major André. The present owner of the letter is Mrs. Clinton Mackensie, of Philadelphia. It reveals Washington's scrupulous regard for the rights of property seized or destroyed in war, as shown in his admonition that if necessary to burn the hay of farmers, lest the enemy capture it, certificates of the quantity destroyed should be given to the owners.

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Inclosed you have Copy of my opinion which is published in the General Orders of this day.

I am informed that there still remains a considerable quantity of Hay between Chester and Wilmington upon the Riverside, particularly at one John Smiths near Marcus Hook. I would have you find an Officer immediately along the Shore to let the owners of the Hay know that it must be removed some distance back from the Water without loss of time; otherwise we shall be obliged to burn it to prevent its falling into the Hands of the Enemy. You must allow a few days for the removal, and at the expiration of that time, what cannot be got off must be burned and Certificates of the Quantity destroyed given to the owners.

I have rec'd advice that four Regiments had embarked at New York, and that the Transports had fallen down to the Hook. It also appears by accounts from Rhode Island as if they were about to evacuate that place. I therefore desire you to keep a good look out for these vessels, for I am fully of opinion that they are bound for Philada. If any Vessels come in, endeavor to discover whether they have any troops on Board.

I thought you had eight pieces of Cannon at Wilmington. I would nevertheless have you send two pieces with the Waggon belonging to them to Camp. Keep the best Horses with those that remain, that you may move rapidly upon occasion. If General Howe draws his force together, we must unite ours. I would therefore have you hold everything in readiness to move at a moment's warning and I would recommend it to you and your Officers to remove any useless and heavy Baggage immediately. I would not have you hold up an Idea that we have thoughts of leaving Wilmington. I would rather hint the contrary, and that I only disincumbered myself of my useless Baggage and Stores to act with more vigor.

As our Commissioners meet those from General Howe on Tuesday next, I hope the depositions wrote for will not be delayed beyond that time. I shall be glad to have Major Stewarts deposition, relative to his treatment while a prisoner, taken and sent up as soon as possible.

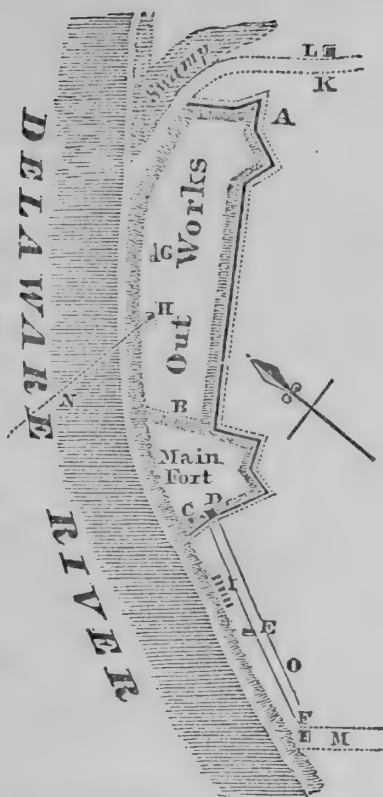
The advantage of Billingsport as a military post was not overlooked by either the American or the British. On June 12, 1777, John Hancock, President of the Continental Congress, sitting in Philadelphia, wrote to Governor Livingston to order five hundred militia to assist in completing the works then being erected at Billingsport for the defence of the Delaware. In the fall of that year, when the British secured possession of Philadelphia, it became a matter of the greatest importance to them that the English fleet

PLAN
Of Fort Mercer, at Red Bank, N. J.

REFERENCES.

- A End of the fort at which the Hessians entered.
- B Small ditch, cross embankment and location of the masked battery.
- C Remains of the hickory-tree used during the battle as a flag-staff.
- D Ruins of a brick wall in the middle of the artificial bank.—Gateway.
- E Count Donop's grave.
- F Louis Whitall's house.
- G Monument, erected in 1829.
- H Pleasure-house.
- I Marks of the trenches in which the slain were deposited.
- K Road the Hessians marched to the attack.—Reeve's old road.
- L Tenant house.
- M Road to Woodbury.
- N Direction of Fort Mifflin.
- O Farm road.

NOTE.—The works represented extend about 350 yards in a right line.



TRENCH OF THE OLD FRENCH FORT AT RED BANK

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should communicate with the city. General Howe sent two regiments under Colonel Sterling to attack the fort at Billingsport. Crossing the river from Chester, on September 30th, they made an attack upon the fort from the rear. The Americans were surprised and believing themselves too weak to resist the assault of the enemy, they spiked their guns, set fire to the barracks and abandoned the fortification. Sergeant William Ellis was killed by a cannon ball, which took off both his legs above the knees. The British thereupon demolished the works on the river front, made a passage seven feet wide through the stockades, sailed through the aperture with six light vessels and anchored in the Delaware below Red Bank, leaving the larger ships of war behind. General Howe then determined to make a general sweep of all the American works on the Delaware, and with that end in view concentrated his entire army in the vicinity of Philadelphia. At this time two Rhode Island regiments, belonging to General Varnum's brigade, under Colonel Christopher Greene, garrisoned Fort Mercer, at Red Bank, with four hundred men.

It was very important for the American cause that the Delaware should be defended against the invading fleet. On a low and marshy island, which has since become a part of the mainland of Pennsylvania, at the mouth of the Schuylkill, Fort Mifflin was thrown up for the purpose of covering with batteries the river obstructions. On the opposite New Jersey shore Fort Mercer was built on a high bank, commanding the open stretch of the Delaware above and below. In the river between the two forts, under cover of their guns, ranges of strong frames were sunk as *chevaux-de-frise*, to rake the wooden bottoms of England's ships of war, and blockade the narrow channel. These efforts, great in their day, seem puerile in this age of floating fortresses.

Fort Mifflin was distant from Fort Mercer about one mile and was garrisoned by about four hundred men of the Maryland line, in command of Lieutenant-Colonel Samuel Smith. The American fleet in the river, between Red Bank and Philadelphia, consisted chiefly of galleys commanded by Commander Hazlewood. The Americans determined to hold these posts to the last extremity. Captain Hammond, as stated, had forced a way through the lower channel obstructions and come to within range of the guns at Fort Mercer and Fort Mifflin. Then began one of the most glorious

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stands ever made by patriots fighting for home and country in the last ditch.

County Carl Emil Kirt von Donop, a brave German officer, was sent out from Philadelphia with four battalions of Hessian veterans, chosen from the powerful army of occupation. On Tuesday, October 21, 1777, they crossed the Delaware at Cooper's Ferry, now Camden, marched to Haddonfield, and thence by way of a place then known as Cattletown, to the King's Highway, above Woodbury and toward Red Bank. They had intended taking a more direct route, but the Americans had destroyed the bridge over Timber Creek, and the Hessians were obliged to march four miles up the creek to a shallow ford, at or near Clement's Bridge.

Colonel Greene, energetic, obedient and patriotic, had not been idle during those October days. Washington had written him, under date of Oct. 9th, from his headquarters at Skippack, above Philadelphia, as follows:

I have directed General Varnum to send your regiment and that of Colonel Angell's to Red Bank, by a route which has been marked out to him. The command of that detachment will, of course, devolve on you, with which you will proceed with all expedition, and throw yourself into that place. When you arrive there you will immediately communicate your arrival to Colonel Smith, commander of the garrison at Fort Mifflin, and Com. Hazlewood, commander of the fleet in the river. You are to co-operate with them in every measure necessary for the defence of the obstructions in the river, and to counteract every attempt the enemy may make for their removal. You will find a very good fortification at Red Bank, but if anything should be requisite to render it stronger, or proportion it to the size of your garrison, you will have it done. The cannon you will stand in need of, as much as can be spared, will be furnished from the galleys at Fort Mifflin, from whence you will also derive supplies of military stores. I have sent Captain Duplessis, with some officers and men, to take the immediate direction of the artillery for your garrison. He is also to superintend any works that may be necessary. If there be any deficiency of men for the artillery the security of the garrison will require you to assist them in the few additional ones from your detachment. You should not lose a moment's time in getting to the place of your destination and making every preparation for its defence. Any delay might give the enemy an opportunity of getting there before you, which could not fail of being most fatal in its consequences. If, in the progress of your march, you should fall in with any detachment of

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the enemy, bending toward the same object, and likely to gain it before you, and from intelligence you should have reason to think yourself equal to the task, you will by all means attack them and endeavor by that means to disappoint their design. I have written to General Newcomb, of the Jersey militia, to give you all the aid in his power, for which you will accordingly apply when necessary. Upon the whole, sir, you will be pleased to remember that the post with which you are now entrusted is of the utmost importance to America, and demands every exertion of which you are capable for its security and defence. The whole defence of the Delaware absolutely depends upon it; and consequently all the enemy's hopes of keeping Philadelphia and finally succeeding in the object of the present campaign. Influenced by these considerations, I doubt not your regard to the service and your own reputation will prompt you to every possible effort to accomplish the important end of your trust, and frustrate the intentions of the enemy.

The fact that Colonel Greene was entrusted with the command of a post that was of "the utmost importance to America," and upon which the whole defence of the Delaware absolutely depended, in the estimation of Washington, is a tribute to the honor, the valor and the judgment of Colonel Greene, no less appreciable than the gift of a sword by Congress.³

Not having men to properly man the fort, Colonel Greene proposed to abandon about two-thirds, or the upper end of it; put a double board fence across the lower third; protect it with wooden pickets and the sharpened branches of trees; place the cannon in such a position as to rake the upper part of the fort; cover them with bushes; fill the space between the two fences with hay, old lumber and such other obstructions as were at hand. The cannon were heavily loaded with grape shot and other destructive missiles. It was arranged that only a show of defence should be made at the upper end of the fort, which was to be abandoned as soon as the attack was found to be in earnest, and a retreat made to the small enclosure or main fort below. This was to be defended to the last extremity.

The little garrison was not expecting a formidable land attack,

³Christopher Greene was a brave and accomplished soldier. When the battles at Lexington and Concord awakened the colonies, he joined the army. After the battle of Bunker Hill he was appointed colonel of a Rhode Island regiment, and in that capacity accompanied Arnold through the Wilderness to Quebec, and fought bravely under the walls of that city, when beleaguered by Montgomery. Lieutenant-Colonel Greene was forty-four years old at the time of his death in 1781.

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and their sentry lines did not extend far beyond the fortification. They must be in readiness for any movement made by that fleet of war vessels in the river, whose spars could be seen above the ramparts of the fort. Late in the afternoon, the Hessians appeared before the fort. The British naval force in the river was ready to co-operate with them in the attack.

Colonel Greene was not dismayed by the appearance of the Hessians, although the farthest sentry had dashed into the fort and said they numbered twenty-five hundred. He immediately ordered preparations for the defence. The fourteen guns were double-shotted and reprimed. Within there was the roll of drums calling to quarters, the rattle of snapping flints, the hurrying footfalls of men forming a line along the parapets, the shouting of orders, the clash of steel and the tattoo of ramrods. Without there was the roll of Hessian drums. Then came a time of silence, when the men, we may suppose, said their prayers and examined their flints.

The last preparations were made within, when a Hessian officer rode out from the woods, across the open field, bearing a flag of truce and followed by a drummer. He halted close to the ramparts and shouted:

The king of England orders his rebellious subjects to lay down their arms, and they are warned that if they stand the battle no quarter will be given.

Colonel Greene deputed a man to mount the parapet and fling back the answer: "We ask no quarter, nor will we give any."

One trustworthy account says the exact words were: "We'll see King George be damned first; we ask no quarter."

The Hessian officer rode back to lines and the attack began immediately.

A field battery was dragged up and placed "half a shot away," says an old chronicler, "and within the fort all were eager and busy." It was then four o'clock in the afternoon. The Hessians opened fire with their battery, hoping to make a breach in the walls. At the same time the British ships below the *chevaux-de-frise* began to thunder upon the little fort, but many of their balls fell too low and entered the bluff beneath the works. After cannonading for a short time, the Hessians advanced to the first entrenchment. Finding this abandoned, they shouted "Victory," waved their hats and

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rushed into the deserted area before the redoubt. When the first of the assailants had come up to the abatis and were endeavoring to cut away the branches, the Americans opened a terrific fire of cannon and musketry in front and flank. Death rode in every volley. So near were the Hessians to the caponiere or looped trench which flanked the enemy when they set upon the man fort, that the wads were blown entirely through their bodies. The officers leading the attack fought bravely. Again and again they rallied their men and brought them to the charge, but they fell in heaps among the boughs of the abatis and into the moat. In the thickest of the fight Donop was easily distinguished, but his example availed nothing. Repulsed from the redoubt in front, his men made an attack upon the escarpment on the northwest or river side, but the fire from the American galleys drove them back with great loss, and at last they flew in great disorder to the woods, leaving many slain.

Another column made a simultaneous attack upon the south, but was repulsed, and all retreated save twenty, who were standing on the berm against the shelvings of the parapet, under and out of the way of the guns, whence they were afraid to move. They were captured by Manduit, the French engineer,⁴ who had sallied from the fort to repair some palisades. This brave Frenchman, making another sortie a few minutes afterwards, to repair the southern abatis, heard a voice from among the heaps of dead and dying exclaim in broken English: "Whoever you are, draw me hence." This was Count Donop. The Frenchman caused him to be carried into the fort where it was found that his hip was broken, but the wound was not considered fatal. Remembering the threat of the Hessian officer, who was permitted to approach the fort before the battle, an American said, in the hearing of Donop:

"It is determined to give no quarter." "I am in your hands," said the Count, "you may revenge yourselves." Nevertheless, the wounded Hessian was properly cared for. Manduit, enjoining the men in broken English to be generous toward their bleeding and humbled prisoner, Donop said to him, "You appear to be a foreigner, sir; who are you?" "A French officer, sir," was the reply. "I am content," said Donop; "I die in the hands of honor itself."

Donop was removed first to the Whitall house, below the fort, and afterwards to the house of one Lowe, over the dam, at Woodbury Creek, where he died of his wounds three days later. When

⁴His full name was Captain M. du Plessis Manduit.

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told that his end was near, he said: "It is finishing a noble career early, but I die the victim of ambition and the avarice of my sovereign." To Colonel Clymer he said: "See in me the vanity of all human pride. I have shone in all the courts of Europe, and now I am dying on the banks of the Delaware, in the house of an obscure Quaker."

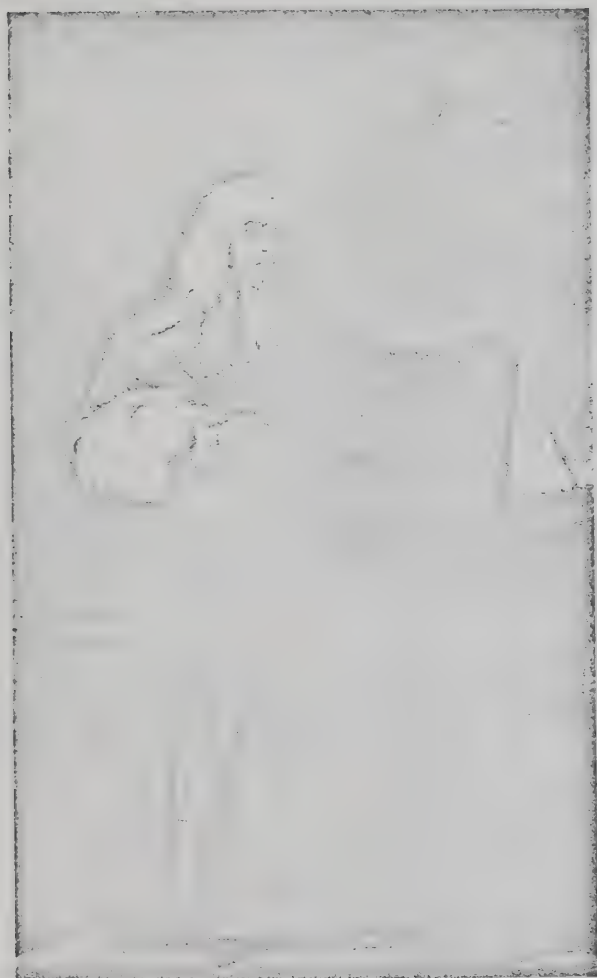
The house in which Donop died was standing until about 1860. It was of brick with the old style hip roof.

The defeat of the Hessians and the death, not only of Donop, but of Mingerode, the officer second in command, demoralized them, and they retreated towards Cooper's Ferry in detached bodies, begging food and shelter of those whom they had so badly treated. The transportation of the wounded caused much trouble, and as one detachment approached Haddonfield, a farmer living near the road was, with his horse and cart, pressed into service to carry those who were unable to walk further. The appearance of armed men so terrified the farmer that he neglected to fasten down the front of his cart, and in ascending a hill near the village the weight of the men was thrown on the rear of the cart. Consequently all were pitched headlong into the road, at which there was much swearing in German by the soldiers and protestations in English by the farmer, but after many threats the vehicle was properly secured and the journey to Cooper's Ferry was completed. At the beginning of their retreat this detachment was considerably galled by the American galleys and floating batteries in the river.

Other detachments of Hessians retreated by way of Blackwood or Chew's Landing. Near the latter place they were met by a company of farmers' boys, who held them at bay for some time. This detachment had with them a brass cannon, which they are said to have thrown into the creek near Chew's Landing.

The battle lasted forty minutes, and during its progress at least one American was killed by the bursting of a cannon. The slain Hessians, numbering 87, were buried in the moat south of the fort. Those who were not mortally wounded were taken to Philadelphia by Manduit and exchanged. A number of the 201 wounded Hessians subsequently died. Including these, the killed Hessians numbered not less than one hundred and fifty. It is also said that there were taken over the Delaware "not less than two hundred wounded." The American loss was 14 killed and 22 wounded.

Donop was buried in the pathway half way between the old



LORD CAMDEN

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Whitall house and the lower end of the fort, his feet towards the river. Some one placed a rough stone at his head, on which were picked in a very crude way, the letters, "Here lies buried Count Donop." Years afterward what was left of the Hessian was dug up and distributed among various persons as ghastly relics. Time was when men were guilty of exhibiting canes, the heads of which were set with teeth taken from the jaw bone of a count! Annalist John F. Watson, of Philadelphia, said he visited Red Bank in 1847, and at the home of Louis Whitall, grandson of Friend Job Whitall, he saw the skull of Count Donop.

While the Hessians were assaulting Fort Mercer, the British fleet in the river, besides firing in the direction of Red Bank, made an attack upon Fort Mifflin, across the river, into which Washington had thrown a garrison which made a defence not less heroic than that of their comrades at Red Bank. It was one of the most valorous fights of the whole Revolution. Day after day during more than a week the little garrison was exposed to a terrific cannonade from the batteries which the British had set up on Province Island, and from the British fleet in the river. Colonel Smith, of Maryland, their commander, who afterwards received from Congress a medal, was shot down; Major Fleury, an equally brave French engineer, was wounded and few of the other officers escaped the galling fire. Indeed, more than a thousand cannon balls fell upon the fort. It was not until the works had been battered down, the guns dismounted and the fort filled with the dead and dying that the gallant Major Thayer, of Rhode Island, who had assumed command, admitted that defence was hopeless and made his preparations for retreat. Even then, with only a handful of men left, by direction of Colonel Smith, he refused to surrender. He ordered that all the stores which could be carried off should be gathered together, that the wounded should be cared for, and that all hands should take to the boats for the Jersey shore amidst the fire of the enemy. When the battle had begun there were three hundred men in the fort; when it was evacuated there were only fifty that had not been slain or wounded!

Colonel Greene was ordered to evacuate Fort Mercer, as the British fleet, after the reduction of Fort Mifflin, had gone by and up to Philadelphia. Accordingly, he blew up and evacuated the fort on November 20th.

A PARTIAL VIEW OF SOUTH JERSEY HISTORY

As a recognition of his valorous defence of Fort Mercer, Congress directed that a sword be presented to Colonel Greene, but this sword it was not his privilege to receive. It was given to his son after the close of the war, the Colonel himself being then dead. While stationed with his regiment near Croton River, New York, he was surprised about sunrise, on May 13, 1781, by a company of Tories, consisting of about one hundred cavalry and two hundred infantry, commanded by the notorious Colonel James Delancey. They first attacked Colonel Greene's and Major Flagg's quarters, and killed the Major while in bed. Colonel Greene fell after his single arm had slain a number of his assailants. Being badly wounded while in the house, he was carried into the woods and barbarously murdered. Two subalterns and twenty-seven privates were also killed, and a lieutenant and surgeon, with about twenty men, taken prisoners.

Along the eastern shore of the Delaware, across from League Island, where modern battleships gleam white in their might, and opposite the ramparts of old Fort Mifflin, among the trees and beneath the undergrowth, we can trace a rounded ridge, a tangle-hidden ditch and a few hillocks—all that is left of the old fort at Red Bank.

In 1872, the Government purchased a tract of about one hundred acres along the Delaware, at Red Bank, including the site of the fortifications, and the old Whitall house, whose floors are still stained with the blood of wounded Hessians and Patriots, and while the house has undergone a thorough renovation, the monument was ignored, neglected and forgotten.⁵

This shaft, whose inscription is half obliterated, looms up gray in the woodland gap. It was signalized exactly fifty years after the battle, by a sham fight between the Pennsylvania troops, commanded by Colonel Bartle, representing the Hessians, and the New Jersey militia, commanded by Colonel Armstrong, representing the Americans. A short distance from the monument stands an ancient farm house, built in 1748, according to a stone set

⁵The New Jersey Society of the Sons of the Revolution unveiled memorial tablets on a shaft at Red Bank on October 22, 1909—exactly one hundred and thirty-two years after the battle. The unveiling took place in the presence of about five hundred people. General Alfred H. Woodhull, of Princeton, presided, and aged John Whitall, a direct descendant of the old Whitall family, released the four flags covering the tablets. Alfred M. Heston, of Atlantic City, made the historic address, reviewing the battle and reciting historical facts in connection with the memorable event.

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in the eastern gable, and around it cluster stories of a dauntless Quaker dame, Ann Whitall, who is said to have sat at her spinning wheel while cannon balls crashed around and through the house. This incident, stated by Mickle, in his "Reminiscence of Old Gloucester," and repeated by Lossing, in his "Field Book of the Revolution," is of doubtful authenticity.

The massacre at Tuckerton, one year after the battle of Red Bank, was one of a number of brutal night attacks by the enemy during the Revolution. Following the attack upon Chestnut Neck, of which an account is given in the "History of Atlantic County," Captain Ferguson was notified of the contiguity of salt works. The barges were accordingly steered to the landing place of Eli Mathis, at the mouth of Bass River. Here the troops again disembarked and destroyed Mathis' dwelling house, farm buildings and their contents, salt works, a saw mill, and twelve houses in the neighborhood.

On the following day, Wednesday, October 7, 1778, the troops returned to the harbor, where they found the "Zebra" and "Vigilant" aground on the bar. Both vessels were floated the following morning.

On the evening of October 8th, Pulaski and his Legion entered the village of Tuckerton, and proceeding down the Island road, encamped on the farm of James Willets. The command consisted of three companies of light infantry, a detachment of light artillery, equipped with a single brass field piece, and three troops of light horse. From the Willet's farm house Pulaski had a good view of the harbor, and the English fleet at anchor. Farther down the road and nearer the lowlands was a picket post of about fifty infantrymen, commanded by Lieutenant-Colonel the Baron de Bosen.

Lieutenant Gustav Juliet, of the Legion, organized a fishing party on the 13th and, while in the bay, having reduced three of the number to a state of helpless intoxication, and having compelled two others to submit to the disgraceful proceedings, the signal was given and they were taken on board the British fleet as deserters from the Americans. Juliet gave Ferguson a complete account of the strength and position of Pulaski's force. He also falsely told the British captain that Pulaski had directed that no quarter be given any of the British if taken in battle. It should be stated that a year before this, Juliet, then a member of the hired Hessian

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army, had deserted to the Americans. Lieutenant-Colonel the Baron de Bosen, second in command of Pulaski's Legion, did not admire a man who would desert his colors, and plainly showed it in his treatment of Juliet. The latter, therefore, sought the first opportunity for revenge. On board the "Zebra" and "Vigilant" a diabolical scheme was planned. Before midnight of October 14th, Captain Ferguson, accompanied by the renegade Juliet, left the fleet with 250 British Regulars and Jersey Loyalists, beside a number of marines. They purposed surprising Pulaski's picket guard of fifty men commanded by Baron de Bosen. The British rowed over ten miles in galleys to Osborn's Island, and landed between three and four o'clock in the morning of Thursday, October 15th. Captain Ferguson sent a party to guard the inmates of the home of Richard Osborn, Jr., and to compel some male member of that family to guide them to the picket post of the Americans on the mainland. Osborn's son Thomas was threatened with a drawn sword and thus compelled to serve as guide.

Marching across the island, they came to a bridge over Big Creek. Ferguson left fifty men to guard this point and secure his retreat. Then silently proceeding about a mile over a rough corduroy road, they came to the upland, where they found a single sentinel, whom they captured before he could discharge his firelock. This soldier being secured, and some accounts say he was killed, the entire command of Ferguson made a rush for the three houses containing the picket guard. Thomas Osborn, the unwilling guide, had meanwhile concealed himself in the meadow grass, and from his hiding place he heard the cries of the Legion as they were being massacred. Awakened by the shouts of the British, they seized their weapons and prepared to make a defence. Lieutenant-Colonel de Bosen led his men in their desperate effort to break the British cordon, and with sword and pistol he fought valiantly. Juliet spied him in the darkness and called out: "This is the Colonel; kill him." Instantly his body was pierced by many bayonets. The men cried for quarter, but as at Old Tappan and Paoli, their appeals were unheeded. About forty men, including de Bosen and Lieutenant de la Borderie, were overpowered and butchered. Five men only were taken prisoners, and very few escaped. Ferguson afterwards reported that they were "almost entirely cut to pieces."

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He also destroyed the houses which belonged to peaceful Quaker settlers.

The first discharge of fire-arms was heard at Pulaski's headquarters, more than a mile distant and he was instantly in the saddle. While his command was "mounting in hot haste," he dashed down the road to aid de Bosen and drive off the enemy. But he was too late. The British, after their cruel deed, made a hasty retreat to the bridge and thence to the landing place. In their retreat, they removed the planking on the bridge, and thus halted Pulaski in his pursuit.

The guide, Thomas Osborn, came out of his hiding place when he saw the American troops, and told Pulaski of his compulsory service. The excited soldiers would not believe him and tied him to a tree, where they flogged him so unmercifully that his life was only spared by the interference of the officers. That day they sent over to the island for the father. Both prisoners were taken to Trenton and lodged in jail for two weeks, being released when it was found that no treason could be proven against them.

The British loss in this affair was two Regulars killed and two wounded; Ensign John Camp, a Tory volunteer, stabbed in the thigh, and another Tory wounded. As they were crossing the island, a Tory told them that Colonel Thomas Proctor, with a detachment of artillery, armed with two brass twelve-pounders and one three-pounder, had come from The Forks of the Mullica, and was then only about two miles in the rear. Having no artillery to oppose this pursuing force, Captain Ferguson concluded that it would not be safe to risk another encounter with men made desperate by the thought of the butchery of their comrades. In the middle of the afternoon of October 16th, the British soldiers were safely aboard the fleet, which immediately weighed anchor. As the flagship "Zebra" was passing over the bar, she again grounded. After trying in vain to get her off, the captain transferred the troops to the "Vigilant" and "Nautilus," and with great reluctance ordered the "Zebra" to be fired. For many years after the Revolution, fragments of this wreck could be seen in the vicinity of Chestnut Neck.

Of this affair near Tuckerton, Judge Jones, the Tory historian, says: "They (the British) plundered the inhabitants, burnt their houses, their churches and their barns; ruined their

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farms; stole their cattle, hogs, horses and sheep, and then triumphantly returned to New York." Washington Irving says of it that it was "a marauding expedition worthy of the times of the buccaneers."

ANECDOTES OF A POINT BREEZE CELEBRITY

"Great Scott" and "Don't shoot; I'll come down" are familiar sayings whose origin may be traced to a single incident in the life of a man once well known in New England as a bear hunter, later as a crack shot in the army, and finally as a hero in the North Woods of New York,—a man whose company was sought by Joseph Bonaparte on at least one occasion while on a hunting trip near Lake Bonaparte. The incident happened in 1830.

In June of that year Bonaparte, then at "Point Breeze," Bordentown, was joined by two friends from Philadelphia. They traveled by stage to New Brunswick and thence by private conveyance to Long Branch, where they passed a few days, stopping at the well-known McKnight's Hotel.¹

¹At the outbreak of the Revolution this property was confiscated by the State, on account of the Tory proclivities of the owner, Ebenezer Wardell. One account says it was the summer residence of a British officer, Colonel White, living in New York. After the war, in 1788, Elliston Perot, a well-to-do Frenchman, living in Philadelphia, persuaded the woman in charge to allow him to occupy the house with his family, during the summer, on the condition that he provide the bedding and other housekeeping accessories. This suggested to a Mr. McKnight the idea of purchasing the property and converting it into a public resort. Accordingly, at the close of the summer, he borrowed \$2,000 and made additions to the building. He opened it as a hotel or boarding house the following year and eventually cleared \$40,000 on his \$2,000 investment, in addition to his summer profits. For years it was the resort of Philadelphians who desired a change from the routine life at Cape May or Tucker's Beach, the only other coast resorts at that time. In 1820 McKnight's Hotel was purchased by William Renshaw, whose widow was in charge at the time of Bonaparte's visit in 1830. Life at the seashore, even at Long Branch, was very simple in comparison with the summer outings of today. Great dishes of boiled hard-shell crabs and lobsters were on every table; with beef, mutton and vegetables from New Jersey farms and rich cream and milk from home dairies. The real joy was in the evening, since after supper every one went to the beach and stayed there until ten or eleven o'clock—unless a couple of fiddlers enticed the young people to a dance at McKnight's or the "low down" Fish House, as Commodore Stockton once called the other boarding place. Next to Cape May, Long Branch was then the leading resort on the coast. It had no shelving beach like that of Cape May, yet every one bathed—some daily and others two or three times a week. A unique regulation was in vogue at that time. A white flag signified "ladies hour," when no man, except a husband, could venture on the beach. When the red flag was up it signified "men's hour" and then the men crowded the surf. There was no pretence to bathing suits—not even trunks. The hotels were so far back on the bluff that bathers were concealed from the view of those on the verandas. The flag hoisting was in vogue at the time of Bonaparte's visit in 1830, and indeed as early as 1819, for it is mentioned in Niles' Naval Register of that year, the writer adding: "A wag lately hoisted both flags at the same time, which created some awful squinting and no little confusion."

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Leaving Long Branch, Bonaparte and his friends went by stage to a point on the Shrewsbury near the present borough of Seabright, where they took passage on a little steamer for New York. They remained in that city a few days before taking a boat up the Hudson, their destination being Diana, New York, the settlement of which was begun that year on lands belonging to the exiled King.²

Although it was late in June and the weather was warm, there was no indication of an exodus to seashore or mountain. People stayed in the city the year round, save perhaps a few weeks of whirl and excitement in an over-crowded summer hotel at Cape May or Tucker's Beach, or a fortnight at Long Branch or Saratoga, during the racing season.

Spring, summer and winter resorts like Atlantic City and Lakewood were then unknown. The summer amusements at Saratoga consisted principally of horse racing, with promenading by day and dancing in stuffy ball rooms at night. Horse racing at Long Branch began after the War of 1812, and at the time of Bonaparte's visit some of the best trotters in the country were owned by Jerseymen: notably, "Black Maria," by John C. Stevens, of Hoboken; "Shark," by Richard F. Stockton, of Princeton; and "Henry Archy," by Samuel and Joseph Laird, of Monmouth County.

Even now (1924) an attempt is being made to revive horse racing in New Jersey. Opposition, however, is coming from various quarters and there is little prospect of such a measure being enacted into law. Horse racing was banished from New Jersey in 1894 because it had fallen into disrepute. The demand for repressive legislation began soon after the new course at Long Branch was opened on July 4, 1890. On the old Monmouth Park track, before that time, "Iroquois," "Hanover," "Eole," "Miss Woodford," "Parole," "Hindoo," "Spendthrift," "Kingston," "Wanda," "Salvator," "Jayisee," and other thoroughbreds made what the racing fraternity called "horse history."

The new tracks were spacious, having one circuit of a mile and three-quarters and another of a mile and three-eighths, with a

²When Bonaparte landed in New York, in August, 1815, he stopped at the City Hotel, the principal tavern in the metropolis at that time, the floors of which were without carpets and the beds without curtains. There was neither glass nor mug nor cup, though choice rooms were provided with a white basin, a pitcher and a crash towel, for which an extra price was charged. These were conditions incident to the long-ago, before the modern hotel keeper was born and before city denizens had come to realize the delight of simple life in the country or the joy of summer days beside the sea at a well-appointed hotel in New Jersey.

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grand-stand seven hundred feet long and a paddock fitted with ninety-six box stalls. It was the most modern racing park in America, as its predecessor was the oldest in New Jersey.³

In the construction of this new track, however, the sportsmen did not reckon with the growing sentiment against horse racing, particularly as it was practiced at the "mushroom" tracks, where the racing was open to severe criticism. Legitimate horse racing was ruined by abuses at Gloucester and other places. During the meets at these tracks, the neighboring towns were infested with hangers-on, touts, gamblers, and loafers. They were the parasites of a sordid industry. Indignation swelled into a tempest of denunciation, followed by a campaign led by the fearless Rev. Dr. Kempshell, of Elizabeth. The result was that in 1894 race tracks were legislated out of existence.

The Albany boat, on which Bonaparte and his friends were to take passage, left New York twice a week, and early in July, following his trip to Long Branch, while waiting for the "Lady Clinton" to start on her midweek trip, he left his hotel in company with his two Philadelphia friends, to go aboard the boat and engage state rooms.⁴

³Three miles due west, near Tinton Falls, was the home of New Jersey's first and foremost "jockey." He was none other than the distinguished Lewis Morris. Here he had his iron works and manor house in circa 1700. Morris was successfully chief justice and colonial governor. In early life he was inclined to be gay. In a sense, he followed the races. Indeed, he was the object of a presentment by the Monmouth County grand jury "for running of races and playing of nyne-pins on the Sabbath day."

⁴On a previous occasion, in 1825 or 1826, Bonaparte made the trip by boat to Albany and thence by stage to Saratoga. On this occasion he also went aboard the boat to engage his state-room, accompanied by his secretary, Eloi Mailliard, and a gentleman whose name is unknown at this late day. Among the "booked" passengers were two other Frenchmen, one of whom was Monsieur Trusson, who had formerly lived in Philadelphia and was the husband of Stephen Girard's niece and adopted daughter. Having paid their passage, the five Frenchmen were conversing near the captain's office. They soon attracted the attention of an old man, accompanied by two children, one a boy of twelve and the other a girl of nearly the same age.

This stranger ventured to inquire of the others if they had seen a "little French madame" on the boat, explaining that he had lost her the previous evening and had come aboard, hoping to find her, as she had proposed going up the river with the children. He said his name was Charles Vondre and before coming to America he had been a grenadier under Napoleon.

Bonaparte asked how long he had been in America. The old man said he had recently come from Bordeaux, having heard that King Joseph, who lived near Philadelphia, possessed a vast domain in the United States and gave farms to old soldiers of the emperor.

"I am going to the King's home at Bordentown," said he, "and will ask him for a farm."

Bonaparte remarked that he was old, that most of the King's land was thickly wooded, and it would be very hard for him, at his age, to make a clearing. The old man explained that after Napoleon's exile he had earned his living by sawing planks and he was accustomed to living in the woods. He added that he had accompanied



Joseph, C. Schwillig.

After a painting by J. Gaubaud

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The "Lady Clinton" was a huge safety barge, without means of propulsion. When the Supreme Court of New York destroyed the monopoly of steam navigation on the Hudson and in New York Bay, pursuant to a suit brought by Aaron Ogden, of New Jersey, there was sharp competition and a reduction in the rates of fare. The Fulton company met this competition by placing a safety barge on the Hudson. This barge was a vessel of two hundred tons, with neither sails nor steam, and was used exclusively for passengers. It was towed by the "Commerce," one of the regular Hudson River steamers. The dining room of the "Lady Clinton" was ninety feet long, besides which there was a deck cabin for ladies, state rooms, a reading room and a promenade deck about one hundred feet long. The trip to Albany was made twice a week in sixteen hours. Her companion barge was the "Lady Van Rensselaer."

Reaching Diana by stage from Albany via Carthage, Bonaparte proceeded to Lake Bonaparte, ten miles distant. On one of the hills overlooking the lake, he built a hunting lodge, containing four rooms, in one of which he kept an assortment of guns and gunning outfits.⁵

Napoleon to Elba as one of the seven hundred picked soldiers on the "Undaunted." The following year he had returned with the emperor on the brig "Inconstant." The enemies of Napoleon had stolen most of his uniform and he had also been deprived of his pension from the Legion of Honor. To save his copper eagle and various other ornaments, including a decoration won at Wagram, he had been obliged to bury them near his old home in France. Removing his hat, he revealed his cross, his eagle, his certificate of service and a diploma of the Legion of Honor.

Bonaparte was much affected by the old man's story, and after asking many questions, informed him that he would not find King Joseph at Bordentown.

"The Count de Survilliers, whom you call the King, is away on a visit and will not return to Bordentown for weeks," said he.

The old man seemed distressed and said he was reduced to his last dollar. The King's heart was touched and he whispered to Mailliard to give the old man \$20. In handing him the money Mailliard revealed to Vondre that his friend was none other than King Joseph himself. Instantly the old man was on his knees, muttering thanks and kissing the hand of his benefactor. At that moment the children approached, and Vondre, rising with much dignity, cried out: "Be silent! It is the King!"

The boat was to leave next day and before returning to his hotel for the night, Bonaparte directed his secretary to make further inquiries and see that the old soldier did not suffer in the future for any of the necessities of life. Mailliard kept in touch with the man and learned that he died three years later. In his last delirium, said Mailliard, he cried out: "Long live the emperor! Forward grenadiers! The Old Guard dies, but never surrenders! Wagram! Austerlitz!"

One one occasion, a year or more before his death, Mailliard averred, the old man saw a company of New Jersey soldiers marching through Bordentown and said that with 2,000 such men he could march on Paris, dethrone Louis Phillipe and place young Napoleon on the throne of France.

⁵This building was burned many years ago and his house at Natural Bridge was torn down about the time of the Civil War. A hotel was built on or near the site of the "White House" in 1903. Bonaparte lived in this house or at his lodge near the lake during two or three summers, leaving Bordentown late in June. He also passed at least a portion of one winter in the wilderness. When he arrived from New Jersey he

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It was in the vicinity of his hunting lodge that Bonaparte met Captain Martin Scott, and it was here, also, in 1830, that Scott had his famous interviews with the coon that came down from the tree-top so willingly. This incident has been ascribed to the noted David Crockett, of Tennessee and Texas, but the true hero was Martin Scott, and the incident occurred in the North Woods near Lake Bonaparte. The story was first published in one of the Utica newspapers about 1835, and it reappeared in the "New York Sun" about 1880. The coon has been famous for almost a century, but the man who made the coon come down is forgotten.

The true story, as gleaned by the writer some years ago, is as follows:

Captain Scott was hunting with a party of friends, who became separated. One of the party came upon a raccoon sitting in one of the highest branches of a very tall tree. He fired at him and missed. One by one the rest of the party came up and tried a hand, each missing the coon, who grew saucier as the firing continued. At length Captain Scott arrived, and was in the act of pulling the trigger, when the coon looked slyly around the limb and said: "Who are you?" "I am Scott." "What Scott?" "Captain Scott." "Captain Martin Scott?" "The same." "Great Scott!" said the coon, unlimbering himself, "Don't shoot; I'll come down."

Martin Scott was a native of Bennington, Vermont, and distinguished himself as a hunter when only twelve years of age, when a bear made its appearance in the neighborhood and caused havoc among the cattle and sheep of the farmers. The people organized in squads to capture the bear. Young Scott, knowing his father would not consent to his taking part in the hunt, loaded an old smooth-bore gun, sneaked out of the house before daylight and went in search of the bear. It was nearly night when he came upon the beast, lying apparently asleep. He raised the gun to his shoul-

usually went first to Natural Bridge and remained at the "White House" for a few days. L. D. Week, an old citizen of Harrisville, once recalled to the writer that on his trips from Natural Bridge to the lake, Bonaparte passed a little red school house, and each time he took from his pockets a handful of small coins and scattered them among the children. This same old timer—once a boy at the little red school house—added: "From Natural Bridge to the lake, in the winter season, Bonaparte was drawn by a pair of oxen hitched to a large sled. Every man he met on the road was invited into the sled and taken to the lake, and in this way he managed to have several companions while hunting. The men were paid for the time passed at the lake. He could stand in the door of his log house and see the deer—often a large herd of them—come down to the edge of the lake for water. He was very much afraid of wild animals and probably had the 'natives' as he called them, with him for protection against panthers, bears, wolves, bobcats and lynx."

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der and fired. Fortunately, the load reached the vitals of the beast and killed it instantly. When Scott reached the tavern the hunters were all relating their experience. He announced that he had killed the bear, and agreed to show them where it was. When the men found the bear they constructed a litter on which to carry him into town, and mounted Martin on top of the bear. As they passed his father's house the old man called him down, but unlike the coon the youngster would not come down, and the triumphant crowd told his father he had killed the bear.

From his earliest days Scott was a remarkably fine shot. His fame extended over several counties. One day, while plowing in the field, he was handed a letter. He stopped his horse, opened the paper, and found that it was a commission as ensign in the United States Army. To the day of his death he never knew how he received this commission. He accepted, however, and soon became famous throughout the army as the best shot of his day.

One of the stories of Scott's remarkable shooting is as follows: In the presence of his company an ace of clubs was tacked upon a tree. Captain Scott measured seventy-five yards from the tree and took his position. With a muzzle-loading squirrel rifle he proposed to see how quickly he could load and fire three times. He began and in one minute and twenty seconds had loaded and fired the three shots at the card. This was very quick work, forcing him to take a drop sight and fire instantaneously. Colonel R. D. Marey went to examine the target, and found one hole exactly in the center. He remarked, however, that the other two shots had missed the tree entirely. Captain Scott smiled, called for an axe, dug into the tree and found the three balls imbedded in a single hole. Colonel Marey afterwards said he had seen officers who vouched for having seen Captain Scott take two potatoes, throw them into the air successively and put a pistol ball through both of them as they crossed in the air, one going up and the other coming down. Naturally, this was not the sort of man with whom it was safe to fight a duel and yet he had fought a great many. His first duel was under peculiar circumstances. He was stationed at the military post of Council Bluffs. The army officers were then fond of a social glass and addicted to card playing. They considered a man who abstained entirely as lacking in the proper spirit. Captain Scott never drank a glass of liquor in his life and never played a game of cards, and

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while he was liberal in his intercourse with his brother officers, he was exceedingly parsimonious in his own personal expenses. The officers of the post took umbrage at this, and gradually withdrew from all intercourse with him, until he was put in coventry by all, save two or three of his most intimate associates. He submitted a long time to the insults and slights, and then consulted his three friends, who informed him that one alternative was to throw up his commission. The other was to challenge the first man who insulted him. He promptly announced that he chose the latter. His skill as a marksman and his undoubted nerve protected him for a while, no one caring to provoke an encounter with him. At length, however, an officer from a neighboring post, who was a celebrated shot, and had "downed" his man in some half dozen duels, came to the post. Captain Scott's singular habits soon gave him provocation, and he put a deliberate insult upon the captain. The affair occurred at the mess-table. Captain Scott left the room and immediately sent a challenge. In telling about the duel afterwards Captain Scott said that he went to the ground considerably agitated. It was his first duel, and being utterly opposed to the practice, he had determined to throw away his fire. While the seconds were measuring the ground, and the principals with their friends were grouped near each other, he accidentally heard his antagonist say that he had a very disagreeable job on hand—the shooting of a "damned Yankee." This raised Captain Scott's ire and he determined that instead of throwing his fire away he would put his ball where it would do some good. When the word was given, the men fired together. Captain Scott received a slight flesh wound, and sent a ball whizzing through his opponent's lungs. It is mentioned as a curious fact that this shot saved the man's life. He had consumption before the duel and recovered afterward. It was said that the wound stopped the course of the disease.

After he had been in the West a number of years and had accumulated considerable money, Captain Scott visited his relatives in Vermont. He had left there a poor boy and returned rich and famous. He had two remarkable fine horses and a negro boy named Jack, for whom he had paid five dollars a pound, or a total of \$560, and whom he afterward freed. Scott was seated in a showy gig, followed by Jack in livery as an outrider, mounted on his thoroughbred "Dandy," and twenty or thirty full-blooded dogs of

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various breeds. Shortly afterwards he was called to service in the Mexican War, and was killed while leading his command in the battle of Molino del Rey.

Returning to Bordentown late in August, Bonaparte found awaiting him an invitation from Stephen Girard to be the guest of the latter at his Philadelphia home. Indeed, it may be said that Bonaparte had a standing invitation from Girard to be his guest. Often, on a Saturday, he would drive down from Bordentown and spend Sunday at Girard's house on Water Street. In token of his appreciation of the merchant's hospitality, Bonaparte presented to him a handsome writing cabinet and a mechanical organ, both of which are now preserved in the famous Girard College, Philadelphia.⁶

Among the visitors at both of the Point Breeze mansions, beside Girard, were Bonaparte's physician, Dr. Nathaniel Chapman, William Short, who had served as minister to France, Charles J. Ingersoll, Peter S. Duponceau, General Thomas Cadwallader, and Judge Joseph Hopkinson, all of Philadelphia. In after years Bonaparte appointed Judge Hopkinson one of the executors of his will, but the King outlived the judge. In his will Bonaparte bequeathed a bronze statuette of Napoleon to Ingersoll; a marble bas-relief of Napoleon to Hopkinson; a bas-relief of Princess Pauline to Short, and a set of Voltaire's works to Chapman.

At an earlier date Point Breeze was visited by Henry Bradshaw Fearon, an Englishman, who traveled by stage in the United States the year after Bonaparte finished his first mansion. Fearon wrote a narrative of his travels, which was printed in London in 1819, and in this narrative he says, under date of October 2, 1817: "In the evening I arrived at Trenton, the capital of New Jersey. General Moreau's stables are still standing in this neighborhood, but his dwelling house was consumed by fire. King Joseph was negotiating for a house in Trenton, in anticipation of his brother Lucien's arrival. The price was to have been \$30,000.

It is probably true that Bonaparte considered Trenton, in his

⁶Girard once advised Bonaparte to sell his European real estate, his pictures and his jewels and invest the proceeds in Philadelphia real estate. "In the course of time," Girard said, "you will make a big fortune out of the rise in the values and I will help you to invest with judgment." But Bonaparte thought that events might compel his return to Europe. "You deceive yourself," replied Girard; "it will be a long time before anything will occur there to your benefit. Lay politics aside. Instead of throwing away money, you should accumulate a fortune in this country."

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selection of a site for his first mansion, but Commodore Stewart prevailed upon him to locate at Bordentown. Referring to this matter some years afterward, Stewart said that Bonaparte was inclined to select another place of residence, but that he (the commodore) urged him to locate at Bordentown. Bonaparte had arranged to meet a citizen of Trenton, with the view of purchasing a home in that city, but he "drew off" when the owner attempted to fix a price in excess of the actual value of the property.

From the time of his settlement in Philadelphia, before the Bordentown purchase in 1816, there had been rumors in South Jersey of Bonaparte's great riches and of the hoards of specie he had deposited in the vault of Girard's bank. Mysterious boxes, securely sealed, were seen by Girard's clerks, and these were said to contain jewels of immense value. People reasoned that a man with so large a retinue of attendants and servants must of necessity be possessed of unlimited means.

Bonaparte built other houses in Bordentown, besides the one occupied by himself and his immediate attendants. Four of these were standing a few years ago, in various stages of decay. Besides the Lake House, once the home of Princess Zenaide and her cousin-husband, Charles Bonaparte, (Prince Canino⁷) there was a dilapidated lodge, called the Wash House, opposite the nearby home of Bonaparte's physician; also the home of Secretary Mailliard, now a part of the Bordentown Military Academy, and the Garden House, on the Trenton Road. The beautiful pines which mark every spot where the exiled King built a house in Bordentown seem to say, as they nod and sway in the passing breeze, "*Sic transit gloria mundi.*"

Besides his two daughters, and his son-in-law, Prince Charles, Bonaparte's family at Bordentown, at one time or another, consisted of Francois La Coste, afterwards the French consul-general in New York, and his beautiful wife and boy; William Thibaud, afterwards manager of the Fesch art gallery in Rome; Mademoiselle

⁷In his journal of travels, John J. Audubon, the American naturalist, says under date of April 15, 1824: "I obtained a room in Philadelphia and commenced work in earnest. Prince Canino engaged me to superintend his drawings intended for publication, but my terms being much dearer than Alexander Wilson's, I was asked to discontinue this work." Under date of June 12, he writes: "Prince Canino often visited me and admired my drawings. He advised me to go to France, but replied coldly to my application for aid to carry out this purpose. The French consul was warmer in his sympathies and kind in his encouraging assurances." On August 2, 1824, he says: "I met Joseph Bonaparte and his two daughters and the Prince Canino in New York."

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Thibaud, who afterwards married Monsieur Hughes, of Paris; Madame Therese Gallet, Alphonse Thibaud, Eloi Mailliard and his wife, their son Adolph, and Bonaparte's ever-faithful valet, Leopold Stocker. La Coste was the brother of a brave and skillful young French general and engineer, who was with Bonaparte in Spain and was killed in the memorable siege of Saragossa.

Three years before Bonaparte's daughter Charlotte was landed in Philadelphia, by Captain Mickle, of Camden, while the ex-King was living quietly in his Point Breeze mansion, it was rumored throughout the country that a Bonaparte invasion of Mexico was contemplated. The matter was brought to the attention of President Monroe, and at his instance John Quincy Adams, Secretary of State, wrote to the government commissioner at Galveston, informing him of a plot to seize Texas, then a part of Mexico, for Joseph Bonaparte.

This plot involved the formation of a camp or place of refuge in Texas for French emigrants—officers, soldiers, and laborers. The officers had been exiled from France on account of the part they had taken in restoring Napoleon to power after his return from Elba. They came to the United States and settled on a tract of land in Alabama, which had been assigned to them on terms almost equivalent to a gift.

Dissatisfied, however, with their situation in Alabama, a part of the company removed to Texas in the winter of 1818, and selected a section on Trinity River, north of Galveston, to which they gave the name of Champ d'Asile, signifying Field of the Asylum or Camp of Refuge. It was to be a rallying place for all exiled Frenchmen and, naturally, the name of Joseph Bonaparte was associated with the scheme by many Americans; but the men who promoted the camp were neither emigrants nor citizens. They were soldiers of fortune—veterans and heroes of Cairo, Joffa, Marengo, Moscow, and Waterloo.

Men of their kind could not become laborers and peaceable farmers. They grouped themselves in cohorts, commanded by superior officers, and such an organization naturally led to warlike manifestations, in which the name of the exiled King was turned to good account. The scheme, however, was not countenanced by Bonaparte, then living quietly near Bordentown. Scarcely had the refugees begun to fortify their post, prescribe regulations and invite other emigrants, when they were informed by the Mexican

A PARTIAL VIEW OF SOUTH JERSEY HISTORY

authorities that they must abandon the settlement or acknowledge the sovereignty of Ferdinand of Spain, whose kingdom had been restored to him after Bonaparte's unhappy reign. Unable to resist the force sent against them, the colony was abandoned and the unfortunate soldiers were driven in poverty from the country.





THE OLD AMERICAN HOUSE AT HADDONFIELD.
 (In this hotel the Continental Congress held many sessions, and
 here "Dolly" Madison once held sway.)



Friends Meeting-house, Haddonfield.



W. H. Gray

William Henry Gray

By G. T. DUTCHER, PORTLAND, OREGON



IN the volume entitled "A History of Oregon, 1792-1849," published in 1870, the name of William H. Gray appears but seldom, except on the title page, for he was the author of that valuable work. Other historians, however, unrestrained as was he by a wholly commendable modesty and regard for the properties of authorship, have given fitting recognition to the importance of the work performed by him and Mrs. Gray in the Oregon territory, and have written his name in the illustrious company with which it belongs, with those of Whitman, McLaughlin, and Spalding. In a life of inspired service, spent in fields that placed personal benefits last on the list of earthly aims, he won a richly deserved fame. Two points of imperial importance stand out in this record,—his association with Dr. Whitman in their desperate and successful effort to hold Oregon for the United States, and his lifelong opposition to the influences of Catholicism, particularly the activity of the Jesuits, in exploiting the Indians and in extending an influence that was proved unwholesome throughout the territory. William Henry Gray and Mrs. Gray represent, in American history, the highest expression of selflessness, the ultimate achievement of minds and hearts bent toward human service.

William Henry Gray, of the sixth American generation of his family, and son of Samuel and Rhoda Gray, (see Gray line) was born in Cayuga County, New York, September 8, 1810, and died in Portland, Oregon, November 14, 1899. He gained a medical education, and as a young man of twenty-six years went to the Oregon country with Dr. Marcus Whitman and Rev. H. H. Spalding, as secular agent of the missions they went to establish among the Indians. Returning to his native New York, he married, in February, 1838, Mary Augusta Dix, (see Dix line), born at Ballston Spa, New York, of New England ancestry as notable as his own.

From this time until Mrs. Gray's death, in 1881, her life and her

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husband's were closely interwoven in Christian service. She was to be not wife alone, but co-laborer in the mission field. Not long before the death of Mrs. Gray, her daughter, Mrs. Kamm, said to her: "Mother, I have often wondered how, with your education and surroundings, the refinements of life you were accustomed to and your personal habits, you could possibly have made up your mind to marry a man to whom you were a total stranger so short a time before and go with him on such a terrible journey thousands of miles from civilization into an unknown wilderness, exposed to countless dangers. Mother, how did you do it?" After a few moments' pause her mother replied with earnestness and solemnity: "Carrie, I dared not refuse. Ever since the day I gave myself to Jesus, it has been my daily prayer, 'Lord what will Thou have me do?' When this question, 'Will you go to Oregon as one of a little band of missionaries to teach the poor Indians of their Savior?' was so suddenly proposed to me, I felt that it was the call of the Lord and I could not do otherwise."

This was the motive that led Mrs. Gray to sever home ties and go with her husband in the work of consecrated Christian service to the Far West. By steamer and stage coach they traveled westward, until they reached Independence, Missouri, where they were joined by the Rev. Cushing Eells and wife, Rev. Alkanah Walker and wife, Mr. and Mrs. A. B. Smith, and Mr. Rogers, who were also to become workers in the missionary fields. They planned to make the journey on horseback—a difficult undertaking as well as an arduous one in that day when the streams and rivers in the West were unbridged and when little more than an obscure trail marked the way to the coast. The Indians were a constant menace and often surrounded their camp, standing around like great dogs and sometimes even following the party all day. They carried with them tents which served as shelter at night, while a buffalo robe and oil cloth blankets constituted their beds. At times their blankets would become heavy with rain and their clothing in the morning would be as damp as when they took it off the night before, and when darkness came upon them they pitched their tents, spread the robes upon the ground within and then the piece of oil cloth. The saddles and loose baggage were arranged neatly about on the walls inside and rolled up blankets served for seats. In the center of the tent a table was spread for the evening meal. At night the cries



Mary A. Dix Gray.

WILLIAM HENRY GRAY

and howling of wild animals could be heard. When day broke, about 3.30 in the morning, all were astir; the animals were turned out to feed, breakfast prepared and eaten, the dishes washed, the repacking done, morning prayers were said, and they were ready for the journey of another day. They had traveled for one hundred and twenty-nine days after leaving Independence, Missouri, when on August 29, 1838, they reached Whitman mission, where they were joyously greeted by Dr. and Mrs. Whitman and the Rev. and Mrs. Spalding, who had been anxiously awaiting them. Mr. and Mrs. Gray became the assistants of Rev. and Mrs. Spalding, who were in charge of the mission at Lapwai. Mrs. Gray earnestly undertook the task of teaching the Indian women and children and soon was introducing a band of fifty or more natives, whom she taught under a pine tree until a log school house could be built. It was a primitive structure, with puncheon seats and earth floor. There Mrs. Gray continued her labors, her well trained voice proving a potent factor in her work.

When she first joined in the singing at family prayers, Rev. Spalding realized what a power her voice would be in his Sunday worship and requested her to take charge of that part of the service. The Indians, too, were visibly impressed by her singing and spoke of her as "Christ's sister," and told the tale of her music long afterward. No doubt the awakening powers of her voice, coupled with her rare sweetness of character, had much to do with bringing about the great revival among the Nez Perce Indians. Several hundred made confessions of religion, and the influence was at least in a degree lasting, for years after Mr. Spalding left that field the Indians in many of the lodges continued to read the Bible, to sing hymns, to pray and return thanks at their meals. Word came to the Whitman mission that Oregon was to be ceded to England, and Whitman and Gray determined upon an effort to keep the territory for the United States. Whitman started East and Gray accompanied him a distance of several miles, so that they might formulate a plan uninterrupted and unobserved by spies. They decided that Whitman should go to Washington to attempt to influence the government, while Gray should return to Salem, Oregon, to consult with and determine the sentiment of the pioneer settlers. Each carried on their work according to their secret plans and their efforts are known to have been primarily instrumental in saving Oregon to the United States.

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So, in November, 1840, the Gray family came to the Willamette Valley, Mr. Gray having severed his connection with the missions to accept the appointment of secular agent for the Oregon Institute. The journey to the coast was one of untold hardships, the parents, their son and two daughters, floating down the Columbia to Celilo in a bateau belonging to the Hudson Bay Company. Believing that the trail would be safer than the turbulent waters of the Columbia near the cascades, Mr. Gray arranged that he and his family should proceed on the backs of Indian ponies, but when they were deep in the mountains they encountered a severe snow storm which not only imperilled their lives, but rendered further travel impossible. At the Columbia the red men found a canoe in which they proceeded down the river, and when Dr. McLaughlin heard that a woman and little children were snow-bound in the mountains he at once sent a boat manned by Hudson Bay Company men to their relief; Mrs. Gray's calm faith and belief that all would yet be well served to keep up the courage of the others, and as the relief party were making their way up the Columbia, there came to them upon the wings of the wind the strains of a song that she was singing. Thus they directed their course to where the little party were imprisoned. They returned with the family to the river bank where embarkation was made for Fort Vancouver.

From that time forward the work of Mr. and Mrs. Gray proved a strong force in advancing the religious development of Oregon and also the temperance and educational work. Their home was the center from which radiated social and reform movements. In 1846 they assisted in forming on Clatsop plains the first Presbyterian Church in the Northwest. The strongest influences in life are often the most intangible, and who can measure the work of this noble couple who were never contented with second best but chose those things which are highest and holiest. Every movement or measure for the promotion of truth, justice and righteousness received their support and many such found their impetus in their home. In December, 1869, they returned on a visit to their old home in New York, going from Portland to San Francisco, and thence across the continent by rail, accomplishing in a few days a journey to which they had devoted months when they made their way on horseback to the Pacific Coast thirty-two years before. It has been said of Mrs. Gray that her presence was gentle and dig-



THE GRAVES AT WAILATU

The shaft marks the grave of Mr. and Mrs. W. H. Gray; the slab that of Dr. and Mrs. Marcus Whitman and other victims

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nified. Many there are yet who bear testimony to the nobility of her character. She possessed a pure spirit and a strong soul and was so pacific in her disposition that under the severest tests she remained calm and self-possessed. Her last words were a prayer that her husband, children and friends might join her in the Father's house not made with hands. She passed away at her country home, the Klatskanine Farm, December 8, 1881, when nearly seventy-two years of age, survived by her husband and seven of the nine children born unto her. The high sensitiveness of her nature was tempered by a serenity that had its root in an unwavering faith. She never faltered when she believed that the work before her was that which her Maker intended that she should do. Of a most quiet, refined nature, her life was a restraining power to the spirit of lawlessness which is too often an element in a new community where an organization of society and of government has not been effected. While her words carried weight and influence, the beauty of her own Christian life and spirit constituted a still stronger power for good.

Reference has been made to Mr. Gray's stalwart Protestantism and his uncompromising stand against the influences of Catholicism in the new territory. Bigotry was a thing absolutely foreign to his nature, but when he saw the best good of the country and its people undermined in the interests of a religious system that he considered unworthy of the name, he was roused to immediate and resultful action. His book abounds in authentic instances to prove his points and constitutes a sweeping condemnation of the denomination in the Northwest.

On January 26, 1921, Mrs. Kamm, daughter of Mr. and Mrs. Gray, made a gift of \$10,000 to the endowment fund of Whitman College, at Walla Walla, as a memorial to her father and mother, associates of Dr. and Mrs. Whitman in their consecrated missionary endeavors. In 1919, Mrs. Kamm caused the remains of her father and mother to be moved from their burial place at Astoria to Waylatpu, near Walla Walla, where they now rest by the side of Dr. and Mrs. Whitman.

Issue of William Henry and Mary Augusta (Dix) Gray: 1. John Henry Dix, born March 20, 1839, died October 27, 1902. 2. Caroline Augusta, born October 16, 1840, who married Jacob Kamm, a biography of whom follows. 3. Mary Sophia, born March 12,

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1842, died December 6, 1895. 4. Sarah Fidelia, born November 25, 1843. 5. William Polk, born July 26, 1845. 6. Edwin Hall, born February 14, 1847, died February 16, 1854. 7. Truman Powers, born December 24, 1848, died April 23, 1849. 8. Albert Williams, born June 28, 1850, died July 11, 1914. 9. James Taylor, born August 12, 1852.

Memoirs of Mrs. Jacob Kamm née Caroline A. Gray.

My father, Dr. W. H. Gray, as is historically known, was a member of the Whitman Expedition of 1836, but evidently it is not known that he rode horseback for two days and two nights with Dr. Marcus Whitman when the latter was starting on his famous trip overland to Washington to present the needs and opportunities of the Oregon country to the government of the United States. The fact came to my knowledge many years later when my father was reading to me a letter from Mrs. Victor, who was securing data for Bancroft's "History of Oregon," in which letter Mrs. Victor asked the question: "What do you know or what does anyone else know why Dr. Whitman went to Washington?" Whereupon, having no knowledge of the matter, I inquired: "What do you know, more than anyone else, why Dr. Whitman went to Washington?" At this juncture my mother came into the room and, touching me on the shoulder, said, "Why do you talk that way to your father, he rode two days and two nights with Dr. Whitman when he started on his journey to Washington."

These two days were spent together by my father and Dr. Whitman in order that there might be a thorough understanding between them. On that trip they laid out their program. The part that Dr. Whitman was to carry out at Washington and the part that my father was to carry out in the Oregon country.

Father returned from his two days' ride with Dr. Whitman, set things in order at the Mission and, on November 2, with his family, left for Salem, where he remained for some time in the interest of keeping Oregon for the United States. I read the above statement as to date in mother's diary the day we left the Whitman Mission.

On making the discovery that father had had an important relation to the work of saving Oregon to the United States, I asked, "Why have you not told us that before?" Father only smiled. Then addressing both father and mother, I asked, "Did you put this in your diary?" Mother answered, "No, we did not think it necessary. We had nothing but a latch string for our protection; we were afraid to write anything down."

My father's whole thought was in saving Oregon to the United States. I know of my father's endeavors from the things I have seen and heard since. He evidently came down to Salem to keep Oregon for the United States and to keep Canada from getting it. Just what were his movements at Salem with the Indians, the Missionaries and others, there is no way of knowing. My father had a way of keeping his own counsel.

Father had made a trip East in 1837, going part of the way with the Hudson Bay men, who were collecting pelts. The Hudson Bay people were kind to him, as shown by his diary of that trip. He left his diary in New York State with a man, who died several years later. Subsequently, this man's sister offered the diary to the library of Cornell University. Information that this diary could be obtained came to me through Mrs. James T. Gray, who had received a letter to this effect, and I said to her, "Don't let my name be mentioned but send for the diary, no matter



Gray

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what it costs." The diary was thus secured and is now in the possession of the historical department of Whitman College, at Walla Walla, Washington.

I, the undersigned, Mrs. Jacob Kamn (*nee* Caroline A. Gray), having personal knowledge of the facts set forth in the foregoing statement, hereby certify the same to be a correct statement of the facts therein related.

(Signed) Mrs. JACOB KAMN.

Subscribed and sworn to before
me, this 18th day of May, 1922.

L. F. STEEL (Signed)

Notary Public for Oregon.

My commission expires: Dec. 8, 1924.

[SEAL].

ANCESTRAL HISTORY

(The Gray Line)

Arms—Gules, a lion rampant within a bordure engrailed argent.

Crest—An anchor (sans cable) in pale or.

Supporters—Two lions guardant gules.

Motto—Anchor, fast anchor.

The name Gray is of local origin, that is, following the name of a place in Burgundy, France. The name was originally Croy. A Norman chief named Rolf or Rollo or Raoul invaded France with his Norwegian followers and established himself there in the ninth century. A descendant or a member of the same family became chamberlain to Robert, Duke of Normandy, and received from him the castle and honor of Croy, from which his family assumed the name De Croy, afterwards changed to De Gray, and at last to Gray, without the prefix. The Grays unquestionably came to England with William the Conqueror in 1066, for among the names of those inscribed at Battle Abbey, after the decisive battle of Hastings, as worthy to be remembered for valiant services there rendered, was J. de Gray.

In an old manuscript of arms in the reign of William the Conqueror are the armorial bearings of Paganus de Gray. From the same authority "Gray, Earl of Kent, Chief of ancient and illustrious house of Gray, from whom are descended and branched the Barons of Rotherfield, Codmore, Wilton, Ruthem, Croby and Rugemont, the Viscount of Lisle, the Earl of Stamford, the Marquis of Dorset and the Duke of Suffolk all of that surname derived from the honour of Castle of Gray in Picardy, their patrimony before the conquest." The Grays were closely allied with the royal House of England. Edward IV married Elizabeth Gray, widow of Sir John, who was slain at the second battle of St. Albans, 1461.

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Burke's "Peerage" says: "The family of Gray is of great antiquity. Henry de Gray obtained from King Richard I (1190) the manor of Turoc in Essex. Sir John Gray, Knight of Berwick, 1372, was father of Sir Thomas of Berwick and Chillingham. Sir Edward Gray married the daughter and heiress of Henry, heir-apparent of William of England. They are also allied with the royal line of Tudor."

The Gray family in America is numerous, widespread, and consists of many branches. From 1620-1720 researches made warrant for the estimate that at least twenty different families of Grays had emigrated to this country. As early as 1622 two brothers, John and Thomas Gray, had become proprietors of the island of Nantasket, in Boston Harbor, by purchase from the Indians, and at an early period there were also Grays at Salem, Boston, Plymouth and Yarmouth.

Savage, in his "Genealogical Dictionary," traces the family as follows:

(I) John Gray, of Yarmouth, 1643, married Hannah, perhaps daughter of William Lumpkin. Issue: 1. Benjamin, born 1648. 2. William, born 1650. 3. Probably Mary. 4. Edward, of whom further. 5. John. 6. Gideon.

(II) Edward Gray, of Yarmouth, probably son of John Gray, married (first) a daughter of Jonathan Sparrow. He married (second) July 16, 1684, Meletiah Lewis, daughter of George Lewis, of Barnstable. The records of Harwich show that he had a son Benoni, born 1680, and probably other children by his first wife.

Issue by second wife: 1. Priscilla, born October 8, 1686. 2. Gideon, born September 6, 1688. 3. John, born July 26, 1691. 4. Meletiah, born June 6, 1694. 5. Mercy, born April 13, 1696. 6. Probably Edward, of whom further.

(III) Edward (2) Gray, who married Hannah Godfrey, at Yarmouth, July 3, 1727, was probably the son of Edward (1) Gray, for he appears on the records in 1741 as receiving rights to land originally owned by Edward Gray. He removed with his family from Yarmouth to Southeast, New York, about 1740-45. The exact date of his death is not known, but it was probably previous to 1772, as after that date his son, Edward, is not referred to as Edward, Jr. The record of a deed in 1741 of land to Edward (4) that originally belonged to Edward (3) if not absolute proof of lineage

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of Edward who married Hannah Godfrey, is certainly strong circumstantial evidence.

Issue of Edward and Hannah (Godfrey) Gray: 1. Mary, baptized October 18, 1728. 2. Edward, of whom further. 3. Priscilla, baptized in 1732. 4. Richard, baptized in 1735.

(IV) Edward (3) Gray, son of Edward (2) and Hannah (Godfrey) Gray, was baptized in 1730. He remained at Southeast about twenty years, and then removed with his family to the Berkshire hills in Massachusetts. On April 6, 1770, he is found in Stockbridge, Massachusetts, on the "Minister's Grant." In 1771 he was an innkeeper at Lenox, where he bought a large tract of land, built a grist mill, and became a man of note. On July 6, 1774, he was chosen one of the delegates to the so-called Berkshire Congress. December 26, of the same year, the town of Lenox voted to refund to Edward Gray and others expenses incurred in thus going to the coast on what proved to be a false alarm of war. His patriotism prompted him and his sons, John, Isaiah, and Samuel, to enlist as soldiers in defense of the country. He was chosen captain and served with distinction. In 1784 he was one of the delegates to a convention to locate the court house of Berkshire county. About 1790 he sold his estate in Lenox and followed his children to Vermont. He had, prior to this time (1782), purchased from Cornelius Van Schoack, agent for the New Hampshire Grant Company, one-seventieth of the town of Dorset, Vermont, for "£18 lawful money." He died at Sandgate, Vermont, in 1803.

Edward Gray married, at Southeast, New York, in 1748, Mary Paddock, daughter of David Paddock, who came from Cape Cod with his family of eight children in 1740, and settled at Southeast. (See Paddock V). Mary was born at Cape Cod in 1723, and died at Lenox, Massachusetts, February 28, 1789. She was of Pilgrim stock, united herself with the Congregational church in Lenox, and the names of her children are recorded there.

Issue of Edward (3) and Mary (Paddock) Gray: 1. Daughter, died young. 2. Naomi, born 1749. 3. John, born May 19, 1750. 4. Isaiah, born 1752. 5. Samuel, of whom further. 6. David, born April 9, 1757. 7. Mary, born 1759. 8. Ruth, born April 14, 1762. 9. Mercy, born June 11, 1764. 10. Hannah, born 1766. 11. Abigail, born 1769. 12. Edward, born 1772. 13. Miriam, born October 9, 1774.

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(V) Samuel Gray, son of Edward (3) and Mary (Paddock) Gray, was born in Southeast, Putnam county, New York, in 1754. It is known that he was in Vermont for a time, for his name is found on a deed given by Edward Gray to John Gray, of Dorset, Vermont, witnessed November 3, 1793, by Samuel and Rhoda Gray.

Issue of Samuel and Rhoda Gray: 1. Hannah, born June 29, 1790. 2. Calvin, born August 6, 1793. 3. Samuel, born August 15, 1795. 4. Burr, born July 3, 1797. 5. John, born September 21, 1799. 6. Rhoda, born December 25, 1801. 7. Abigail, born December 25, 1803. 8. Lyman, born February 25, 1805. 9. Lyman (2), born September 16, 1807. 10. William Henry (p. v.). 11. Barber H., born June 3, 1813.

(The Dix Line)

Arms—Azure, three swans' heads and necks erased argent, between two roses in fess or.

The family name of Dix is of the same significance as the name Dicks or Dickens, the final letter, "s" being a contraction of "son," meaning the son of Dick, or of Richard. Dick, the familiar abbreviation of Richard, is thought to be derived from the Dutch word *dyck* or *dijck*, a bank or dyke, mound or ditch of earth, sand or stone reinforced, thrown up to prevent low land in Holland from being inundated by the sea or water. The reason for including the meaning "ditch" in connection with mound is because, in the act of creating a barrier or diking, a ditch is created at the self-same time; but the intention being to create a wall of earth, chief thought is therefore directed to that meaning of the word. Based accordingly on this idea of the significance of the name's derivation, the conclusion cannot be otherwise than that this family, before coming to America, dwelt near a dyke in Holland, in the lowlands as they are called, undoubtedly along the coast. The name is found in the spellings, Dix, Diks, Dikx, Dicks, Dyck, Dyk, Dijek, and Dyke, and some families in this country show that they came originally from such a locality in Holland by employing the prefix "van" or "con," as Van Dyke.

Four distinct branches of the Dix family were started in America in early times. These were the lines instituted by Leonard Dix, of Wethersfield, Connecticut; Anthony Dix, of Plymouth, Massachusetts; Edward Dix, of Watertown, Massachusetts; and the Dix



DIX

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family of Accomac county, Virginia. It is not known that anybody has succeeded in demonstrating the relationship reliably. Undoubtedly they were connected by the generation just previous to any one of them coming to America.

(I) Leonard Dix was born in England, in 1624. His mother, Deborah Dix, a widow, with her three children, Leonard, John and William, moved from Watertown, Massachusetts, to Wethersfield, Connecticut, between 1630 and 1645. He was known to be in Wethersfield, Connecticut, after which he was in Branford, Connecticut, where he received a grant of land; soon afterwards was again at Wethersfield, where he also had grants of very good land and a lot in the village on which he resided from about 1650 until the time of his death. He was a prominent man of that place, constable in 1672, and surveyor of highways in 1684. On his death he left considerable land on the east side of the Great river, "between the Indian Purchase," a horse, two cows, a heifer, swine, agricultural implements, mechanical tools, a "great musket," a long fowling-piece, swords, belts, etc., appraised at £53. He died December 7, 1697, and his will bore date March 24, 1697. He married, in 1645, at Wethersfield, Sarah, who died in 1709.

Issue: 1. Sarah, born 1658, died April 3, 1682; married, February 10, 1680, John Francis. 2. John, of whom further. 3. Mercy, died December 20, 1711; married, in 1687, Moses Goff. 4. William. 5. Hannah, died April 7, 1733; married, November, 1693, John Reynolds. 6. Samuel. 7. Elizabeth.

(II) John Dix, son of Leonard and Sarah Dix, was born at Wethersfield, Connecticut, in 1661, and died November 2, 1711. He was hayward in 1686, and surveyor of highways in 1704. His sons, John and Leonard, were administrators of his estate, and reported on the inventory, January 27, 1712, that it amounted to eighty-three dollars. His wife was named Rebecca, and she died November 17, 1711, aged sixty years.

Issue: 1. John, of whom further. 2. Rebecca, born March 17, 1687. 3. Leonard, born January 27, 1688-89. 4. Elizabeth, born April 3, 1691.

(III) John (2) Dix, son of John (1) and Rebecca Dix, was born at Wethersfield, Connecticut, February 17, 1684-85, and died September 4, 1755. He married, June 9, 1709, Sarah Waddams, daughter of John (2) Waddams; she died August 1, 1741. (See Waddams III).

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Issue: 1. Samuel, of whom further. 2. John, born August 6, 1713. 3. Sarah, born March 30, 1721; married, December 2, 1741, Joseph Smith. 4. Moses, born March 15, 1724, died September 25, 1798; married September 1, 1744, Hannah Dickinson. 5. Benjamin, born May 27, 1729, died September 4, 1755.

(IV) Samuel Dix, son of John (2) and Sarah (Waddams) Dix, was born at Wethersfield, Connecticut, February 28, 1711, and died January 8, 1779. He married, February 7, 1739-40, Mary Williams, daughter of Samuel and Mary (Stebbins) Williams. (See Williams V). She died February 8, 1779.

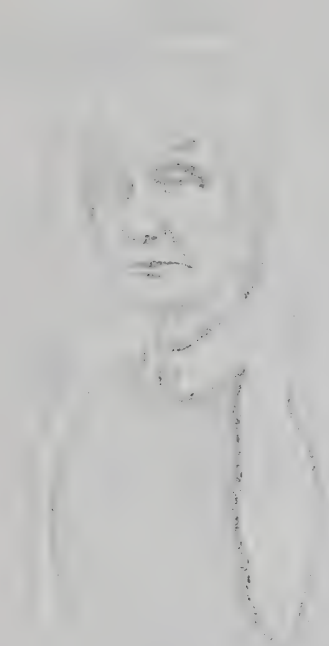
Issue: 1. Elizabeth, born May 16, 1741, died, unmarried, November 22, 1822. 2. Sarah, born August 2, 1742, died April 1, 1794; married Captain Thomas Newson, who died in 1811, aged forty-six years. 3. Leonard, born in 1743. 4. John, born in 1745. 5. Samuel, of whom further. 6. Mary, born in 1750.

(V) Samuel (2) Dix, son of Samuel (1) and Mary (Williams) Dix, was born at Wethersfield, Connecticut, where he was baptized August 2, 1747, and died at that place, September 17, 1778. He married, May 15, 1775, Sarah Palmer. After his death she married, July 26, 1798, Benjamin Roberts, of East Hartford, Connecticut.

Issue: 1. Abigail, baptized February 18, 1776; married Charles Crane. 2. John, of whom further. 3. Mary, baptized May 2, 1779, died November 14, 1860; married, June 27, 1797, Samuel Rhodes.

(VI) John (3) Dix, son of Samuel (2) and Sarah (Palmer) Dix, was born at Wethersfield, Connecticut, March 16, 1777, and died at Springport, New York, April 8, 1841. He removed to Champlain, New York, some time previous to 1805, and there married, October 9, 1806, Sarah Dunning.

Issue: 1. Lucy Matilda, born August 15, 1807, died September 17, 1855; married, January 12, 1832, at Seneca Falls, New York, Philip Church Schuyler. 2. Camilla, born September 27, 1808, died September 7, 1888, unmarried. 3. Mary Augusta, of whom further. 4. Martha, born August 10, 1811, died June, 1881; married, at Ithaca, New York, September 6, 1837, Colvin C. Godly. 5. Fidelia, born April 25, 1813, died January 12, 1838, unmarried. 6. John Dunning, born April 23, 1815, died August 22, 1887; married (first) at Ithaca, New York, April 11, 1839, Catherine Lewis Evertson: (second) at New York City, October 12, 1857, Lorinda Morris Kings-



Sarah Wanning Wey



Stebbins

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ley. 7. James Hedden, born November 20, 1816, died November 29, 1843; unmarried. 8. Elizabeth, born December 24, 1818, died April 1, 1835; unmarried. 9. Sophia, born January 14, 1821, died October 25, 1856; married, at Ithaca, New York, October 1, 1838, James Robbins. 10. Caroline, born May 24, 1824; married, at Ithaca, New York, August 10, 1846, William Parke Pew. 11. Edwin, born September 23, 1826, died September 28, 1828.

(VII) Mary Augusta Dix, daughter of John (3) and Sarah (Dunning) Dix, was born January 2, 1810, and died December 8, 1881. She married, at Ithaca, New York, February 25, 1838, William Henry Gray (q. v.).

(The Stebbins Line)

Stebbins-Stebbing—Arms—Quarterly or and gules on a bend sable five bezants.
Crest—A lion's head erased argent.

Stebbins is a corruption of Stebbing, deriving from *stub*, a stump, and *ing* a field or meadow. It was first applied to a parish of Stubing or Stibing. The first mention of the name is found in the Domesday Book (1080-1086) applied to a villa of Stibing, when this villa in the "Hundred of Hineford" was owned by Henry de Ferrers. Later it was owned by Ralph Peverell, and still later by Count Eustace. The "Hundred of Hineford" was in County Essex. John de Stubing of County Essex is recorded in Chancery Rolls in 1201. John de Stebbing held lands in Hineford in 1324. William Stebbing, Gent., was of Bumpstead Hall, parish of Bumsted-Helion, about 1550.

(I) John Stebbins, born probably in England, in 1601-05, died about 1685 at New London, Connecticut. He resided at Watertown, Massachusetts, and New London, Connecticut, and had extensive land grants. He married Margaret (or Mary) and they were the parents of: 1. John, of whom further. 2. Mary, born August 6, 1641; married Thomas Marshall. 3. Daniel.

(II) John (2) Stebbins, son of John (1) and Margaret (Mary) Stebbins, was born May 21, 1640, at Watertown, Massachusetts, and died in 1707. He removed with his parents to New London, Connecticut, and married, about 1660, Deborah Moore.

Children of this marriage: 1. John, born February 11, 1661. 2. Daniel. 3. Deborah, married Joseph Grimes. 4. Mary, of whom further. 5. Margaret, married John Howard.

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(III) Mary Stebbins, daughter of John (2) and Deborah (Moore) Stebbins, married, June 24, 1697, Samuel Williams. (See Williams IV).

(The Williams Line)

Arms—Quarterly first and fourth, gules, three chevronels argent for Jestyn ap Gwrgant; second and third sable a chevron between three fleurs-de-lis, argent, for Einion ap Collwyn.

Crest—A paschal lamb proper.

Motto—*Y ddioddefws y orfu.* (He who suffered has conquered).

The name Williams is derived from the Welsh *Gwylm*, meaning sentinel, and has been used since 1086; surname for four hundred and fifty years. Morgan Williams, of Glamorganshire, was the first to assume the name. He married Catherine Cromwell, a relative of Oliver Cromwell, and from them was descended Richard Williams.

(I) Richard Williams, of Aberpgraway, County of Glamorgan, Wales, married Frances Dighton. He may, however, have had a former wife. He came to America in 1621 and settled at Taunton, Massachusetts. One authority says Richard had four sons, another says five. Inasmuch as tradition affirms that Matthew was of ancient Welsh family of Glamorganshire and a kinsman of Oliver Cromwell, a traditional claim of Richard as well and one not common to other pioneer Williams families it is believed that the full number of sons of Richard Williams, of Taunton, Massachusetts, was seven: Matthew, of whom further; John, Samuel, Joseph, Nathaniel, Thomas, Benjamin.

(II) Matthew Williams, born about 1605 in Wales, died in Wethersfield, Connecticut, 1679-80, said to be the son of Richard Williams, of Glamorgan, Wales, who came to America with his family in 1621. He was for a time at Watertown, and removed to Wethersfield, Connecticut, before 1645, where later his brother Thomas followed him. He was a brick-maker and a farmer, and after 1655 he was for a while on Long Island. He married, prior to 1644, Susannah, probably a sister of John Cole, of Wethersfield, Connecticut.

Children of this marriage: 1. Amos, of whom further. 2. Matthew, born October 27, 1647, died in infancy. 3. Matthew, born May 14, 1651. 4. Samuel, born January 4, 1653-54.

(III) Amos Williams, son of Matthew and Susannah Williams, was born March 14, 1645-46, and died August 20, 1683. He was



Williams



Waddams

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town crier of Wethersfield in 1668, and was one of the earliest settlers of the Rocky Hill section of old Wethersfield. He married, June 27 or 29, 1670, Elizabeth.

Children of this marriage: 1. Amos, born March 17, 1670-71. 2. Samuel, of whom further. 3. Elizabeth, born March 3, 1677. 4. Susannah, born July 22, 1680.

(IV) Samuel Williams, son of Amos and Elizabeth Williams, was born June 25, 1675, and lived in Wethersfield, Connecticut. He married, June 24, 1697, Mary Stebbins.

Children of this marriage: 1. Amos, born March 27, 1698. 2. Elizabeth, born April 28, 1700. 3. Samuel, born February 3, 1701-02. 4. Deborah, born April 18, 1704. 5. Susanna, born October 3, 1707. 6. Mary, of whom further. 7. Joseph, born January 29, 1713.

(V) Mary Williams, daughter of Samuel and Mary (Stebbins) Williams, was born March 7, 1709, died February 8, 1779. She married, February 7, 1739-40, Samuel Dix. (See Dix IV).

(The Waddams Line)

*Wadham—Waddams—Arms—*Gules, a chevron between three roses argent.

*Crest—*The attires of a buck with a piece of the scalp attached or, between the attires a rose argent.

Waddams, variously spelled Wadom, Wadams, Waddems, and Wadham, designates in this record a family of Somersetshire, England, whence came the American founder, John Waddams, as his descendants of the branch here recorded spell the name.

(I) John Waddams, born in Somersetshire, England, came to America and settled at Wethersfield, Connecticut, about 1650. After a short residence there he returned to England, and married while in his native land. He came again to America and was in Wethersfield a second time in 1654. A house lot was granted to him there in 1656, but by the town grants and purchases he had become possessed of several pieces of real estate as early as 1654. He was constable for Wethersfield in 1667-68; and he died December 19, 1676, his will proved January 19, 1676-77. He married Susannah, tradition stating that she was of French descent. She married (second) a Buchnell, and died August 18, 1683.

Children of this marriage: 1. John, of whom further. 2. Noah, died young. 3. Ichabod, died young.

(II) John (2) Waddams, son of John (1) and Susannah Wad-

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dams, was born July 8, 1655, in Wethersfield, Connecticut, and died June 30, 1718. He married (first) December 20, 1677, Hannah Bidwell, daughter of John and Sarah (Wileox) Bidwell, of Wethersfield. (See Bidwell III). She died June 17, 1696, age about thirty-three years. He married (second) October 13, 1697, Widow Abigail Belding.

Children of the first marriage: 1. Susannah, born October 4, 1678, died November 2, 1678. 2. Hannah, born October 25, 1680, died young. 3. Susannah, born January 3, 1682-83, married Ebenezer Dickinson. 4. John, born April 5, 1687, twin of Sarah. 5. Sarah, of whom further. 6. Daniel, born September 13, 1689. 7. Caleb, born November 1, 1692, died 1711. 8. Noah, born August 10, 1695.

Children by the second marriage: 9. Mary, born August 3, 1698. 10. Martha, born January 22, 1700-01, died 1715. 11. Ichabod.

(III) Sarah Waddams, daughter of John (2) and Hannah (Bidwell) Waddams, was born April 5, 1687, died August 1, 1741. She married, June 9, 1709, John (2) Dix. (See Dix III).

(The Paddock Line)

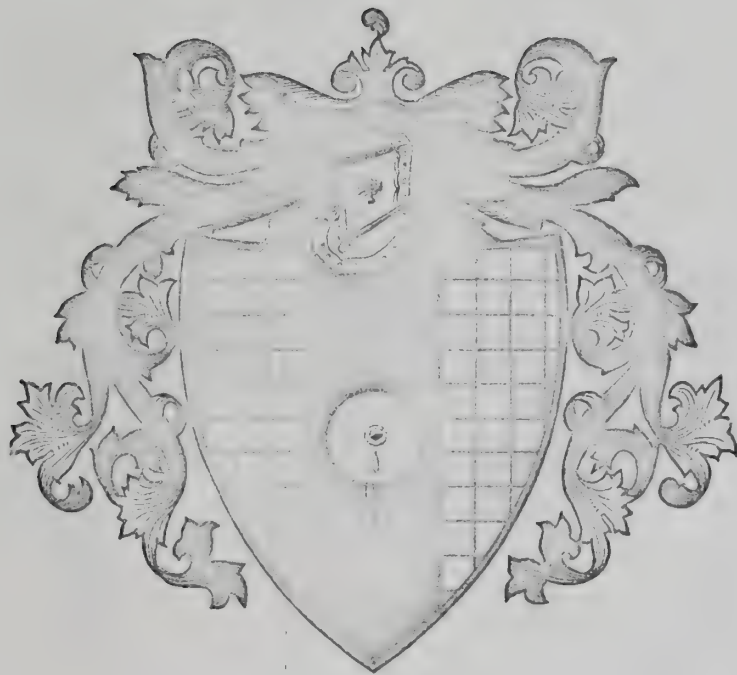
Arms—Chequy or and azure, on a pale sable a woman's breast distilling drops of milk proper.

According to tradition, the Paddock family is of Welsh extraction. There is a direct tradition that several of the name emigrated to America together. One of them was Robert; another may have been Mary, who married Thomas Roberts, March 27, 1650; and another Deborah, who died, unmarried, in Yarmouth, August 17, 1732, within about one month of ninety-three years.

(I) Robert Paddock, who died in 1650, was of Duxbury and Plymouth, Massachusetts, in 1635, a constable in 1646, and on a list of men able to bear arms in 1643. His wife, Mary, died in 1650.

Children: 1. Robert, born in 1634. 2. Zachariah, of whom further. 3. Mary, born March 10, 1638. 4. Alice, born March 7, 1640. 5. John, born April 1, 1643. 6. Susanna, born in 1649.

(II) Zachariah Paddock, son of Robert and Mary Paddock, was born in Plymouth, Massachusetts, March 30, 1636, and died in Yarmouth, Massachusetts, May 1, 1727. He lived at Barnstable and Yarmouth, Massachusetts, was deputy at Barnstable in 1706-07-



Paddock



Widwell

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08, and on the committee for seating people in the meeting house in 1717. He married, in 1659, Deborah Sears, born in Yarmouth, Massachusetts, September, 1639, and died there on August 17, 1732, daughter of Richard Sears.

Children: 1. Ichabod, born February 2, 1661-62. 2. Zachariah, of whom further. 3. Elizabeth, born August 1, 1666. 4. Captain John, born May 5, 1669. 5. Robert, born January 17, 1670-71. 6. Joseph, born September 12, 1674. 7. Nathaniel, born September 22, 1677. 8. Captain Judah, born September 15, 1681.

(III) Zachariah (2) Paddock, son of Zachariah (1) and Deborah (Sears) Paddock, was born in Yarmouth, Massachusetts, April 14, 1664, and died there on April 8, 1717, aged fifty-four years. He married (first) Bethia, who died March 8, 1708, aged forty-one years. He married (second) July 29, 1708, Mary (Hedge) Thatcher, born in March, 1671, widow of Deacon Josiah Thatcher, and daughter of Elisha Hedge.

Children of first wife: 1. Ichabod, born June 1, 1687, died 1748. 2. Deborah, born April 2, 1689. 3. Elizabeth, born February 11, 1690-91. 4. Zachariah, born November 10, 1692. 5. James, born December 24, 1694. 6. Peter, born May 27, 1697, removed to Southeast, New York. 7. Bethia, born May 25, 1699. 8. Mary, born July 10, 1701. 9. John, born May 21, 1703. 10. David, of whom further. 11. Priscilla, born February 29, 1707.

Children of second wife: 12. Hannah, born August, 1709. 13. Anthony, born February 5, 1710-11.

(IV) David Paddock, son of Zachariah (2) and Bethia Paddock, was born in Yarmouth, Massachusetts, August 12, 1705. He removed with his brother Peter to Southeast, New York. He married, October 12, 1727, Mary Foster, daughter of Deacon Chillingsworth and Mercy (Freeman) Foster. (See Foster IV). Among their children was Mary, of whom further.

(V) Mary Paddock, daughter of David and Mary (Foster) Paddock, was born in Cape Cod, Massachusetts, in 1728, and died in Lenox, Massachusetts, February 28, 1789. She married, in 1748, Edward (3) Gray. (See Gray IV).

(The Bidwell Line)

Arms—Per saltire or and gules four roundles, each charged with a martlet, all counter-changed.

Crest—A hand in fesse couped at the wrist, holding a curling stone.

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Bidwell, Bydewell, Biddle, have their origin in the Saxon Biddulph, meaning warwolf. One of the oldest castles in England is Biddulph Castle in County Norfolk. From Biddulph the following names are also derived: Bedewell, Bidewell, Bedwell, and Biddoll.

In 1400, Sir William Berdewelle is mentioned as giving a legacy. In 1426 Robert Berdewelle had lands at Gasthrop. William Bedwell was a noted divine of the time of James I (about 1600).

(I) Richard Bidwell, born in England, died in Windsor, Connecticut, December 25, 1647. He was an early settler at Windsor, Connecticut, and is mentioned in the records of that town.

Children: 1. John, of whom further. 2. Hannah. 3. Joseph. 4. Samuel. 5. Richard.

(II) John Bidwell, son of Richard Bidwell, died in Wethersfield, Connecticut, in 1687, the inventory of his estate dated June 4, 1687. He was an early settler at Hartford, Connecticut, and in 1639 had four acres of land allotted to him. He owned a tanyard on an island in Little river in 1640; in 1666 he had land allotted to him in East Hartford; and at a court held at Hartford, he and Joseph Bull were granted two hundred acres of land with "liberty to take timber out of this common for the improvement of their saw mill." His will is on file at Hartford. He married Sarah Wilcox, daughter of John and Sarah (Biddle) Wilcox. She died June 15, 1690.

Children: 1. John, born in 1641. 2. Joseph, died in 1692. 3. Samuel, born in 1650, died April 5, 1715. 4. Sarah, married William House. 5. Daniel, born in 1655, died November 29, 1719. 6. Mary. 7. Hannah, of whom further.

(III) Hannah Bidwell, daughter of John and Sarah (Wilcox) Bidwell, was born about 1660, and died in Wethersfield, Connecticut, June 17, 1696. She married, December 20, 1677, John (2) Waddams. (See Waddams II).

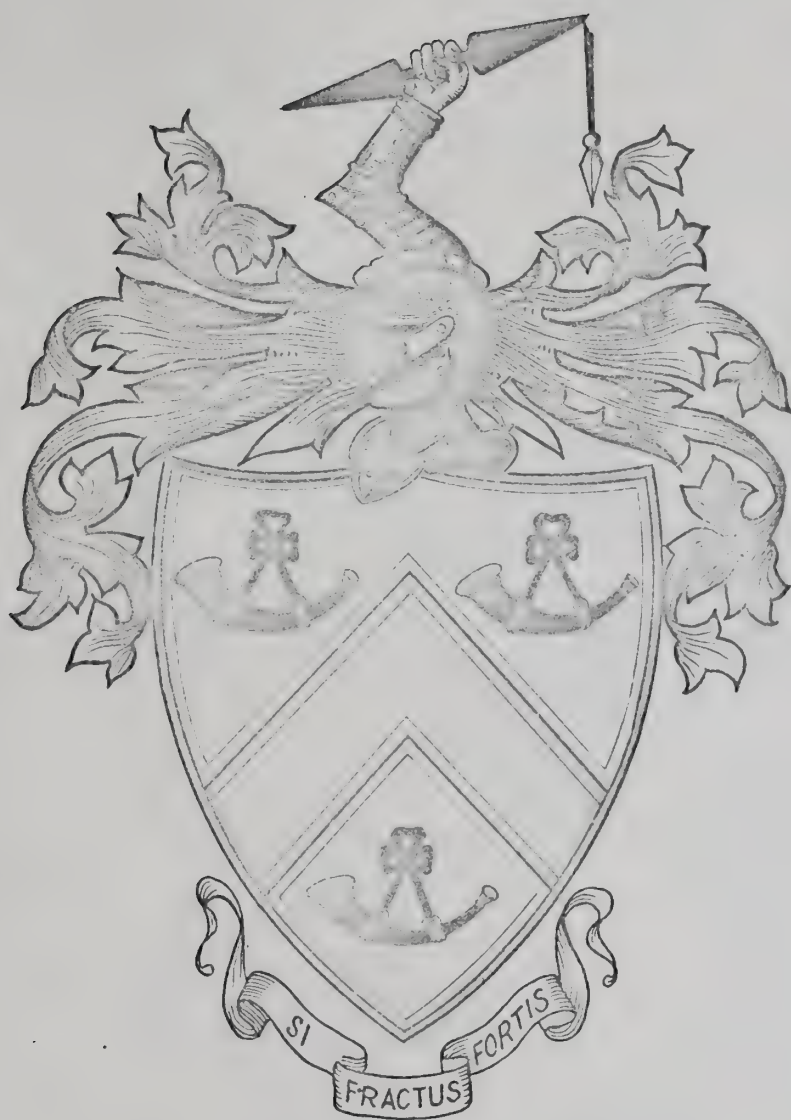
(The Foster Line)

Arms—Argent, a chevron vert between three bugle-horns sable, stringed gules.

Crest—An arm in armour embowed, hand bare, grasping a broken spear, all proper.

Motto—*Si fractus fortis.* (Though broken, brave).

The family of Fosters traces from an ancestry dating to an early period in Flanders, the recorded history of the line beginning with Anacher, Great Forester of Flanders, who died in 837. It continues through Baldwin I, of Flanders, who married the



Hoster

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Princess Judith, daughter of Charles II, of France; Baldwin I built castles at Bruges and Ghent to defend the country against the Normans, and died at Arras in 877; Baldwin II, of Flanders, married Princess Alfrith, daughter of Alfred the Great, King of England; he made war against Endes, Count of Paris, who defeated him and usurped the French crown; he died in 919 and was succeeded by his son, Arnulf, of Flanders, the Forester, who was succeeded by his son in 988; Baldwin III, of Flanders, called "of the handsome beard," married a daughter of the Count of Luxembourg; he was a great warrior, and defended his country against the united forces of the Emperor Henry, King Robert of France, and the Duke of Normandy; he died in 1034, and was succeeded by his son; Baldwin IV, of Flanders, called "Le Debonair," married Princess Adela, daughter of Robert, King of France, by whom he had issue; his daughter Matilda married William I; Sir Richard Forester; Sir Hugo Forster, died in 1121; Sir Reginald Forster, knighted by King Stephen at the battle of the Standard, 1138, died in 1156; Sir William Forster, died in 1176; Sir John Forster, accompanied Richard I to Palestine, where he received the honor of knighthood, he died in 1220; Sir Randolph Forster, accompanied Prince Richard, brother of Henry III, to France in 1225; he died in 1256.

The name was first Forrester, then Forester, then Forster, and then Foster. It signifies one who had care of wild lands; one who loved the forest, a characteristic trait which has marked the bearers of the name through all the centuries that have followed. The Fosters seem to have located in the northern counties of England, and in the early centuries of English history participated in many a sturdy encounter with their Scottish foes. The name is mentioned in "Marmion," and in the "Lay of the Last Minstrel." During its existence the Foster family has been a hardy, persevering and progressive race, almost universally endowed with an intense, nervous energy; there have been many instances of high attainments. The Foster family has an authentic record covering a period of nearly one thousand years. It has furnished to the world its share of the fruits of toil; it has contributed its share to enterprise and progress.

Rev. Thomas Foster, born in England, died there in 1638. His residence was in Biddenham and Ipswich, County Suffolk, England, and he married, in England, Abigail Wimes, daughter of Mathew Wimes, of Ipswich, England. Issue: Richard, born in England

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1595, married Patience Bigg; Thomas (2), of whom further; William, born in England, in 1618, married (first) Susanna, surname unknown; (second) Anne Brackenberry; Sarah, married John Smith; Elizabeth, married William Ferris; Jane, married a Ledbrooke, and had a son Robert.

(1) Sergeant Thomas (2) Foster, son of Rev. Thomas (1) and Abigail (Wines) Foster, was born in England, about 1600, and died in Billerica, Massachusetts, April 20, 1682. He came to America with his brother, William, in the Ship *Hercules*, in 1634, and was a gunner at the castle. In 1639 he received a grant of "a great lot at the Mount" (Mount Wollaston, Braintree) for six heads, upon condition expressed for "Mount Wollystone lands." This he conveyed to Thomas Beaumont, a mariner, of London, in 1647, seven years after Mount Wollaston was incorporated as Braintree. In 1640 he was a resident of Weymouth, where his first child was born, and where he owned lands in 1642. He resided in Boston during part of the year 1642, at which time he was admitted a free-man there. He removed to Billerica, where he was admitted a free-man in 1647, the following year removing to Braintree, and before 1659 was resident in Billerica. He received a grant of an eight acre lot in the latter place, in June, 1659. His home lot of fifty acres was located at the east end of Bare Hill. He is on record as having paid the fine of thirty shillings imposed upon one Thomas Richardson, convicted of stealing two loads of cedar, upon the latter's agreement to build for him twenty-two poles of four rail fence. Dr. Paige (*New England Genealogical and Historical Register*, Vol. XXVI, p. 394) states that he was a blacksmith and progenitor of a long line of blacksmiths. In later years he was repeatedly called before the Middlesex County Court and punished for worshipping in the way he thought right, and for attending the services of the Anabaptists on Lord's Day. His wife, Elizabeth Foster, died January 29, 1695.

Issue: 1. Thomas, born August 15, 1640; married, October 15, 1662, Sarah Parker, of Cambridge. 2. John, of whom further. 3. Increase, born about 1644. 4. Elizabeth, born about 1646; married, January 22, 1666, Deacon James Frost, of Billerica. 5. Hopestill, born March 26, 1648; married, October 15, 1670, Elizabeth, widow of Thomas Wittemore. 6. Joseph, born March 28, 1650;

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married (first) December 11, 1672, Alice Gordon, of Roxbury; (second) Margaret Brown; (third) Mrs. Rebecca Danforth.

(II) Deacon John Foster, son of Sergeant Thomas (2) and Elizabeth Foster, was born in Weymouth, Massachusetts, October 7, 1642, and died in Marshfield, Massachusetts, June 13, 1732, aged ninety years. He was a blacksmith, and active in public affairs; was selectman in 1690; was elected deacon April 6, 1700, and ordained July 20, 1701. He is said to have resided near South river on lands inherited from Thomas Chillingsworth. He married (first) about 1663, Mary Chillingsworth, daughter of Thomas Chillingsworth, of Marshfield; she died September 25, 1702. He married (second) December 30, 1702, Sarah Thomas.

Issue, all by first wife, born in Marshfield: 1. Elizabeth, born September 24, 1664; married William Carver, of Marshfield. 2. John, born October 12, 1666; married, in 1692, Hannah Stetson, of Scituate. 3. Josiah, born June 7, 1669; married, Sarah Sherman, of Marshfield, daughter of Samuel Sherman. 4. Mary, born September 13, 1671; married, December 30, 1696, John Hatch, of Marshfield. 5. Joseph, born about 1674; married, September 8, 1696, Rachel Bassett, of Sandwich. 6. Sarah, born about 1677, died April 7, 1702; married (first) Nathan Thomas; (second) Jedediah Bourne. 7. Chillingsworth, of whom further. 8. James, born May 22, 1683, died in July, 1683. 9. Thomas, born 1686; married Faith (Oakman) White, widow of Benjamin White. 10. Deborah, born about 1691, died November 4, 1732.

(III) Deacon Chillingsworth Foster, son of Deacon John and Mary (Chillingsworth) Foster, was born in Marshfield, Massachusetts, June 11, 1680, and died in Harwich, December 22, 1764. He settled in the part of Harwich, now called Brewster, and was a blacksmith in calling. For nine years he was selectman, town treasurer twenty-five years, town clerk twenty-eight years, and representative eight years. He married (first) Mercy Freeman, daughter of John (2) Freeman, of Harwich (now Brewster), Massachusetts; she died July 7, 1720, aged thirty-three years. (See Freeman IV). He married (second) Susan (Gray) Sears, widow, daughter of John Gray; she died December 7, 1730. He married (third) December 7, 1731, Ruth (Merrick) Sears, widow of Samuel Sears, and daughter of William Merrick.

Issue by first wife: 1. James, born January 6, 1706; married

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Lydia Winslow. 2. Chillingsworth, born December 25, 1707; married Mercy Winslow. 3. Mary, of whom further. 4. Thomas, born March 15, 1712; married May Hopkins. 5. Nathan, born June 10, 1715; married, June 14, 1739, Sarah Lincoln. 6. Isaac, born June 17, 1718; married Hannah Sears. 7. Mercy, born March 30, 1720, died August 28, 1720.

Issue by second wife: 8. Mercy, born July 29, 1722; married, October 7, 1742, Isaac Crosby. 9. Nathaniel, born April 17, 1725; married (first) Phebe Wing; (second) Charity Knowlton. 10. Jerusha, born December 9, 1727; married, April 2, 1769, Captain Solomon Bangs. 11. A son, born and died in March, 1729.

(IV) Mary Foster, daughter of Deacon Chillingsworth and Mercy (Freeman) Foster, was born January 5, 1710, and married David Paddock (see Paddock IV).

(The Freeman Line)

Arms—Three lozenges or.

Crest—A demi-lion rampant gules, holding between his paws a lozenge or.

Motto—*Liber et audax.* (Free and bold).

Freeman, an old English name, is undoubtedly derived from the condition of the first who assumed it as a surname. In that ancient day the holding of slaves was a common custom in England, and the condition of a freeman was something of which to be proud. The family has been long established in America, and has borne no inconsiderable part in promoting the progress and development of the Nation, and this has been the patronymic of several distinguished citizens.

(I) Edmund Freeman was born in England about 1590, died in 1682, his will probated November 2, 1682. He was at Saugus (Lynn), Massachusetts, in 1635. Mr. Lewis, in his "History of Lynn," says: "This year many new inhabitants appear in Lynn, and among them worthy of note Mr. Edmund Freeman, who presented to the Colony twenty corsletts, or pieces of plate armor." He was subsequently in the Plymouth Colony, and with nine associates was soon recognized by the Government as a suitable person to originate a new settlement. He was admitted a freeman at Plymouth, January 2, 1637, and after a short residence in Duxbury received permission of the Colonial Governor to begin the establishment of the first English town on the Cape. A large number of persons from Duxbury, Plymouth, and Lynn, but chiefly from the latter place,



Freeman

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went to the present site of Sandwich, Barnstable county, this being the first successful settlement in that county. Mr. Freeman's status is inferred from the fact that he was one of the fifty-eight persons entitled to shares in the division of lands, his portion much the largest, and his successive elections to the office of assistant to the Governor in the direction of public affairs. He was early appointed head of a court of three "to hear and determine controversies and causes," within the several contiguous townships. When, several years later, select courts were established by the Government in each county, he was one of the selected. He was always prominent, active and influential. During the agitation against Quakers, which reached Sandwich sixteen or seventeen years after its settlement, Edmund Freeman counseled moderation, and remonstrated against all illiberal enactment and enforcement. No blemish is found upon his record. Pre-eminently respected, always fixed in his principles, decisive in action, but quiet and unobstructive, a counsellor and leader without ambitious ends in view, he was a man of uncompromising integrity and sound judgment, and the "symetry of his character furnished an excellent example that is a rich legacy to his descendants." He is buried on his own land, on a hill in the rear of a dwelling—the oldest burying place known in Sandwich. When his wife was buried, the bereaved husband summoned, soon after the funeral, two sons and a grandson Matthias, led them to a large stone or rock in the neighboring field, bearing resemblance to a pillion. This was hauled to the new grave and placed as a monument. Another rock resembling a saddle was placed beside the first "to mark the spot where ere long another grave must be digged." This was his injunction:

"Here, after death shall have called your father, bring my earthly remains, and lay by the side of your mother; place the saddle upon my grave, and so let us rest until the resurrection day."

He married Elizabeth (may have been Bennet or Beauchamp), who died February 14, 1676.

Children: 1. Alice, born in England; married Deacon William Paddy, November 24, 1639. 2. Edmund, born in England; married (first) April 22, 1646, Rebecca Prence; (second) July 18, 1651, Margaret Perry. 3. Elizabeth, born in England, probably 1625; married John Ellis. 4. John, of whom further. 5. Mary, married, about 1653, Edward Perry.

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(II) Major John Freeman, son of Edmund and Elizabeth Freeman, was born in England, probably in 1627, and died October 28, 1719, his will proved November 4, 1719. He resided in Sandwich during his early years, where he was deeded lands at Skanton Neck (in Sandwich) December 30, 1650, by Jonathan Fish, also, same date, other lands adjoining those of his father. He removed to Eastham a few years later, where with Governor Prence, he was among the earliest settlers. He served in the Indian wars, and was always a large land owner. In 1676 the sachem of Satucket (now West Brewster) conveyed to him "certain lands" which were re-conveyed to him by his son John in 1696. In 1691 the town of Eastham mortgaged to him two islands as security for payment of seventy-six pounds, the town's proportion of the expenses of obtaining a new charter from England. In 1695 there was still another deed to him of "lands which belong to my father Prence and Bradford,—land which belonged to their purchase agent." Prominent in public affairs, he was "one of the fathers of Eastham." Deputy eight years, 1654-1662, selectman 1663-1673, assistant to Governor for several years, from 1666. He was appointed to the bench to the Court of Common Pleas, December 7, 1692, and for many years was a deacon of the Eastham church. He married, February 13, 1650, Mercy Prence, who died September 28, 1711, aged eighty years.

Children: 1. John, born in 1650, died in infancy. 2. John, of whom further. 3. Thomas, born September, 1653; married, December 31, 1673, Rebecca Sparrow, daughter of Jonathan Sparrow. 4. Patience, married, January 31, 1683, Lieutenant Samuel Paine. 5. Hannah, married, April 14, 1681, John Mayo. 6. Edmund, born June, 1657; married, probably (first) Ruth Merrick, daughter of William M. Merrick; (second) Sarah Mayo, daughter of Samuel Mayo. 7. Mercy, born July, 1659; married, December, 1679, Samuel Knowles. 8. William, born about 1660; married about 1685, Lydia Sparrow, daughter of John Sparrow. 9. Prince, born February 3, 1666, died young. 10. Nathaniel, born March 20, 1669; married, about 1690, Mary. 11. Bennet, born March 7, 1671; married, March 14, 1689, Deacon John Paine, of Eastham.

(III) John (2) Freeman, son of Major John (1) and Mercy (Prence) Freeman, was born in Eastham, in December, 1651, died July 27, 1721. He resided in the part of Harwich now called Brewster, and was one of the eight charter members of the first



Dunning

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church originated in Harwich, October 17, 1700. He married (first) December 18, 1672, Sarah Merrick, born August 1, 1654, died April 21, 1696, daughter of William Merrick. He married (second) in 1701, Mrs. Mercy Watson, widow of Elkanah Watson, of Plymouth. She died September 27, 1721.

Children: 1. John, born September 3, 1674, died in Eastham, in 1674. 2. Sarah, born September, 1676; married Edward Snow, of Eastham. 3. John, born July, 1678; married, about 1701, Mercy Watson, daughter of Elkanah Watson, of Plymouth. 4. Rebecca, born January 28, 1681, probably died young. 5. Nathaniel, born March 17, 1683; married, October 24, 1706, Mary Watson. 6. Benjamin, born July, 1685; married, June 2, 1709, Temperance Dimick. 7. Mercy, of whom further. 8. Patience, married, October 24, 1706, Eleazer Crosby. 9. Susanna, married, October 22, 1712, John Mayo. 10. Elizabeth, married, May 2, 1726, John Bacon. 11. Mary, married, in 1713, Judah Berry.

(IV) Mercy Freeman, daughter of John (2) and Sarah (Merrick) Freeman, was born August 3, 1687, died July 7, 1720, aged thirty-three years. She married Deacon Chillingsworth Foster (see Foster III), of Harwich.

(The Dunning Line)

Arms—Bendy sinister of fourteen, or and purple, over a lion rampant sable.

Crest—An antelope's head, couped at the neck, argent.

Supporters—Two antelopes proper, collared argent.

Motto—*Studiis et rebus honestis.*

Dunning in its earliest mention, is found in Nelson's "Life of Walter de Merton," who says that "about the year 1269 he (Walter de Merton) purchased the Norman Mansion, Cambridge, together with the estate of the Dunnings, who had held it since the Conquest." Bardsley's "Dictionary of English Surnames" gives the following: Dunning, Dunnig, and Dunnigs occur as personal names in the Hundred Rolls. Harvey Dunning (County Cambridge) 1273; Richard Dunning (County Oxford) 1273; and others to 1432. The family existed in England at a very early period. Early in the reign of the later Stuarts a family of Dunnings lived in Walkhampton, Devonshire, on the western edge of Dartmoor. From this family came the celebrated lawyer and parliamentarian, John Dunning, Baron Ashburton. A number of families named Dunning lived at Throwleigh and South Tawton, about twenty miles from Walk-

WILLIAM HENRY GRAY

hampton, and from these families came several of the Dunning emigrants to America. Richard Dunning was one of the seven principal landowners of South Tawton. James Dunning, Esq., was one of the chief landowners of Throwleigh.

(I) Theophilus Dunning, born in County Devon, England, came to America and settled in Salem, Massachusetts, where he had land granted to him in 1642.

Issue: 1. Theophilus, baptized March 13, 1642, at Salem. 2. Ann (or Hannah) baptized September 8, 1644. 3. Benjamin, of whom further.

(II) Benjamin Dunning, son of Theophilus Dunning, was baptized at Salem, Massachusetts, January 17, 1647. He removed to Boston, Massachusetts, before 1679, was sealer of leather in Boston, March 12, 1682, and a tythingman in Captain Turill's company, April 30, 1684. He removed to Long Island (Jamaica) before 1699. The Christian name of his wife was Mary.

Issue: 1. Benjamin, of whom further. 2. John. 3. Michael. 4. Hannah, married Isaac Hurd, of Stratford.

(III) Sergeant Benjamin (2) Dunning, son of Benjamin (1) and Mary Dunning, was born in Boston, Massachusetts, March 3, 1679, and died at Newtown, Connecticut, March 21, 1739. With his brother, John, he removed from Long Island to Stratford, Connecticut, about 1700. He was one of the party that founded Newtown, Connecticut, in 1711. The name of his first wife is unknown. He married (second) in 1710, Elizabeth Miner, born 1690, daughter of Captain John Miner.

Issue by first wife: 1. Mary, born July 6, 1707. 2. Benjamin, born August 9, 1709; married Sarah Burritt. Issue by second wife: 3. David, of whom further. 4. Sarah, born August 14, 1713. 5. Abel. 6. John, died 1764; married, 1747, Anna Kimberly. 7. Elizabeth, married a Stilson. 8. Michael, born July 30, 1730; married, 1750, Abiah Kimberly; removed to Pownal, Vermont, and died in 1810. 9. Amos, born January 20, 1734, died before 1752.

(IV) David Dunning, son of Sergeant Benjamin (2) and Elizabeth (Miner) Dunning, was born September 6, 1711, and died before October, 1783, when his will was proved. He married, in 1736, Hannah Botsford.

Issue: 1. Ann, born January 11, 1737; married Francis Bar-num. 2. David, born April 17, 1738; lived at Sandgate, Vermont.

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He had the Dunning Family Bible. 3. Gideon, born December 19, 1742; lived in Brookfield, Connecticut, Amenia, and later Galway, New York. 4. Abijah, born May 28, 1744; living in 1766. 5. Amos, born December 16, 1745, died 1753. 6. Richard, born April 23, 1747; removed to Dorset, Vermont, died 1810. 7. Silas, born November, 1748, died 1753. 8. Abigail, born August 30, 1750, died 1753. 9. Ashbel, born February 22, 1752, died 1753. 10. Abigail, born November, 1753; married Ebenezer Murray; lived at Orwell, Vermont. 11. Silas, born May 6, 1755; married Jerusha Bristol; removed from Brookfield, Connecticut, to Salem, Washington county, New York, in 1784, thence to Aurelius, Cayuga county, New York, in 1796; died 1830. 12. Hannah, married Colby Hurd.

The Dunnings lived at Champlain, New York, Sandgate, Vermont (opposite Salem, Washington county, New York), and later at Aurelius (now Springport), Cayuga county, New York. There is every indication that Sarah Dunning, who married John (3) Dix (see Dix VI), was a daughter of one of the sons of David Dunning.



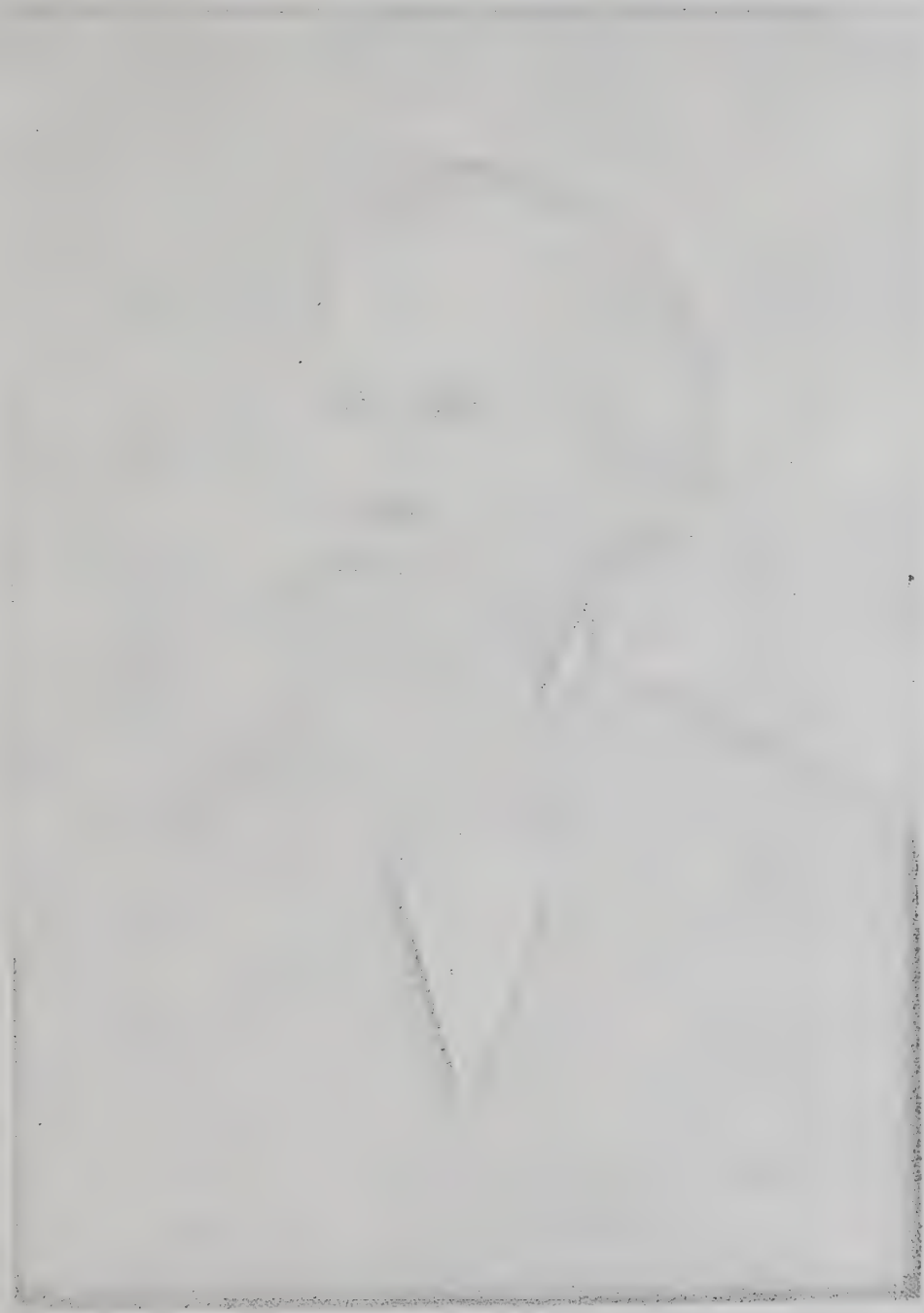
Jacob Kamm

By G. T. DUTCHER, PORTLAND, OREGON



THE conquest of the Northwest is a romance whose every chapter teems with interesting and often thrilling incidents, and of interest equalling the story of the exploration and settlement is that of the development of the region to the service of men and the advancement of civilization. Across the pages of this narrative are written the names of a few men whose achievements, reviewed in the perspective of time, stand out as of primary value and importance. That of Jacob Kamm is one of these, and the following paragraphs show the nature and extent of his service to his time.

Jacob Kamm, who was born in Canton Glarus, Switzerland, December 12, 1823, died in Portland, Oregon, December 14, 1912. His father resigned his commission in the French Army to make a home for himself and his family among the broader opportunities offered in America, but four years later, in New Orleans, yellow fever claimed him as a victim, and his son, then twelve years of age, was left to face the difficulties of life alone. A sturdy, self-reliant spirit came to him from his ancestry, and with this there developed in him a determination to utilize to its full every advantage. Already prior to his father's death he had secured a position in the office of a prominent daily paper in New Orleans, and after leaving that position, which he had obtained through the influence of the foreman, who was his friend, he performed any task which he could secure until November, 1837, when he changed the base of his business operations to St. Louis. On the trip up the river he was robbed by a smooth-talking stranger of all his money save ten cents. The urge of necessity therefore forced him to obtain immediate employment, which he secured as cabin boy on the "Ark," a small steamer on the Illinois River. During the winter months he attended a private school. Contact with the world served to show him his own limitations and at the same time awakened his ambition. He gave every leisure moment to mastering the



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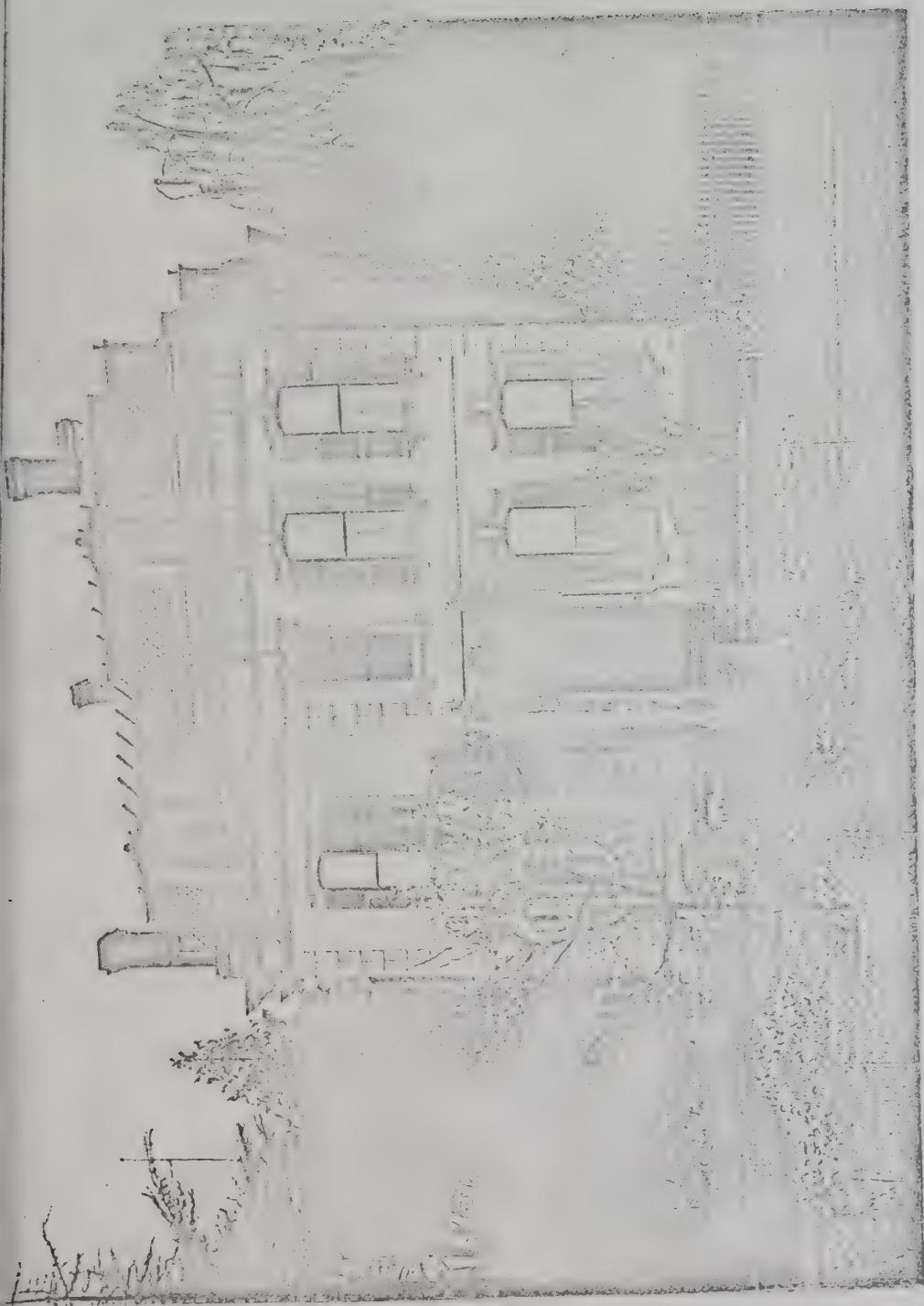
details of marine engineering and, becoming an expert workman in that field, was offered paying positions, which in time brought to him the capital that enabled him to become part-owner of the steamer "Belle of Hatchie," a steamboat which he ran until his health became impaired. He then sold out and for several years thereafter was chief engineer on packet boats plying between St. Louis, Keokuk, and New Orleans. The requirements demanded of engineers before they were licensed was at that day very high. Mr. Kamm received his diploma from the Engineers' Association of Missouri, but again failing health forced him to seek a change and, hoping that different climatic conditions would prove beneficial, he crossed the plains, in 1849, to the mining regions around Sacramento. After a brief period he was installed as engineer on a steamboat running on the Sacramento and Feather rivers in California. The following year, in San Francisco, he became acquainted with Lot Whitecomb, and it was this incident that eventually brought Mr. Kamm into such close connection with the development of navigation in the Northwest. In order to install the machinery ordered for the steamer, "Lot Whitecomb," Mr. Kamm went to Milwaukee, a Portland suburb. While his knowledge of such work was of expert character, his sole equipment at that point was a bellows and anvil; but with the assistance of a blacksmith, by the name of Blakesley, who was ingenious and painstaking, Mr. Kamm managed to shape the crude tools that enabled him to perform the work that he had undertaken. It was necessary also that he assemble the boilers, which had been shipped from New York in twenty-two sections, and at length the "Lot Whitecomb" steamed out of the harbor—the first craft of the kind ever equipped in this port, Mr. Kamm being behind the engines and operating the machinery until the vessel was sold and taken to California.

From that time forward, Mr. Kamm was closely identified with navigation interests of the Northwest. He built the first stern wheel steamer of Oregon, the "Jennie Clark," of which he was half-owner, with Messrs. Abernethy, Clark and Ainsworth owning the other half. This enterprise was a stupendous one for that day, for all machinery had to be brought around Cape Horn, but the work was successfully executed and the craft launched. Later he was active in the construction of the "Carrie Ladd," also one of the first steamers on the Columbia, this vessel becoming the nucleus of

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the property of what was later the Oregon Steam Navigation Company, which was organized in 1860, with Mr. Kamm as one of the stockholders and as chief engineer. He sold his interest in the business in 1865 to a syndicate, which in turn transferred its stock to the Oregon Railroad and Navigation Company. Mr. Kamm also became one of the organizers, president and principal stockholder of the Willamette Steam Navigation Company, which operated extensively on the Willamette and eventually sold out to the Oregon Railroad and Navigation Company. He was likewise the owner of the "George S. Wright," a steamer engaged in the coast trade, running from Portland to Victoria and Sitka. With the settlement of Oregon and the northwest he developed his business to meet the growing demands of the time. Although on one occasion he thought to withdraw from active connection with navigation, he was forced to take in payment the small steamer "Carrie," which was made the nucleus of the fleet of the Vancouver Transportation Company, that was organized in 1874, with Mr. Kamm as president. He was at one time owner of considerable stock in the Ilwaco Railway and Navigation Company, and with others he was associated in building the "Ocean Wave," and the "Norma," of the Snake River Transportation Company, which was the only boat that passed through the famous Box canon on the Snake River, without being wrecked. Long before the era of railroad transportation his labors had facilitated trade relations in providing means of transportation for the products of the Northwest. The growth of a district must always depend upon this, and the work of Mr. Kamm was therefore of incalculable benefit and value to Oregon and Washington. Moreover, he became a factor in banking circles in Portland, subscribing largely to the stock of various banks and at one time serving as vice-president of the United States National Bank. His business operations at Astoria featured largely in the upbuilding of that city. He invested extensively in property and business enterprises there until he became one of the large taxpayers of that seaport, and also served as president of the First National Bank of Astoria. His realty holdings included valuable property in Portland and in San Francisco.

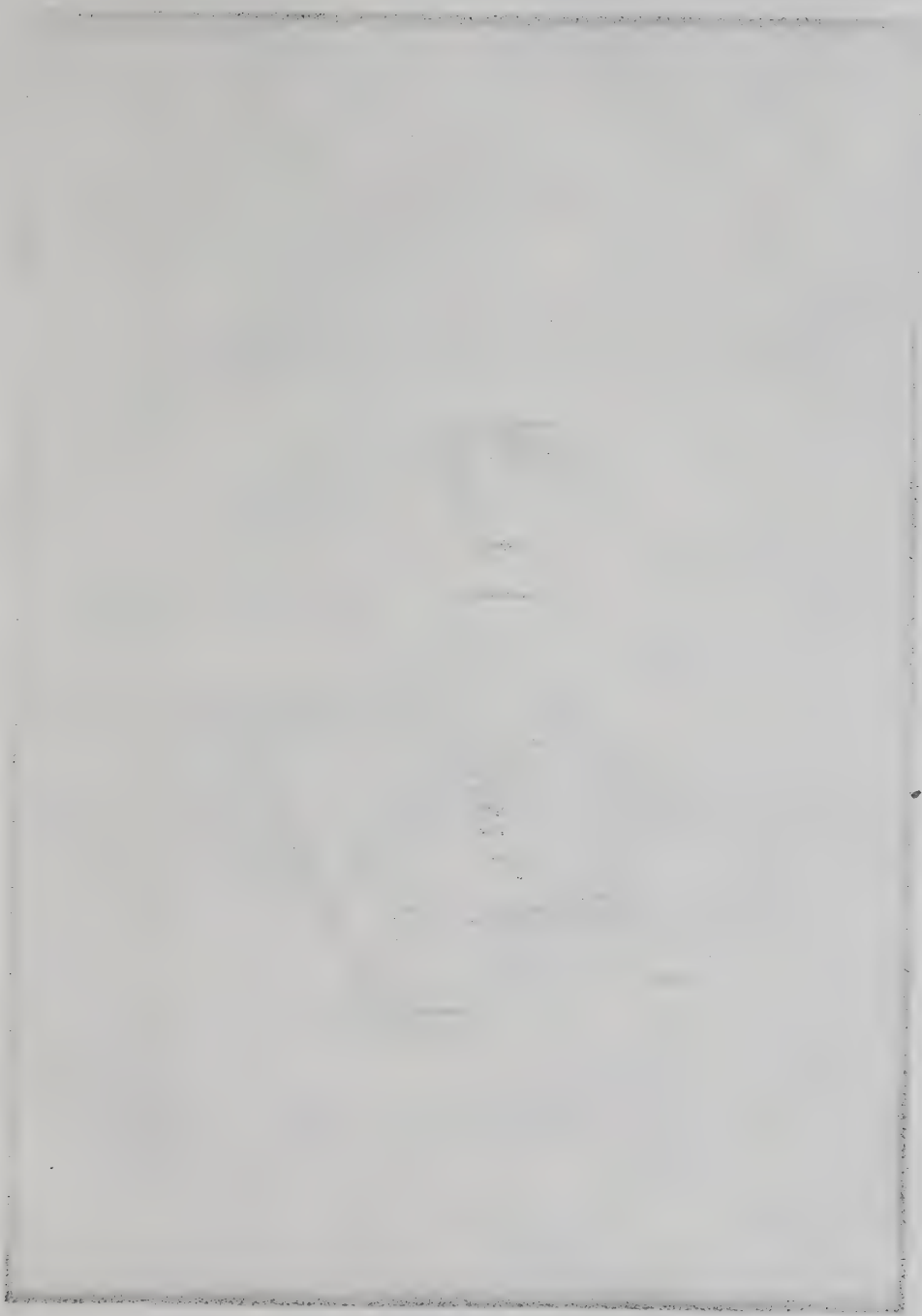
While the extent of the business interests which Mr. Kamm managed is such as would preclude for many a man the opportunity for engaging in other work, Mr. Kamm was long known among



JACOB KAMM RESIDENCE

First Large Residence of Portland, Ore.

Built 1871.



Caroline A. Kamm

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the active workers of the First Presbyterian Church and as president of its board of trustees. He contributed generously to the maintenance of the church, manifesting deep interest in the extension of the work. In Masonry he attained high rank. His initiation into the order occurred in St. Louis, Missouri, July 27, 1847, and following his arrival in Oregon he became one of the early members of Multnomah Lodge, No. 1, Free and Accepted Masons, of Oregon City, later a member of Willamette Lodge, No. 2, of Portland. His name was on the membership rolls of Portland Chapter, No. 3, Royal Arch Masons; Oregon Commandery, Knights Templar; Oregon Consistory, Ancient and Accepted Scottish Rite; and Al Kader Temple, Ancient Arabic Order Nobles of the Mystic Shrine.

At his death, at patriarchal age, all circles of the city's life joined to pay him final honor, as they had yielded him the tributes of respect and regard throughout his length of years. The call of death took him from the scenes in which he had labored, but there remained behind and exist today concrete evidences of how firmly he builded, with what vision he planned, and how wisely he chose his fields of endeavor. It was conceded by all men, even his bitterest enemies, that Mr. Kamm's word was as good as a United States bond. The inauguration of an industry, the upbuilding of a commonwealth, the organization of society, all stand revealed in greater interest when they have been traced to the source of their permanence and excellence,—the lives of such men as Jacob Kamm.

Jacob Kamm married, September 13, 1859, Caroline Augusta Gray, daughter of William H. and Mary Augusta (Dix) Gray (see preceding biography), Mrs. Kamm now (1923) continues in charge of extensive business interests and is gifted with the qualities of the able executive. She is interested and active in civic affairs and the larger concerns of the country at large, a well-informed enjoyable conversationalist. From her father she inherits a broad intellectuality; and a poise of bearing, a graciousness of manner, and a gentle dignity come from the mother whose life of devotion and service are alike her greatest pride and a hallowed chapter in the history of the Northwest.

Charles Tilton Kamm, son of Jacob and Caroline Augusta (Gray) Kamm, was born December 30, 1860, died September 11, 1906. He attended Portland schools, McClure's Military Academy,

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at Oakland, California, Amherst Preparatory School, and Brown University, at Providence, Rhode Island. Upon completing his education he entered transportation business with his father, and was at different times captain of the "Ocean Wave" and several other ships. Later he entered the office and assumed executive duties in the administration of the vast Kamm interests. He was a Mason in fraternal affiliation, holding membership in Multnomah Lodge, No. 1, Free and Accepted Masons, of Oregon City; later a member of Willamette Lodge, No. 2, of Portland; also a member of Portland Chapter, No. 3, Royal Arch Masons; Oregon Commandery, No. 1, Knights Templar; Oregon Consistory, No. 1, Ancient and Accepted Scottish Rite; and Al Kader Temple of the Mystic Shrine. He was a member of the First Presbyterian Church, and in political sympathy a Republican.

He married, at Walker's Ranch, September 3, 1883, Fannie Hoyt Walker, daughter of Wellington and Catherine (Purvine) Walker, (See Walker III).

Issue: 1. Caroline A., born August 13, 1884; married, in the Presbyterian church, Portland Heights, Portland, Oregon, September 9, 1909, James Austin McKinnon. 2. Jacob Gray, born August 24, 1888; married, at the First Presbyterian Church, Portland, Oregon, September 17, 1914, Florence E. Bonnell. (See Bonnell IV). Issue: Caroline Augusta and Katherine. 3. Willis Walker, born December 28, 1890; married, November 14, 1914, Louisa Eliza Roberts, of Los Angeles, California. Issue: Charles R., and Kathryn. 4. Philip Schuyler, born September 2, 1892; married, in December, 1920, Cordelia Tildon, of New York City.

(The Walker Line)

Arms—Or, pallets gules surmounted by a saltire argent, on a chief azure a garb between two mullets of the field.

Crest—A cornucopia proper.

Motto—*Cura et industria.* (By caution and industry).

Walker, says Lower in his "Surnames," signifies either (Anglo-Saxon wealcere) a fuller or an officer whose duty consisted in walking over or inspecting a certain space. In the North of England a fulling mill is still called a "walk mill," and at Alfrich, County Worcester, there are some thin strata of unctuous clay of a whitish hue, still called Walker's clay. The same custom obtains in Scotland, where the Walkers are numerous.



Fanny Walker Kamm



Walker

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John Walker, born in Wigton, Scotland, married there Katherine Rutherford. From Scotland he and his family went to Newry, Ireland. He and his family, with three of his brother Alexander's children, left Strangford bay in May, 1726, on board a vessel commanded by Richard Walker, and landed in Maryland, August 2, 1726. He transported his family and settled in Chester county, Pennsylvania, where he died in September, 1734. His wife died in 1738, and both are buried in Chester county, Pennsylvania. Most of the family left Pennsylvania and settled in Rockbridge and adjoining counties in Virginia. John Walker contemplated such a move and had been to Virginia a short time prior to his death, selecting a farm upon which he erected a small building. The line here followed was established by Adam Walker.

(I) Adam Walker, born in October, 1729, came from his Ireland home to America and settled in Pennsylvania. Here he married, May 19, 1767, Agnes Davis, and they were the parents of eight children, among them Adam, through whom the line descends. Adam Walker died September 30, 1812.

(II) Adam (2) Walker, son of Adam (1) and Agnes (Davis) Walker, was born February 12, 1773, died April 27, 1835. He married Mary (Polly) Doak, born October 26, 1779, died July 28, 1842, a native of Virginia. In 1829 Adam Walker took his family to Missouri, settling near Clarksville, Pike county, where the remainder of their lives was spent.

Issue: 1. Walter Montgomery, born near Wytheville, Virginia, July 23, 1814, died May 4, 1896; married, in Pike county, Missouri, July 6, 1843, Jane Mackey, daughter of Captain John Mackey, a native of South Carolina. One child, Mary Virginia, was born in Missouri. 2. David Doak, born near Wytheville, Virginia, June 25, 1816, died November 27, 1835. 3. Claborne Campbell, born near Wytheville, Virginia, in March, 1819; married, July 4, 1850, Louisa Purvine, and died December 30, 1902. 4. Nancy H., born near Wytheville, Virginia, July 22, 1821, married, August 29, 1839, John D. Henry, and died in August, 1894. 5. Wellington Bolivar, of whom further.

(III) Wellington Bolivar Walker, son of Adam (2) and Mary (Doak) Walker, was born near Wytheville, Wythe county, Virginia, March 17, 1824, and died in February, 1904. He was five years of age when the family moved to Pike county, Missouri, and in 1845 he

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with his brother, Claborne C., made the arduous journey to Oregon. In 1847 Wellington B. Walker was one of a pack train of sixteen who returned to Missouri, coming to Oregon again in 1848 as captain of a company of which his brother, Walter M., and family were members. The party reached Oregon in October, 1848, and settled in Spring Valley.

Wellington Bolivar Walker married, September 30, 1849, near Salem, Oregon, Catherine Purvine, born on a farm near Jacksonville, Morgan county, Illinois, May 1, 1829, died in 1901, daughter of John and Mary (Longe) Purvine. John Purvine was born March 23, 1799, died August 16, 1852, married, January 2, 1821, Mary Longe, born March 29, 1802. Among the children of Wellington Bolivar and Catherine (Purvine) Walker was Fannie Hoyt, who married Charles Tilton Kamm.

(The Bonnell Line)

Arms—Or a lion rampant between eight crosses crosslet azure.

Crest—A lion rampant or, holding between the forepaws a cross crosslet azure.

Bonnell as a family is numbered among those of French origin which sought asylum in England and there gained position of prominence, and its history contains the records of men of distinction in arms and statecraft, while two at least are reported as being knighted. Notable among these early members of the line is James Bonnell, born at Geneva, November 14, 1603, mayor of Norwich, England, where he settled. O'Hart, in his "Irish Pedigrees" naming the refugees who settled in Great Britain and Ireland before the reign of Louis XIV, of France, calls him Thomas Bonnell, and mentions his son, Daniel Bonnell, merchant of London, father of Samuel Bonnell, who became accountant-general for Ireland, and was succeeded in that office by his son, whose life has been written by Archdeacon Hamilton, of Armagh.

(I) The Revolutionary ancestor of this line was Colonel Abraham Bonnell, who was born August 4, 1732, and died in November, 1797. He married Elizabeth Foster, born May 17, 1743, died June 27, 1822. His homestead was "Bonnell's Tavern" at Clinton, New Jersey, purchased in 1767 (formerly known as Hunt's Mills), and it was here that the first meeting was held in this vicinity to raise "minute-men." Colonel Bonnell distinguished himself at the battle of Monmouth when General Lee proved unworthy. Colonel



Bonnell

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Bonnell and Colonel Stewart were under General Washington's immediate command, and stood their ground, thus saving their forces from utter rout, Colonel Bonnell being personally praised after the battle by the commander-in-chief. He was one of the three "sons of Liberty" chosen to represent lower Hunterdon county at the meeting held at the house of David Reynolds, in the township of Bethlehem, March 11, 1766. The record of Lieutenant-Colonel Abraham Bonnell's service in the American Revolution is as follows: "It is recorded that Lieutenant-Colonel Abraham Bonnell served in the Third Regiment, Hunterdon County Battalion and Detached Militia, July 18, 1776, under Colonel Mark Thomson, and Lieutenant-Colonel of the Second Regiment, Second Battalion," (found in Vol. 1, page 357, "Officers and Men of New Jersey," and Manuscripts on file in the office of the adjutant-general at Trenton, New Jersey). In the War Department at Washington is a record showing a debit and credit account with these officers, with an entry dated March 21, 1777, also a letter dated at Alexandria, May 10, 1777, which indicates that he attended a meeting of officers of that battalion on May 9, 1777.

Issue of Lieutenant-Colonel Abraham Bonnell and Elizabeth (Foster) Bonnell: 1. Mary V., born in December, 1760, died same year. 2. John, born May 16, 1762; married Zemina Van Syle. 3. Jeremiah, born January 31, 1763, died same year. 4. Colonel Clement du Mont, of whom further. 5. Alexander, born January 16, 1768; married Catherine Mattison. 6. Newell, born April 25, 1770; married J. Godley. 7. Captain Charles, born December 13, 1775; married, October 24, 1818, Deborah Lee. 8. Abraham, married, December 30, 1797, Catherine Rhea.

(II) Colonel Clement du Mont Bonnell, son of Colonel Abraham and Elizabeth (Foster) Bonnell, was born January 4, 1766, and died January 24, 1836. He married Rachel Wolverton, born April 17, 1766, died February 16, 1836. The Wolverton family traces in New Jersey to Charles Wolverton, who, on August 20, 1693, purchased one hundred acres of unsurveyed land in Burlington county, in 1716 moving to Amwell, Hunterdon county, New Jersey, serving as a member of the Supreme Court in 1721. Another Charles Wolverton, descendant of the first Charles, and also a resident of Amwell, New Jersey, married, August 6, 1763, Mary Drake, of Hopewell, New Jersey. This Mary Drake is stated to have been a direct

JACOB KAMM

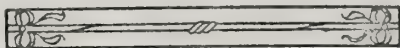
descendant of Sir Francis Drake, famous English admiral, who first carried the English flag around the world and who gained notable naval victories.

Issue of Colonel Clement du Mont Bonnell and Rachel (Wolverton) Bonnell: 1. Mary, born October 7, 1787; married Joseph Boulby, a non-commissioned officer of the War of 1812; moved to Sharpsville, Tipton county, Indiana. The Boulby family now have the family portrait of Rachel (Wolverton) Bonnell. 2. Elizabeth, married, February 16, 1812, Daniel Carhart, of Virginia, born July 3, 1789, died April 20, 1863. 3. Abraham, of whom further. 4. William C. 5. Charles W. 6. Rachel.

(III) Abraham (2) Bonnell, son of Colonel Clement du Mont and Rachel (Wolverton) Bonnell, was born September 14, 1795, and died January 4, 1859. He married (first) Lydia Hull Beavers. He married (second) April 20, 1843, Sarah Lusk, born September 5, 1826, died November 21, 1888.

Issue by first wife: 1. Catherine, married Peter Barnes, of Reading, Pennsylvania. 2. Rachel Ann, born August 13, 1823; married, October 22, 1846, Senator Eli Bossenbury. 3. William M., born September 8, 1825; married Margaret Potter. 4. Sarah, married, September 18, 1851, Benjamin Shalenberger. 5. Emeline. Issue (by second wife): 6. James, born April 7, 1844; married (first) Mary Henry; (second) Mary Argyle. 7. Catherine, born December 25, 1845; married James Kelly. 8. Mary L., born November 21, 1847; married Lyman Cole. 9. E. Jane, born February 5, 1851; married Robert T. Watts. 10. Joseph W., of whom further. 11. Susan R., born December 31, 1858; married (first) Edgar Chart; (second) Henry Stoddard.

(IV) Joseph W. Bonnell, son of Abraham (2) and Sarah (Lusk) Bonnell, born August 5, 1854, and his wife Mary, were the parents of Florence E. Bonnell, who married Jacob Gray Kamm.



Editorial

STARRED POSTAL SERVICE

As this number of "Americana" was in course of preparation for press, there came to the editorial desk the appended article, prepared by The Information Service of the Post Office Department. The story of the development of postal service in this country would have unchallenged places in this periodical, and although the accompanying sketch makes no pretensions to being complete history it has a distinct historical touch. Furthermore, to pay due and fitting tribute to a governmental department whose efficient and wisely directed operation adds so immeasurably to the comfort, convenience and breadth of modern day life, "Americana" would feel justified in departing even widely from its accustomed policy. The article in its entirety follows:

Uncle Sam has his heroes in peace-time as well as in war. Records of bravery and of heroism equal to the deeds of daring performed by those patriots who have faced shot and shell of an enemy country are not lacking among the army of employees of the United States government. While the hardships encountered and the loss of life are not so great in numbers as those recorded in actual warfare, nevertheless, they bear mute testimony to the valiant service rendered by these faithful servants of the people, bent on performing the onerous and difficult tasks assigned them.

And the praises of these heroes are not sung in either prose or poetry. They are not broadcast throughout the land. There is no Congressional Medal of Honor bestowed on them; no decoration of any kind awaits them. There is not even so much as a citation for bravery and meritorious service performed in the line of duty.

But these faithful employees of Uncle Sam never complain. They are not seeking notoriety. They are being content to carry on their daily labors without thought of reward other than that which goes with the consciousness of duty fulfilled.

There is no class of employees of the government that faces more actual perils of life and limb and are subject to more vicissitudes of the elements in their daily routine than some of the men who carry the mails over some of the more difficult of the star

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routes. These men are not paid salaries but work under contract, awarded under the law as a result of competitive bidding. It might be said that they differ from all other government employees in that they fix their own salaries.

When it is pointed out that during the past two and a half years 55 carriers have lost their lives while in the performance of duty, it will be seen that the tasks assigned them are hazardous in the extreme.

There are star routes scattered throughout the country where "seas of mud" are considered of slight moment and where the perils encountered from ice packs and floes many times result in death or serious and permanent injury.

To the city dweller a reference to the mail man brings a picture of the gray-coated carrier who delivers his letters and packages unhampered to any great extent by wind or weather. But the denizen of the rural district thinks of him as the driver of a horse-drawn or motor vehicle, whose arrival is regarded as an event in the daily life of the occupant of the farm, putting him, as it does, in touch with the outside world and with his fellow man.

In January of this year Reinhold Dreaht, carrier on the star route between Buffalo and Murchison, South Dakota, fell a victim to duty. For several years Dreaht had been making twice-a-week trips between the two hamlets, encountering all sorts of weather conditions but never failing to carry out his part of the contract with the Post Office Department. He had started from Murchison as usual on a certain Saturday and when he did not put in an appearance the next day at Buffalo, a search was made for him. He was found just one mile outside of town with both hands and feet frozen. He was dead when discovered and it is estimated he had been exposed to the intense cold for over sixteen hours. The theory advanced for his death was that, becoming exhausted from a hard day's work and while attempting to crank his car, he fell and was not able to recover his senses before he succumbed to the cold of the night.

Records of the Post Office Department show that among the most dangerous and difficult routes served by rural carriers and star route contractors are those extending from Newport to Otter Rock, Oregon, Ellison Bay to Detroit Harbor, Wisconsin; Rocky Bar to Atlanta, Idaho, and from Sandusky to Kellys Island, Middle Bass and Put-in-Bay, Ohio.

On the Rocky Bar-Atlanta, Idaho, route, the service is performed in the winter season by carriers travelling on snow-shoes, packing 50 pounds of mail. Not infrequently, carriers on this route have been caught in snowslides and swept to death. Only a year or two ago, a carrier lost his life in this way early in January, and his body was not recovered until late the following June.

EDITORIAL

The routes from Ellison Bay to Detroit Harbor, Wisconsin, and from Sandusky, Ohio, to nearby islands must be operated over the ice in the winter and in the fall when the lake is frozen. During the spring thaw it is extremely difficult and hazardous to carry on the service. A number of carriers have lost their lives in endeavoring to transport the mails between these points.

Probably one of the most hazardous experiences that ever befell one or more of Uncle Sam's mail carriers was that of the Hitchcock brothers, carriers on the routes out of Sandusky. Some winters ago, while endeavoring to deliver mail to residents of some of the smaller islands in Lake Erie they were caught in a storm and running ice. They were carried down the lake by the resistless force of a drift in which they had become wedged. The carriers were given up for lost by the excited islanders. A cablegram wired to Kelly Island read:

"Look out for the carriers; they are fast in the ice and drifting that way."

But the two men, after many efforts, were rescued. They were in an exhausted condition and so completely covered and weighed down with ice as to be helpless. Their caps were frozen fast to their heads and their clothes so loaded with ice that the wearers were unable to bend.

On arrival at home their friends were obliged to cut and tear away their ice-armored garments. After changing clothing a bushel of ice that had fallen off in the process was swept from the floor.

For several years George and Charley Morrison were employed as carriers on the Bass Island route. They, too, passed through many arduous and trying experiences, being the victims of many close calls from death. Out on the lake in all kinds of weather, with ice conditions of every description they battled with storm, running ice, fog and blinding snow.

Formerly associated with George Morrison in the mail carrying service was his brother-in-law, Carl Rotert. The two were unexpectedly overtaken by an accident which resulted in the drowning of Rotert. Among the articles carried in the boat operated by the two men was a long, unwieldy piece of metal. This in some way shifted, capsizing the boat. Morrison found himself struggling in the water. With great difficulty he succeeded in extricating himself, but Rotert was carried under the ice. His body was not recovered until late the following spring.

Henry Elfers carried the mails to Kelley's Islands for over forty years. During that time he had many hair-breadth escapes and adventures galore.

"When I was a youngster," said Elfers not long ago, "I was out in a boat about all the time. Now I don't care for ordinary

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sailing but battling with the ice has a fascination for me. As soon as the ice begins to form I feel eager to get out one of the ironclads and fight my way across. Each is a flat bottom skiff. There's a sail in the bow to carry us through the water or over the ice when conditions are right. There are two iron-shod runners on the bottom so the boat may be used as a sled. The sides are sheathed with galvanized iron. This is very important because thin ice will cut a boat like a knife.

"From here to Sandusky is ten miles in a direct line and I go there when conditions are good. At other times I go to Marblehead which is four miles away and the nearest point on the mainland. I have sailed these four miles over smooth ice in 20 minutes. I have covered the same distance in eight hours. That was when the ice was about an inch and a half thick and I had to break my way over every foot of the four miles. At times the lake has been covered with icebergs 20 to 30 feet high and I have had to travel 15 miles in a roundabout course to reach Marblehead.

"In the winter of 1896 I started back from Marblehead with my son and we got to within half a mile of the island when we were caught in a blizzard. The wind blew 55 miles an hour. Snow filled the air so I could not see my son at the other end of our sixteen foot boat. Our sail was torn to pieces and we battled with the blizzard four hours before we succeeded in reaching Marblehead.

"At 8 o'clock one night, I had almost reached the island when I found I could not land on account of running ice. I turned toward Marblehead but lost my way in a fog and did not reach there until 3 o'clock next morning. Twice the life savers came out and got me when high seas and running ice made it impossible for me to land without their help."

The craft used by Uncle Sam's carriers to deliver the mails to these points on Lake Erie is a combination sailboat, rowboat, ice yacht and sled.

The star route from Ellison Bay, the northernmost postoffice in the Door Country peninsula to Detroit Harbor, Wisconsin is one that is covered by carrier entirely by water, crossing the famous passage called "Death's Door."

During the months when navigation is open, that is, from May 1 to November 1, carrying the mail on this route is a comparatively safe occupation, and free from difficulties. It is during the winter period, however, from November 1 to May 1, that the carrier has more than a man's size job on his hand.

Let the postmaster at Detroit Harbor tell his own tale.

"The chief difficulty encountered while crossing Death's Door in winter," he says, "is drifting ice fields. The ice bridge that forms in extremely cold weather hardly ever remains for more than a few days at a time. It is speedily dissembled by shifting

encountered
drifted in

not
be

in wind

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gales and currents. Sometimes this breakup occurs so suddenly that the carrier is caught out on the ice with his horse, sleigh and mail. It is at these times that the proximity of the U. S. Coast Guard station at Plum Island is a Godsend. One such incident took place some few years ago. The breakup occurred while the carrier was transporting the mail to this side over the ice with horse and sleigh. The ice became so thoroughly broken up that in a very short time the carrier found himself on an ice cake barely large and heavy enough to hold him and his equipment. The Coast Guard crew, having noticed his plight, came to the rescue. They succeeded in getting a line out to the carrier and then towed the whole cake over the solid ice and the carrier was enabled to walk onto more solid ice and thereby reached the mainland.

"When the carrier cannot find solid ice on which to travel he usually resorts to his motor launch. This he has conveniently moored inside the edge of the heavy ice with a channel cut away to open water.

"Here he may have to buck new ice for long distances and travel through slush ice which will be 8 or 10 feet deep and oftentimes impassable. In such circumstances, he has to return and seek out new openings in the ice fields. Sometimes his boat is caught in drifting ice fields and carried out into Lake Michigan and forced to stay out over night. Finding suitable landing places on either shore during the winter, cutting off all access to docks. Then the carrier must land along the beaches wherever the surf will permit, anchor his boat in deep navigable water and ferry the mail into shore in a rowboat, then carry the mail bags over the ice banks and hummocks to the waiting team on land.

"Another mode of carrying the mail is by the use of the ice boat. The carrier attaches ropes to the gunwales forward and hauls the boat along the ice like a sled. When open water is encountered he launches the boat, takes his place at the oars and pulls for the other side. This sounds exceedingly simple to the uninitiated but the difficulty comes when attempting to launch the boat from the edge of the ice. Naturally, there is a wide belt of slush ice and small cakes caused by the seas pulverizing the outskirts of the ice floes. Sometimes the seas are so heavy that they will dash the small boat back on the solid ice. At other times the cakes that comprise this belt of broken ice are too heavy to row through. When this happens the carrier leaps out on the cakes and holding on to the gunwale of the boat pushes it along toward open water, leaping back into the boat when his footing has disappeared.

"The wonder of it all is that there are not frequent drownings, but I know of no loss of life while carrying mail across Death's Door. Naturally, with all these difficulties to overcome, there are periods when the carrier is unable to cross, quite frequently for five

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or six days at a time. During these delays, mail is piling up at the Ellison Bay post office, making it quite a problem for the already overworked carrier as to how to transport such a large volume of mail with the means at hand. These periods of non-mail delivery are trying to the one thousand inhabitants on Washington Island since the parcels post system affords the only means in winter to procure supplies, medicine and other commodities. These conditions will continue to exist as long as the mail is transported along the surface of the water. Perhaps the airplane will solve the problem in the future. Why not?"

The carrier who supplies mail on the Newport-Otter Rock route in Oregon, immediately on the Pacific coast, is up against many difficulties and hardships and many times takes his life in his hand in order that the patrons on the route may receive their letters and packages. The carrier is compelled to travel down the beach at low tide. If for some reason the incoming tide catches him before completing his trip he must either abandon his team and the mails and climb the rocks or be dashed to pieces against them.

The most expensive star route in the United States is from Price to Vernal, Utah. It is 121 miles long and for the fiscal year ended June 30, 1923, the cost of maintaining it was approximately \$96,700. As high as 20 or more tons a day of mail matter—mostly parcel post—are handled over this route.

The longest routes are from Two Harbors to Grand Portage, Minn., and from Midland, Texas, to Lovington, New Mexico. These routes are each 143 miles in length.

TACOMA OR RAINIER?

Our attention is again drawn to the arbitrariness of the United States Geographic Board, which persists in its incomprehensible attitude towards changing the name of Mt. Rainier—a geographic anomalism of the most flagrant sort—to the fitting, apt, and original terminology of the Indians: Mt. Tacoma. This attitude, which the board has doggedly maintained for several years, is beginning to place that august body in a slightly undignified and wholly comic position. It clings to its nice, shiny, imported name with all the childish determination of a small boy protecting his little red wagon. But American tolerance and patience—virtues notoriously long-lived—are fast changing to irritability, and protagonists in the worthy movement are clamoring for the fiasco to cease. At this juncture one is prompted to improve upon the old adage of "One is never too old to learn," and to set a good example to the board by changing it to "One is never too old to be spanked." Comparative

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subtlety, perhaps, is rather out of place, since subtlety and government boards are as far apart fundamentally as Bach and Berlin.

The board for the past seven years has given the same reason, or excuse, for its refusal—a refusal lately grown quite curt, we understand. It maintains that a change of nomenclature now would bring endless confusion to the peoples of the earth since Mt. Rainer appears on every map of the world, even those of Arabia and Africa. Far be it from any of us to bring confusion to a map-reading African or Arabian, but we are inclined to believe that its usage would be accepted as readily, easily, and generally as Petrograd was for St. Petersburg, or as any of the multitude of new names which have effaced old established ones in Europe since the late World War. The board seems to have builded its wobbly superstructure of refusal on a particularly flimsy foundation.

The issue, however, is not so trivial as it first appears to be. Should the Geographic Board acquiesce in this seemingly innocuous request, the offices would soon be flooded with demands that Calf Hollow be changed to its original Oceanum, that McClure Settlement again come into its heritage of Oghwaga, that Pickering's Corners resume its former name of Tuscarora, and so forth, *ad infinitum*—perfectly reasonable, worthy, and just requests, of course, but requests that would militate severely against many happy hours at the water hazard, and, we understand, Washington courses have skill-defying water hazards.

Recently, in an obscure periodical, an altruistic writer published a treatise under the caption: "What We Have Done For the Indians." Again setting an example for emulation before the Geographic Board, we would change this to read: "What Have We *Not* Done *to* the Indians?" We have, in fact, done so much that the bare enumeration of facts would be sufficient to bring a blush of shame to the cheek of any thoughtful American. Research in Indian history proves that the noble race of Iroquois alone held dominion over a far vaster territory than did Rome at the apex of her career; and that for pure forensic ability the most silver-tongued Roman senator could not approach the oratory of the Iroquois chieftains, one of whom, in pleading against the extermination of his subjects before an English tribunal, moved the entire assemblage to tears, antagonistic though they were at the start. What have they, and what are they, today? The answer is obvious. After all that has

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been done it seems hardly necessary to continue the outrage by robbing them of the names of their beloved mountains, rivers, lakes, and settlements. Indian place-names form a distinctive heritage of this country which should be jealously guarded, for they alone seem to "fit." They had their inception in bygone centuries in the sensitive and beauty-loving heart of the red man; they are a part of the soil, of the atmosphere; and any attempt, past or present, to substitute Anglo-Saxon terminology is to be regarded as highly presumptuous.

The excuse was once brought forward that England might regard it as an affront if Tacoma succeeded Rainier, "Rainier" being the patronymic of an English sea-captain whose noble deeds, if any, are shrouded in obscurity. It is particularly amusing to imagine Great Britain, our Mother Country, hastily dropping all important matters of state and flying into a rage over the name of a mountain in Western America. It would be, in the first place, beneath England's dignity as a great nation to trouble herself over a something so far beyond her jurisdiction. In the second place, the English point of view would be tantamount to America's. In Broome County, New York State, on the Susquehanna River, is a small village of a thousand souls most inappropriately designated as "Windsor." The Indian name, which goes so well with that of the river and with the general topography, was "Ouaquagua," pronounced O-quah-ga. Windsor, New York State, and Windsor, England, have but one thing in common—a river. Imagine, if you can, the amazed incredulity of the true Englishman if America should request that Windsor, England, be changed to Ouaquagua. Ouaquagua would be as ill-placed in England as Windsor, in this instance, is in America.

It has been blithely ignored by the Geographic Board that Tacoma has the right of seniority over Rainier. The members of the board might spend a quiet half-hour to advantage in considering the fact that seniority rights are still respected in Great Britain.

For more than a decade many prominent citizens of these United States have advocated the change in name in no uncertain terms. This seems, however, to have had a retrogressive effect on the board. Now, we understand, the issue will be placed before Congress, and it is to be hoped that Success will emerge from a mass of red tape during the coming session.

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In closing, it is fitting that we quote from the utterances of that Great American, the late Theodore Roosevelt, who said: "Why should we Americans abandon the splendid Indian name 'Tacoma' in order to call our noblest landmark after a foreigner whose only connection with our history is that he fought against us when we were an infant nation? . . . It has always struck me as a piece of genuine childishness to follow any other course."

W. C. R.

LITERARY NOTE

"Fort Henry and Fort Donelson Campaigns," by the General Service Schools, Fort Leavenworth, Kansas, from the General Service Schools Press.

From time to time items of information come to the average person revealing hitherto unknown branches of governmental activity and impressing him with the vast size and interesting and valuable ramifications of the public machinery of which his citizenship makes him a part owner. It is generally known, of course, that this great legislative, judicial, executive, military and naval organization has been created for the public service, and almost daily evidence is seen of the accomplishment of this aim in weather reports, agricultural bulletins, industrial statistics, and the like, but not one person in a thousand would ascribe publishing activities to the military establishment of the United States.

So it would be with genuine surprise that such a person would see an octavo volume of almost fifteen hundred pages, durably bound, finding on the title page that it is a source book on the Fort Henry and Fort Donelson Campaigns, prepared and printed by the General Service Schools at Fort Leavenworth, Kansas. The introduction gives the information that the first edition of the book appeared in 1912, compiled by Colonel (then Captain) A. L. Conger, and that the present volume is a revision and enlargement of the first edition and has been compiled by Colonel C. H. Lanza, Field Artillery.

While the material in this volume yields its full content of significance and interest only to the student of military tactics and military history (for whom it is intended), the lover of general history and scientific research finds therein a clearly defined and strongly

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supported analysis of the subject that compels his admiration. Military annals have doubtless been enriched by such a volume. To the layman its perusal is something of a glimpse behind the scenes in the theater of war, presenting both sides of a part of the great drama in which the Union Army was the surviving force. From any viewpoint, the book is a most excellent source of critical study.



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